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THE following Sheets contain not only all ſuch Speeches as have appeared in Print, and upon Examination are found to be Genuine, (in which the Opinion of ſome Gentlemen of the greateſt Abilities in Parliamentary Knowledge have been conſulted) but alſo a regular Account of all the moſt material Tranſactions of the Houſe, with the ſeveral Diviſions thereupon, compared by the Journals; likewiſe a Progreſſive Hiſtory of the Conteſted Elections, from the Numbers on the Poll, to the final Determination; and the laſt Reſolutions of the Houſe relating to the Right of Election; with an Account of the Conſtitution of ſeveral of the Boroughs. For this laſt Particular, I am chiefly obliged to that learned Antiquary, Mr *Willis*, in his *Notitia Parliamentaria*.

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R. C.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Houſe of Commons,

DURING

The FIRST SESSION of the THIRD PARLIAMENT of King *GEORGE* II.

ON the 25th of *April* laſt his Majeſty put an End to the Seventh Seſſion of the Eighth Parliament of *Great Britain* with a Speech as uſual *. On the *Tueſday* following a Proclamation was iſſued for the Diſſolution of that Parliament, and Writs were iſſued for electing a new One, returnable the 25th of *June*. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. The Eighth Parliament Diſſolved.

Immediately after the Diſſolution, the *Gazette* preſented the Publick with an Account of the Preferments conferr'd on ſeveral Members of the laſt Parliament, *viz. John Harris*, Eſq; made Maſter of the Houſhold to his Majeſty, in the Room of *George Treby*, Eſq; appointed one of the Lords of the Treaſury; Lord *Glenorchy* and *Edward Thompſon*, Eſq; made Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Lyttelton*, Bart. and *Thomas Clutterbuck*, Preferments conferr'd on ſome late Members.

* See CHANDLER's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Commons, Anno 1741.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

buck, Eſq; *Horatio Walpole*, Eſq; appointed one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*, and ſucceeded as Cofferer of the Houſhold by *Thomas Winnington*, Eſq; who was alſo ſworn one of the Privy Council; *Thomas Clutterbuck*, Eſq; made one of the Lords of the Treaſury in the Room of Mr *Winnington*; Lord Viſcount *Duplin*, and Sir *William Corbet*, Bart. made Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Revenues in *Ireland*; *Thomas Pelham*, jun. Eſq; and *Benjamin Keene*, Eſq; made Lords of Trade and Plantations, in the Room of *Thomas Pelham*, ſen. Eſq; and Sir *Archer Croft*, Bart. who had reſign'd; Sir *Robert Brown*, Bart. made Paymaſter of all his Majeſty's Works; *Andrew Wilkinſon*, Eſq; Clerk of the Delivery of Ordnance, &c. *Thomas Morgan*, Eſq; appointed Judge-Advocate, in the Room of Sir *Henry Houghton*, who had reſign'd: — Alſo *Henry Bromley*, Eſq; created a Peer of *Great Britain*, by the Stile and Title of Lord *Montford*, Baron of *Horſebeath* in the County of *Cambridge*; *Stephen Fox*, Eſq; Lord *Ilchester*, Baron of *Woodford Strangeways* in the County of *Dorſet*; *John Howe*, Eſq; Lord *Chedworth*, Baron of *Chedworth* in the County of *Glouceſter*.

The King goes Abroad.

On the 6th of *May* his Majeſty in Council declar'd his Intention of going out of the Kingdom for a ſhort Time, and the next Day embark'd for his *German* Dominions.

Names of the Regency during his Majeſty's Abſence.

The following Perſons were nominated Lords Juſtices, for the Adminiſtration of the Government during his Majeſty's Abſence, *viz.* The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord *Hardwicke*, Earl of *Wilmington*, Lord *Hervey*, Duke of *Dorſet*, Duke of *Grafton*, Duke of *Richmond*, Duke of *Bolton*, Duke of *Devonſhire*, Duke of *Montagu*, Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Ilay*, Lord *Harrington*, Sir *Robert Walpole*, and Sir *Charles Wager*.

The following is an exact LIST *of the Members return'd to ſerve in this Parliament, with an Account of the Polls at the ſeveral conteſted Elections, as far as could be collected, and the Names of the Candidates.*

Thoſe with an a were not Members of the laſt Parliament.

ENGLAND and *WALES*.

List of the New Parliament.

Abingdon.

a JOHN Wright, Eſq;

Agmondesham.

Henry Marſhal, Eſq;
Thomas Gore, Eſq;

St Albans.

Thomas Aſhby, Eſq;
a James Welt, Eſq;

Aldborough (Suffolk.)

William Conolly, Eſq;
Richard Plumer, Eſq;

Aldborough (Yorkſhire.)

John Jewkes, Eſq;
Andrew Wilkinſon, Eſq;

Andover.

Andover.
a Hon. J. Wallop, Eſq; 12
John Pollen, Eſq; (a) 9
Angleſea.
John Owen, Eſq;
Apulby.
Sir John Ramſden, Bt.
George Doddington, Eſq;
Arundel
a Hon. Ja. Lumley, Eſq; 109
Garton Orme, Eſq; (b) 129
Aſhburton.
a John Arſcot, Eſq;
John Harris, Eſq;
Aylesbury.
a Hon. Will. Stanhope, Eſ. 320
a Cha. Pilſworth, Eſq; (c) 344
Banbury.
a Hon. William Moore, Eſq;
Barnſtaple.
Henry Rolle, Eſq;
a John Harris, Eſq;
Bath.
General George Wade, 27
Philip Bennet, Eſq; (d) 16
Beaumaris.
Lord Viſcount Bulkeley.
Bedfordſhire.
Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bt.
a Sir John Cheſter, Bt.
Bedford.
a Sir Boteler Chernock, Bt.
Samuel Ongley, Eſq;
Bedwin.
a Sir Edward Turner, Bt.
a Laſcelles Metcalf, Eſq;
Berkſhire.
Winchc. Howard Packer, Eſ.
Peniſton Powney, Eſq;
Berwick.
Lord Viſcount Barrington,
Thomas Watſon, Eſq;

Beverley.
Charles Pelham, Eſq; 741
a Will. Strickland, Eſq; (e) 529
Bewdly.
William Bowles, Eſq;
Biſhop's Caſtle.
Marquis of Caernarvon, 67
a Andrew Hill, Eſq; (f) 60
Blechingley.
Sir William Clayton, Bt.
Kendrick Clayton, Eſq;
Bodmin.
John Laroche, Eſq; 29
a Tho. Bludworth, Eſq; (g) 17
Boralſton.
a Samuel Heathcote, Eſq;
Will. Morden, Eſq;
Boroughbridge.
Brigadier James Tyrrell,
George Gregory, Eſq;
Boſſiney.
a Thomas Forſter, Eſq; 11
a Richard Liddel, Eſq; (h) 11
Boſton.
a Lord Vere Bertie,
a John Michell, Eſq;
Brackley.
Sir Paul Methuen, Kt.
George Lee, L. L. D.
Bramber.
Thomas Archer, Eſq;
Captain Harry Gough.
Breconſhire.
John Jeffreys, Eſq;
Brecon.
Hon. John Talbot, Eſq;
Bridgnorth.
Thomas Whitmore, Eſq; 878
a Will. Whitmore, Eſ. (i) 829
Bridg-water.
a Hon. Vere Poulett, Eſq; 133
Geo. Doddington, Eſq; (k) 139

(a) Will. Guidott, 8
John Pugh, 1
(b) Sir John Shelley, Bt. 39
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(g) Sir John Heathcote, Bart. 18
(h) Chr. Tower, Eſ. 14
John Sabine, Eſq; 14
(i) Lanc. Lee, Eſq; 552
Sir Rich. Acton, Bt. 30
(k) Sir Charles Wyndham, Bt. 116

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Glouceſter.
John Selwyn, Eſq;
Hon. Ben. Bathurſt, Eſq; (t)

Grampound.
Daniel Boone, Eſq; 17
a Will. Banks, Eſq; (u) 17

Grantham.
a Marquis of Granby,
Sir Michael Newton, Bart.

Grimsby.
a William Locke, Eſq; 82
Robert Knight, Eſq; (x) 95

Eaſt Grinſtead.
Earl of Middleſex,
a Whiſtler Webſter, Eſq;

Guilford
Denzil Onſlow, Eſq;
Col. Richard Onſlow.

Harwich.
John Phillipſon, jun. Eſq;
a Hill Muſſenden, Eſq;

Haſlemere.
Gen. James Ogiethorpe.
Peter Burrell, Eſq;

Haſtings.
James Pelham, Eſq;
a Andrew Stone, Eſq;

Haverford-Weſt.
SirErasmus Philips, Bt. (y) 247

Helſton.
a Francis Godolphin, Eſq;
Thomas Walker, Eſq;

Hereford ſhire.
Velters Cornwall, Eſq;
Edward Harley, Eſq;

Hereford.
a Edw. Cope Hopton, Eſq; 506
a Tho. Winford, Eſq; (z) 504

Hertford ſhire.
Jacob Houblon, Eſq;
Charles Gore, Eſq;

Hertford.
George Harriſon, Eſq;
Nathaniel Braſſey, Eſq;

Heydon.
a Francis Chute, Eſq;
a Luke Robinſon, Eſq;

Heytſbury.
Edward Aſh, Eſq;
Pierce A'Court, Eſq;

Higham-ferrers.
Hon. Henry Finch, Eſq;

Hindon.
a William Steele, Eſq;
a Henry Calthorpe, Eſq;

Honyton.
Sir William Yonge, Bart.
a Henry Courtenay, Eſq;

Horſham.
Sir Richard Mill, Bart.
Col. Charles Ingram.

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a Will. Mitchell, Eſq; 867
a Colſon Fellows, Eſq; (a) 769

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a Hon. Wills Hill, Eſq; 89
a Edw. Montague, Eſq; (b) 90

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William Glanville, Eſq;
Hercules Baker, Eſq;

Ilcheſter.
Charles Lockyer, Eſq;
Sir Robert Brown, Bart.

Ipſwich.
a Vice Adm. Vernon. 527
Samuel Kent, Eſq; (c) 298

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a Col. Gregory Beake.
John Briſtow, Eſq;

Kellington.
Tho. Copleſton, Eſq; 44
a Hor. Walpole, Eſq; (d) 44

Kent.

(t) Benj. Hyet, Eſq;
(u) Thomas Trefuſis, Eſq; 35
Tho. Hales, Eſq; 35
(x) Matt. Boucherett, Eſq; 60
(y) H. Barlow, Eſq; 207
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a William Carter, Eſq;

Knaresborough.
Sir Henry Slingſby, Bart.
Hon. Richard Arundel, Eſq;

Lancaſhire.
a Lord Strange.
Richard Shuttleworth, Eſq;

Lancaſter.
Sir Thomas Lowther, Bart.
Robert Fenwick, Eſq;

Launceſton.
Sir Will. Morrice, Bart.
Sir Will. Irby, Bart.

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Litchfield.
Sir Liſter Holte, Bart.
George Venables Vernon, Eſq;

Liverpoole.
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St Maws.
a James Douglaſs, Eſq;
a Robert Nugent, Eſq;
Melcomb Regis.
John Tucker, Eſq;
a Joſeph Damer, Eſq;
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William Vaughan, Eſq;
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Robert Ord, Eſq;
Montgomeryſhire.
Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart.
Montgomery.
Col. Ja. Cholmondeley.
Newark on Trent.
Lord William Manners.
a Job Staunton Charleton, Eſq;
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Hon. Baptiſt Leveſon Gower,
Randle Wilbraham, Eſq;
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a Thomas Bury, Eſq;
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Anthony Chute, Eſq;
a Monoux Cope, Eſq;
Newton (Lancaſhire.)
Legh Maſter, Eſq;
William Shippen, Eſq;
Newtoun (Iſle of Wight.)
Sir John Barrington, Bart.
a Henry Holmes, Eſq;
Norfolk.
a Hon. Edward Coke, Eſq;
Armine Wodehouſe, Eſq;
Northallerton.
Henry Pierſe, Eſq;
William Smelt, Eſq;
Northamptonſhire.
Sir Edmund Isham, Bart.
Thomas Cartwright, Eſq;
Northampton.
Hon. George Compton, Eſq;
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John Plumptre, Eſq;
Borlace Warren, Eſq;
Okehampton.
George Lyttelton, Eſq;
Thomas Pitt, Eſq;
Oxford.
Ld Viſc. Glenorchy.
Henry Legge, Eſq;
Oxfordſhire.
Sir James Dashwood, Bt.
Lord Viſc. Quarendon.
Oxford City.
Thomas Rowney, Eſq;
Philip Herbert, Eſq;
Oxford Univerſity.
Lord Viſc. Cornbury.
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a Thomas Maſſing, Eſq;
Pontefract.
Lord Viſcount Galway,
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Ryegate.

Hon. Philip Yorke, Eſq;
James Cocks, Eſq;

Salop County.

Sir John Atſley, Bt.
Richard Lyſter, Eſq;

Salop.

Sir Richard Corbet, Bt.
William Kinaſton, Eſq;

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Thomas Corbet, Eſq;
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William Pitt, Eſq;

Scarborough.

William Osbaldeſton, Eſq;
William Thompſon, Eſq;

Seaford.

Sir William Gage, Bt.
William Hay, Eſq;

Shaftsbury.

a Charles Ewer, Eſq;
a Peter Walter, jun. Eſq;

Shoreham.

a Charles Frederick, Eſq;
a Thomas Brand, Eſq;

Somerſetſhire.

Thomas Prowſe, Eſq;
a Hen. William Portman, Eſq;

Southampton County.

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Pawlett St John, Eſq;

Southampton.

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Staffordſhire.

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Sir Walter Wagſtaff Bagot, Bt.

Stafford.

a William Chetwynd, Eſq;
John Lord Chetwynd,

Stamford.

William Noel, Eſq;
John Proby, Eſq;

Steyning.

Charles Eversfield, Eſq;
Hitch Young, Eſq;

Stockbridge.

Charles Churchill, Eſq;
a Matthew Lamb, Eſq;

Sudbury.

Carteret Leathes, Eſq;
a Thomas Fonnereau, Eſq;

Suffolk.

Sir Jermyn Davers, Bt.
Sir Cordell Firebrace, Bt.

Surry.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Onſlow, Eſq;
Lord Baltimore,

Suſſex.

Rt. Hon. Henry Pelham, Eſq;
James Butler, Eſq;

Tamworth.

Lord John Sackville,
a John Floyer, Eſq, (z)

Taviſtock.

Hon. Charles Fane, Eſq;
a Lord Sherard Manners

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a John Martin, Eſq;

Thetford.
Lord Auguſtus Fitzroy
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Sir Thomas Frankland, Bt.
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a Charles Hamilton, Eſq;
a James Hammond, Eſq;

Wallingford.
John Bance, Eſq;
a John Ruſh, Eſq;

Warwickſhire.
Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bt.
Hon. Edward Digby, Eſq;

Warwick.
Henry Archer, Eſq;
a Hon. Wills Hill, Eſq;

Wareham.
Henry Drax, Eſq;
John Pitt, Eſq;

Wells.
George Speke, Eſq;
a Francis Gwyn, Eſq;

Wendover.
John Hampden, Eſq;
a Ld Viſcount Fermanagh,

Wenlock.
a Sir Brian Broughton, Bt.
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a Sir Philip Muſgrave, Bt.

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a Jones Raymond, Eſq;
a James Stewart, Eſq;

Whitchurch.
John Selwyn, Eſq;
a Hon. John Wallop, Eſq;

Winchelſea.
a Lord Viſcount Doneraile,
a Thomas Orby Hunter, Eſq;

Winchester.
a William Powlet, Eſq;
George Bridges, Eſq;

Windſor.
Lord Sidney Beauclerk,
Henry Fox, Eſq;

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Hon. John Spencer, Eſq;
James Dawkins, Eſq;

Wotton-Baſſet.

a John Harvey Thursby, Eſq;
a Robert Neale, Eſq; (f)

Wigan.

Sir Roger Bradſhaigh, Bt.
James Earl of Barrymore,

Worceſterſhire.

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Yorkſhire.

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Sir Miles Stapylton, Bt.

York.

Edw. Thompſon, Eſq; 1447
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SCOTLAND.

Shire of *Aberdeen.*

SIR Arthur Forbes, Bt.

Shire of *Air.*

a Patrick Crawford, Eſq;

Shire of *Argyle.*

Captain Charles Campbell,

Shire of *Bamff.*

Capt. James Abercromby,

Shire of *Berwick.*

Hon. Alexander Hume Campbell, Eſq;
Sir John Sinclair, Bt.
} D. R.

Shires of *Bute* and *Caithneſs.*

Alexander Brodie, Eſq;

Shires of *Cromarty* and *Nairn.*

a Sir William Gordon, Bt.

Shire of *Dunbarton.*

Col. John Campbell,

Shire of *Dumfries.*

Sir John Douglas, Bt.

Shire of *Edinburgh.*

Sir Charles Gilmour, Bt.

Shire of *Elgin.*

a Lodovick Grant, Eſq;

Shire of *Fife.*

a David Scot, Eſq;

Shire of *Forfar.*

Hon. William Maule, Eſq;

Conſtabulary of *Haddington.*

a Lord Charles Hay,

Shire of *Inverneſs.*

a Norman M'Leod, Eſq;

Shire of *Kincardine.*

a Sir James Carnegie, Bt.

Shires of *Kinroſs* and *Clackmannan.*

a Sir John Hope-Bruce, Bt.

Stewartry of *Kirkudbright.*

a Honourable Baſil Hamilton, Eſq;

Shire

Shire of *Lanerk.*
Sir James Hamilton, Bt.
Shire of *Linlithgow.*
a George Dundas, Eſq;
Shires of *Orkney* and *Zetland.*
Col. Robert Douglas,
Shire of *Peebles.*
a Alexander Murray, Eſq;
Shire of *Perth.*
Lord John Murray,
Shire of *Renfrew.*
Alexander Cunningham, Eſq;
Shire of *Roſs.*
a Hon. Charles Roſs, Eſq;
Shire of *Roxburgh.*
John Rutherford, Eſq;
Shire of *Selkirk.*
John Murray, Eſq;
Shire of *Stirling.*
a Lord George Graham,
Shire of *Sutherland.*
Hon. Brigadier Gen. James St Clair,
Shire of *Wigtoun.*
Hon. Col. James Stewart,
City of *Edinburgh.*
a Archibald Stewart, Eſq;
Burghs of *Kirkwall, Week, Dornack, Dingwall,* &c.
Hon. Charles Areſkine, Eſq;

Fortroſe, Inverneſs, &c.
a Lord Fortroſe,
Elgin, Bamff, &c.
Sir James Grant, Bt.
Aberdeen, Montroſe, &c.
a John Maule, Eſq;
Perth, Dundee, &c.
a John Drummond, Eſq;
Crail, Pittenweem, &c.
a Hon. John Stewart, Eſq;
Kinghorn, Kirkaldie, &c.
a James Oſwald, Eſq;
Stirling, Culroſs, &c.
Hon. James, Erſkine, Eſq;
Glaſgow, Renfrew, &c.
a Neil Buchanan, Eſq;
Haddington, Dunbar, &c.
a Sir Hew Dalrymple Bart. } D. R.
James Fall, Eſq; }
Selkirk, Peebles, &c.
Hon. James Carmichael, Eſq; } D. R.
a John M'Kye, Eſq; }
Dumfries, Sanquhar, &c.
a Lord John Johnſton,
Wigtoun, Stranraver, &c.
a Capt. William Stewart,
Air, Irwin, &c.
a Earl of Granard.

A SUMMARY of the whole Houſe of COMMONS *of* GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGLAND

40 Counties in *England* (end		80 Knights.
25 Cities (*Ely* none) *London* 4		50 Citizens.
167 Boroughs, 2 each		334 Burgeſſes.
5 Boroughs, (*Abington, Banbury, Bewdly, Higham Ferrers, Monmouth*) one each,		5 Burgeſſes.
2 Univerſities,		4 *Ditto.*
8 Cinque-Ports, *viz. Haſtings, Dover, Sandwich, Romney, Hythe,* and their three Branches, *Rye, Winchelſea,* and *Seaford,*		16 Barons.
	489	

Brought

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Brought over	489

WALES.

12 Counties in *Wales*,	12 Knights.
12 Boroughs *ditto* (*Pembroke* 2, *Merioneth* none)	12 Burgeſſes.

SCOTLAND.

Shires of *Scotland*	30 Knights.
Boroughs of *Ditto*.	15 Burgeſſes.
Sum Total	558

Account of the Weſtminſter Election.

As the Election for *Weſtminſter* makes a conſiderable Article in the Buſineſs of this Seſſion, it may be proper to obſerve that a great Diſturbance having enſued about taking the Poll; a Party of Foot-Soldiers were ſent for by Order of three of the Juſtices * of Peace.

Theſe Proceedings gave Riſe to the following remarkable Preſentment of the Grand Jury of *Middleſex* to the Court of *King's-Bench* on the 17th of *June* following.

Preſentment of the Grand Jury of Middleſex relating thereto.

'*Middl.* WE the Grand Jury, of and for the Body of the County of *Middleſex*, do apprehend, 'That among the many Enormities and Offences committed 'againſt the Publick, none deſerve our Obſervation and 'Cenſure more than thoſe which tend to the Subverſion of 'the ancient Rights of the People to a Free Election of 'their Repreſentatives in Parliament, in whom they repoſe 'their undoubted Share in the Government, as well as con-'ſtitute them Guardians of their Liberties and Properties. 'For we cannot but apprehend, that whenever the People 'ſhall loſe the Right of Election, or which is the ſame 'Thing, the Freedom of Election, and be oblig'd to chuſe 'their Repreſentatives under the Awe, Dread, or Influ-'ence of any other Power, there muſt be an End of Parlia-'ments, or at leaſt the People's Intereſt and Share therein.

'Wherefore, being ſworn to enquire for our Sovereign 'Lord the King, and the Body of this County, we upon 'our Oaths preſent, That on *Friday* the 8th Day of *May* 'laſt, while the Election for Members of Parliament for 'the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter* was depending, and 'before the Declaration thereof was made, a Body of Foot-'Guards or Soldiers, to the Number of Fifty and up-'wards, headed by Officers, did, in the Afternoon, in a 'Military Manner march up near the Place of Polling, 'which

* Meſſrs Blackerby, Howard, and Ladiard.

' which Practice may be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence ' to the Liberties of the People, as contrary to Law, and ' a Reſtraint on the Freedom of Elections. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

' We therefore being affected and alarmed with a due ' Senſe and Dread of ſo daring a Violation and Inſult on ' our Freedom and Liberties, and the dangerous Conſe- ' quence of Military Power exerciſed in Civil Affairs, do ' recommend it to this Honourable Court, to give ſuch ' Order and Direction for preventing and diſcouraging the ' like heinous Offence for the future, as they ſhall judge ' moſt proper and convenient.'

On the 12th of *May* the Election ended for the City of *London*, when the following Inſtructions were deliver'd to their new Members, *viz.*

' WE, the Citizens of *London*, who have chearfully ' elected you to ſerve us in Parliament, and thereby ' committed to your Truſt the Safety, Liberty, Property, ' and Privileges of our ſelves and Poſterities, think it our ' Duty, as it is our undoubted Right, to acquaint you with ' what we deſire and expect from you, in Diſcharge of the ' great Confidence we repoſe in you, and what we take to ' be your Duty as our Repreſentatives. Inſtructions from the City of London to their new Members.

' 1. As Standing Armies have ever been eſteemed bur- ' theniome to the Subject, and dangerous to Liberty; and ' as the moſt ſacred and valuable Privileges of *Engliſhmen* ' have lately ſuffer'd a moſt outrageous Inſult and Violence ' at a neighbouring Election*, where, after the moſt un- ' warrantable and illegal Return of two Repreſentatives for ' the enſuing Parliament, the Military Force was employ'd ' to protect and ſupport the Returning Officer, to the mani- ' feſt Violation of Juſtice, and in open Defiance of a Law, ' which expreſsly commands, That no Man, by Force of ' Arms, ſhall diſturb the Freedom of Elections; we moſt ' earneſtly recommend, that by a conſtant and vigorous Op- ' poſition to all Standing Armies in Times of Peace, you ' would preſerve this Nation from a Calamity which has ' already been fatal to the Liberties of every Kingdom ' round us, and which we at this Day are beginning to ' feel.

' 2. When we call to Remembrance the iniquitous Pro- ' ject of extending the Laws of Exciſe † over the greateſt ' Part of the Traders of this Kingdom, we require and ' inſiſt, that you would ſtrenuouſly oppoſe any ſuch Attempts ' for

* Alluding to the Weſtminſter Election.

† See the Debate on the Exciſe Scheme in CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Anno 6. Geo. 1733, p. 317. and the following Pages.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

for the future; and alſo promote the entire Repeal, or, at leaſt, Mitigation of thoſe Laws, in Behalf of Numbers who are already ſubjected to their Severity.

3. When we reflect on the Danger of entruſting Power too long in the ſame Hands; when we conſider how often, in former Times, the Liberty of this Country has been ſacrificed and ſold, by long continued Parliaments; and that a frequent Recourſe to their Conſtituents, the People, is a certain and neceſſary Check to bad Meaſures, and worſe Intentions; we require you to proſecute, in the moſt vigorous Manner, a Repeal of the Septennial Act, and to reſtore the ſalutary Form of Triennial Parliaments, as the principal Means of ſecuring the Rights and ſupporting the Dignity of a free Nation.

4. But as nothing can effectually ſecure the Freedom of our happy Conſtitution, except an uncorrupt and independent Repreſentative of the People, we inſiſt on your utmoſt Endeavours to procure a proper Bill for reducing and limiting the Number of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons, eſpecially as ſo many Gentlemen, in a Situation of manifeſt Dependence, were known to have Seats in the laſt Parliament.

5. As, at this Juncture, we are engaged in a juſt and neceſſary War, and conſequently large Supplies will be requiſite for the Publick Service, we make no doubt but you will chearfully and effectually enable His Moſt Gracious Majeſty to vindicate the Wrongs of your Country, and chaſtiſe an inſolent Enemy; but, at the ſame Time we deſire that, in granting all ſuch Aids and Supplies, you will conſtantly obſerve the ancient Practice of Parliaments, nor deviate from the genuine Form of the Conſtitution; that you will make a ſtrict Examination into every Account of the National Expence; and that you will firmly with-hold your Approbation of any Convention or Treaty of Peace, which ſhall not put his Majeſty in Poſſeſſion of ſome Country, or Place of ſufficient Strength and Importance, to reſtrain his Enemies from all future Inſults, and continue to lateſt Poſterity, a Monument of his victorious Arms.

And laſtly, as to what more particularly concerns our ſelves, we do expect from and require you, that you do perſiſt with unwearied Diligence, until you ſhall prevail, that ſuch Bills paſs into Laws, as ſhall reſtrain the exorbitant Powers that are pretended to reſide in the Court of Aldermen of this City, to the manifeſt Diminution, if not to the total Deſtruction of thoſe Privileges and Rights which were formerly inherent in the Citizens of *London*;

particularly,

' particularly, that you endeavour to get a Repeal, or Ex- An. 15. Geo. II.
' planation of that Law * which has been interpreted to ex- 1741.
' tend even to the Formation of every Queſtion that can
' be propoſed in the Common-Council of this City, by
' which the Citizens of *London* may be, and, as we appre-
' hend, will be prevented from applying to the King or
' Legiſlature, in their Corporate Capacity, how much ſoever
' their Caſe may require the Royal Protection, or Parlia-
' mentary Cognizance.'

It is remarkable that Admiral *Vernon* was ſet up a Candidate for the City of *London*, by the Perſons who oppos'd his Election for that of *Weſtminſter*; and that both Parties ſeem'd to make uſe of that gallant Gentleman's popular Character to ſerve their own Purpoſes.

October 19. The King landed at *Yarmouth*, and the next Day arrived at *St James's*: In the Evening the Lords of the Regency waited on his Majeſty, to deliver up their Commiſſion: On the *Thurſday* following his Majeſty in Council was pleas'd to order the 25th of *November* to be obſerv'd as a Day of Faſt, for the Succeſs of our Arms againſt *Spain*. The King returns; and appoints a Faſt.

* The Statute of 11. George I. Cap. 18. *For regulating Elections*, &c. See the Petition of the Freemen of London, and the Proteſts of ſeveral Peers, againſt the paſſing thereof, in TIMBERLAND's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. 3. p. 420.

ON the 1ſt of *December* the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons attending, the Lord Chancellor ſignified to them, that it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure they ſhould return to their Houſe, to elect a Speaker, and preſent him on *Friday* the 4th. Being return'd, Mr *Henry Pelham* ſtood up, and addreſſing himſelf to the Clerk of the Houſe, ſpoke as follows: The Parliament meet.

Mr *Harding*,

AS we are here aſſembled, in Purſuance of the Royal Summons, it is neceſſary that in Obedience to his Majeſty's Command, and the eſtabliſhed Cuſtom of this Houſe, we proceed immediately to the Choice of a Perſon qualified for the Chair. Mr Pelham propoſes Mr Onſlow for Speaker.

Gentlemen,

' It is with an uncommon Degree of Satisfaction that I obſerve this Aſſembly ſo numerous on the firſt Day, becauſe whatever is tranſacted by us, muſt neceſſarily be conſidered by the Nation with more Regard, as it is approved by a greater Number of their Repreſentatives; and becauſe the preſent Affair, which relates particularly to this Houſe muſt be more ſatisfactorily conducted, as our Number is greater,

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. since every Man muſt willingly abide by his own Choice, and cheartully ſubmit to that Authority of which he has himſelf concurred to the Eſtabliſhment.

'The Qualifications required in a Perſon who ſhall fill the Chair to his own Reputation, and the Advantage of the Houſe, it is not neceſſary minutely to recount, it being obvious to every Gentleman who hears me, that he muſt poſſeſs ſuch an Equality of Temper, as may enable him always to preſerve a ſteady and impartial Attention, neither diſcompoſed by the Irregularities into which ſome Gentlemen, unacquainted with the Forms of this Houſe, may eaſily fall, nor diſconcerted by the Heat and Turbulence to which, in former Parliaments, ſome of thoſe whoſe Experience might have taught them the Neceſſity of Decency, have been too often hurried by the Eagerneſs of Controverſy. That he muſt add to this perpetual Serenity ſuch a Firmneſs of Mind, as may enable him to repreſs Petulance, and ſubdue Contumacy, and ſupport the Orders of the Houſe, in whatever Contrariety of Opinions, or Commotion of Debate, againſt all Attempts of Infraction or Deviation. That to give Force to his Interpoſitions, and procure Veneration to his Deciſions, he muſt from his general Character and perſonal Qualities, derive ſuch Dignity and Authority, as may naturally diſpoſe the Minds of others to Obedience; as may ſuppreſs the Murmurs of Envy, and prevent the Struggles of Competition.

'Theſe Qualifications were eminently conſpicuous in the Gentleman who filled the Chair * in the earlier Part of my Life, and who is now one of the Ornaments of the other Houſe; ſuch were his Abilities, and ſuch his Conduct, that it would be preſumptuous in any Man, however endowed by Nature, or accompliſhed by Study, to aſpire to ſurpaſs him, nor can a higher Encomium be eaſily conceived, than this Houſe beſtowed upon that Perſon, who was thought worthy to ſucceed him.

'The Office which we have now to confer, is not only arduous with regard to the Abilities neceſſary to the Execution of it, but extremely burthenſome and laborious, ſuch as requires continual Attendance, and inceſſant Application; nor can it be expected that any Man would engage in it, who is not ready to devote his Time and his Health to the Service of the Publick, and to ſtruggle with Fatigue and Reſtraint for the Advantage of his Country.

'Such

* The Hon. Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker of both the Parliaments of King George I. He was created Baron of Wilmington by his preſent Majeſty, Jan. 11. 1727 – In May 1730, Viſcount Pevenſey, and Earl of Wilmington, and appointed Lord Privy Seal. On the 31ſt of December following declar'd Preſident of the Council; and in 1733, elected a Knight of the Garter.

' Such is the Gentleman whom I ſhall propoſe to your Choice; one whoſe Zeal for the preſent Royal Family, and the Proſperity of the Nation, has been always acknowledged, and of whom it cannot be ſuſpected that he will be deterred, by any Difficulties, from a Province which will afford him ſo frequent Opportunities of promoting the common Intereſt of the King and the People. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

' What Succeſs may be expected from his Endeavours, we can only judge from his preſent Influence; Influence produced only by his private Virtues, but ſo extenſive in that Part of the Nation which lies within the Reach of his Beneficence, and the Obſervation of his Merit, that it ſets him not only above the Danger, but above the Fear of Oppoſition, and ſecures him a Seat in this Houſe without Conteſt.

' Thus deputed by his Country to many ſucceſſive Parliaments, he has acquired an unrivalled Degree of Knowledge in the Methods of our Proceedings, and an eminent Dexterity in digeſting them, with that Order and Perſpicuity by which only the Tranſaction of great Affairs can be made expeditious, and the Diſcuſſion of difficult Queſtions be diſentangled from Perplexity; Qualities, which are now made particularly neceſſary by the Importance of the Subjects to be conſidered in this Parliament, ſo that I doubt not but you will unanimouſly concur with me in deſiring that the Chair may be filled by a Perſon eminently diſtinguiſhed by his Knowledge, his Integrity, his Diligence, and his Reputation: And therefore I move, without Scruple, that the Right Hon. *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; be called to the Chair'

Mr *Pelham* was ſeconded by Mr *Clutterbuck*. Mr Clutterbuck.

Gentlemen,

' That I am not able to add any Thing to the Encomium on the Right Hon. Gentleman nominated to the Speaker's Chair, gives me no Concern; becauſe I am confident that in the Opinion of this Aſſembly his Name alone includes all Panegyric, and that he who recommends Mr *Onſlow*, will never be required to give the Reaſon of his Choice. I therefore riſe now only to continue the common Methods of the Houſe, and to ſecond a Motion which I believe nobody will oppoſe.

Upon this there was a general Acclamation of Mr *Onſlow*, Mr *Onſlow*. Hereupon Mr *Onſlow* excus'd himſelf as follows:

Gentlemen,

' Though I might alledge many Reaſons againſt this Choice, of which the ſtrongeſt is my Inability to diſcharge the Truſt conferred upon me in a Manner ſuitable to its Importance, Mr Onſlow excuſes himſelf.

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portance, yet I have too high an Idea of the Wiſdom of this Aſſembly, to imagine that they form any Reſolution without juſt Motives; and therefore ſhall think it my Duty to comply with their Determination however oppoſite to my own Opinion.

He is elected Speaker,

Then Mr *Pelham* and Mr *Clutterbuck* conducted him to the Chair, where, before he went up, he deſired, 'That the Houſe would conſider how little he was qualified for the Office which they were about to confer upon him, and fix their Choice upon ſome other Perſon, who might be capable of diſcharging ſo important a Truſt.'

But the Members again calling out, The *Chair*, the *Chair*, the *Chair*, he then addreſs'd himſelf thus to the Houſe.

Gentlemen,

'Since it is your Reſolution that I ſhould once more receive the Honour of being advanc'd to this important Office, for which it is not neceſſary to mention how little I am qualified: Since I hope that thoſe Defects which have hitherto been excuſed, will ſtill find the ſame Indulgence; my Gratitude for a Diſtinction ſo little deſerved, will always incite me to conſult the Honour of the Houſe, and enable me to ſupply, by Application and Diligence, what I am wanting in Knowledge and Capacity.'

And preſented to his Majeſty.

Accordingly on the 4th Mr *Onſlow*, the Speaker, was preſented to the King: His Majeſty having approv'd the Choice of the Houſe, made the following Speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech at opening the Firſt Seſſion of the Ninth Parliament of Great Britain.

"IT is always a great Satisfaction to me to meet you aſſembled in Parliament; and eſpecially at this Time, when the Poſture of Affairs makes your Counſel and Aſſiſtance ſo neceſſary; and when by Means of the new Elections, I may have an Opportunity of knowing the more immediate Senſe and Diſpoſition of my People in general, from their Repreſentatives, choſen during a Seaſon, which has been attended with great Variety of Incidents of the higheſt Conſequence and Expectation, and during the Courſe of the War, in which we are engaged againſt the Crown of *Spain*; a War, in itſelf juſt and neceſſary, entered into by the repeated Advice of both Houſes of Parliament, and particularly recommended to me to be carried on in *America*, which has been my principal Care. I can therefore make no Doubt, but that you are met together fully ſenſible of our preſent Situation; and prepared to give me ſuch Advice, as ſhall be moſt conducive to the Honour, and true Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms.

"You

" You cannot but have obſerv'd, with an Attention ſuit- An. 15. Geo. II.
" able to the Occaſion, the impending Dangers that threaten 1741.
" *Europe*, and more immediately ſuch Parts of the Conti-
" nent, as ſhall withſtand or reſiſt the formidable Powers,
" which are confederated for the Subverſion, or Reduction
" of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The Apprehenſion of theſe
" Things was communicated to the laſt Parliament; when
" both Houſes expreſſed their great Concern for the Troubles,
" which were then broke out in the *Auſtrian* Dominions;
" and came to the ſtrongeſt Reſolutions in favour of the
" Queen of *Hungary*, for the Maintenance of the Pragmatic
" Sanction, and for the Preſervation of the Balance of
" Power, and the Peace and Liberties of *Europe*. And
" had other Powers, that were under the like Engagements
" with me, anſwered the juſt Expectations they had ſo
" ſolemnly given, the Support of the Common Cauſe had
" been attended with leſs Difficulty.

" I have, purſuant to the Advice of my Parliament,
" ever ſince the Death of the late Emperor, exerted my-
" ſelf in the Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. I have en-
" deavoured, by the moſt proper and early Applications,
" to induce other Powers, that were equally engaged with
" me, and united by Common Intereſt, to concert ſuch
" Meaſures as ſo important and critical a Conjuncture re-
" quired; and where an Accommodation ſeemed to me to
" be neceſſary, I laboured to reconcile thoſe Princes, whoſe
" Union would have been the moſt effectual Means to pre-
" vent the Miſchiefs that have happened, and the beſt Se-
" curity for the Intereſt and Safety of the Whole.

" Although my Endeavours have not hitherto had the
" deſired Effect, I cannot but ſtill hope, that a juſt Senſe
" of the common and approaching Danger, will produce a
" more favourable Turn in the Councils of other Nations.
" In this Situation it is incumbent upon us to put ourſelves
" in a Condition to improve all Opportunities that ſhall
" offer for maintaining the Liberties of *Europe*; and to
" aſſiſt and ſupport our Friends and Allies, at ſuch Times,
" and in ſuch Manner, as the Exigency and Circumſtances
" of Affairs ſhall require; and to defeat any Attempts that
" ſhall be made againſt me, and my Dominions, or againſt
" thoſe whom we are moſt nearly concerned for, and, in
" Honour and Intereſt, engaged to ſupport and defend.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I have ordered Eſtimates to be laid before you, for the
" Service of the enſuing Year; and I muſt deſire you to
" grant me ſuch Supplies as the Circumſtances of Affairs
" require;

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" require; which, you may depend upon it, ſhall be duly " applied to the Purpoſes, for which they ſhall be given.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have, during the Courſe of my Reign, had ſo much " Experience of the Duty and Affection of my Parliaments " to my Perſon and Government, and of their Zeal for the " Good of their Country, and the Support of the Common " Cauſe, that I do, with the greateſt Reaſon, rely upon " the Continuance of them, in the preſent Conjuncture. " There never was a Time, in which your Unanimity, " Vigour, and Diſpatch, were neceſſary to ſo many great " Ends, as thoſe, which are now before you: I will do " my Part; let it appear, by your Proceedings and Reſo- " lutions, that you have that juſt and hearty Concern for " them, which their Importance requires."

The three firſt Days of the Seſſion were employ'd in taking the Oaths, *&c.* On the 8th a Bill, *To empower the Juſtices of the Peace of a Liberty or Corporation, to commit Offenders to the Houſe of Correction of the County, Riding, or Diviſion, in which ſuch Liberty or Corporation is ſituate,* was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

A Bill read, and the Grand Committees appointed.

Then the Houſe appointed their ſeveral Grand Committees for Religion, Grievances, Courts of Juſtice, Trade, and alſo for Privileges and Elections. They likewiſe made the uſual Orders and Reſolutions. After which Mr Speaker having reported the King's Speech, Mr *Henry Arthur Herbert* ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following Purpoſe:

Mr Henry Arthur Herbert's Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks.

Mr Speaker,

' To addreſs the Throne on the preſent Occaſion, is a Cuſtom, which, as it is founded on Reaſon and Decency, has always been obſerved by the Commons of *Great Britain*, nor do I ſuſpect this Houſe of any Intention to omit thoſe Forms of Reſpect to his Majeſty, which our Anceſtors always paid even to Princes whoſe Conduct and Deſigns gave them no Claim to Reverence or Gratitude.

' To continue therefore, Sir, a Practice which the Nature of Government itſelf makes neceſſary, and which cannot but be acknowledged to be in a peculiar Degree proper under a Prince, whoſe perſonal Virtues are ſo generally known, I hope for the Indulgence of this Houſe in the Liberty which I ſhall take of propoſing an Addreſs to this Effect:

' To return his Majeſty the Thanks of this Houſe, for ' his moſt gracious Speech; and to congratulate his Majeſty's ' Return; to expreſs our dutiful Acknowledgments for his ' paternal Concern for the publick Welfare, in the preſent ' dange-

' dangerous and perplexed Situation of *Europe*; and to aſſure An. 15. Geo. II.
' his Majeſty, that as great Variety of Incidents of the great- 1741.
' eſt Importance have happen'd, during the Courſe of the
' laſt Year, this Houſe, with Hearts full of Duty and Grati-
' tude, and touch'd with a juſt Senſe of the impending Dan-
' gers, will, as often as theſe momentous Affairs ſhall come
' under their Conſideration, give his Majeſty ſuch Advice as
' becomes dutiful and faithful Subjects, and ſuch Support and
' Aſſiſtance, as ſhall be moſt conducive to the Honour and
' true Intereſt of his Majeſty's Crown and Kingdoms, and
' to the maintaining of the Balance and Liberties of *Europe*;
' [to return his Majeſty the Thanks of the Houſe for his
' Royal Care in proſecuting the War with *Spain*] and that,
' in Order to anſwer theſe great and neceſſary Purpoſes, this
' Houſe will grant ſuch effectual Supplies, as ſhall enable his
' Majeſty to ſupport and aſſiſt his Friends and Allies, at
' ſuch Times and in ſuch Manner as the Exigency and Cir-
' cumſtances of Affairs ſhall require; and to defeat any At-
' tempts that ſhall be made againſt his Majeſty, or againſt
' thoſe, who being equally engag'd with his Majeſty by the
' Faith of Treaties, or united by common Intereſt, ſhall,
' from a juſt Senſe of the common Danger, be willing to
' concert ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall be found expedient.

' This Addreſs, which in my Opinion will contain both a proper Anſwer to his Majeſty's Speech, and a decent Declaration of our Gratitude and Duty, will not, I hope, be oppoſed. For ſurely it cannot be charged with aſſerting any Thing that is either falſe or mean, with beſtowing any unneceſſary Panegyric, or with maintaining any Fact that is not generally allowed.

Mr *Herbert* was ſeconded by Mr *Trevor*, as follows: Mr Trevor.

Sir,

' As the Neceſſity of an Addreſs to his Majeſty cannot be diſputed, the only Queſtion on this Occaſion muſt be, whether the Addreſs now propoſed be ſuch as it may become this Houſe to offer in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs.

' In an Addreſs, Sir, it is neceſſary to preſerve at once the Reſpect due to our Sovereign, and the Dignity which may juſtly be aſſumed by the Repreſentatives of the People of *Great Britain*, a People whoſe Birthright gives them a Claim to approach their Sovereign, not indeed without the utmoſt Reſpect, but with Language, which abſolute Monarchs never hear from the Slaves by whom they are ſurrounded.

' This Reſpect and Dignity appear to me to be very happily united in the Addreſs now propoſed, in which we join with

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with our Profeſſions of Duty, our Offers of Advice, and aſſert our Claim to the Direction of the national Expences by our Promiſe to grant the neceſſary Supplies.

Debate thereon.

'As there cannot therefore in my Opinion, Sir, be any thing added to the Addreſs now offered, and there appears to me no Neceſſity of any Alteration or Omiſſion, I ſecond the Motion.

Lord Noel Somerſet.

Hereupon Lord *Noel Somerſet* ſtood up and ſpoke as follows; Sir,

'Tho' I am far from intending to leſſen, by trifling Objections, the Zeal which the honourable Gentleman who propoſed the Addreſs has ſhewn for promoting the publick Buſineſs, yet, as it is very inconſiſtent with the Duty of a Member of this Houſe to prefer Civility to Truth, and to ſacrifice to Ceremony or Complaiſance the Intereſt of his Country, I think it neceſſary to declare my Opinion, that though the Addreſs propoſed may admit of many Amendments, which I leave to other Gentlemen to make, I think the Addition of one Clauſe abſolutely neceſſary; That his Majeſty may be deſired not to engage this Nation in a War for the Preſervation of his Foreign Dominions; Dominions which, as they are in themſelves independent on the Crown of *Great Britain*, and govern'd by different Laws, and by a different Right, have been ſeperated by an expreſs Clauſe from theſe Kingdoms, in the Act * to which his Majeſty owes his Title to the Throne.

'This Requeſt, Sir, is at this Time particularly expedient when the Continent is in Confuſion, and the Territories of *Hanover* are endangered by the Approach of the *French* Forces. Beſides, as nothing is more fatal than groundleſs Expectations of Aſſiſtance, it may contribute to the Safety of that People, to ſhew them that they are to depend upon their own Strength, to call their Forces together, to fortify their Towns, and guard their Avenues; and that, if they ſit indolent and careleſs, in Confidence that the Power of *Great Britain* will be employ'd in their Defence, they will only give their Enemies an eaſy Conqueſt, and enſlave themſelves and their Poſterity to a Foreign Power: I move therefore that his Majeſty be deſired in our Addreſs, *not to engage theſe Kingdoms in a War for the Preſervation of his Foreign Dominions.*

Lord

* By the Act 12 and 13 Will. III. *For the further Limitation of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*, it was Enacted, 'That in caſe the Crown ſhould come to any Perſon, not 'being a Native of England, this Nation ſhall not be obliged to War for 'Defence of Dominions not belonging to this Crown.'

Lord *Noel Somerſet* was ſeconded by Mr *Shippen* thus:

Sir,

Mr Shippen.

' I know not how ſucceſsfully I may repeat Aſſertions in this Houſe, for which I have formerly been cenſured *, and which few other Members have hitherto maintained; but I riſe with Confidence that I ſhall be at leaſt acknowledged to act conſiſtently with my ſelf in ſeconding the noble Perſon who ſpoke laſt; and I am convinced, that many who differ from me in Opinion, would be glad to boaſt of reſembling my Steadineſs of Conduct.

' But Steadineſs, Sir, is the Effect only of Integrity; he that ſpeaks always what he thinks, and endeavours by diligent Inquiry to think aright before he ventures to declare his Sentiments; he that follows, in his Searches, no Leader but Reaſon, nor expects any Reward from them but the Advantage of diſcovering Truth, and the Pleaſure of communicating it, will not eaſily change his Opinion, becauſe it will ſeldom be eaſy to ſhew that he who has honeſtly enquired after Truth, has failed to attain it.

' For my Part, I am neither aſhamed nor afraid to affirm that thirty Years have made no Change in any of my political Opinions; I am now grown old in this Houſe, but that Experience which is the Conſequence of Age has only confirmed the Principles with which I enter'd it many Years ago; Time has verified the Predictions which I formerly utter'd, and I have ſeen my Conjectures ripen'd into Knowledge.

' I ſhould be therefore without Excuſe if either Terror could affright, or the Hope of Advantage allure me from the Declaration of my Opinions; Opinions which I was not deterred from aſſerting, when the Proſpect of a longer Life than I can now expect, might have added to the Temptations of Ambition, or aggravated the Terrors of Poverty and Diſgrace; Opinions, for which I would willingly have ſuffer'd the ſevereſt Cenſures, even when I had eſpouſed them only in Compliance with Reaſon, without the infallible Certainty of Experience.

' Of Truth it has been always obſerved, Sir, that every Day adds to its Eſtabliſhment, and that Falſhoods, however ſpecious, however ſupported by Power, or eſtabliſhed by Confederacies, are unable to ſtand before the Stroke of Time: Againſt the Inconveniencies and Vexations of long

* See CHANDLER's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Commons, Anno 4. Geo. I. 1717. when Mr Shippen was committed to the Tower, for ſaying, ' That ſome Expreſſions in his Majeſty's Speech ſeem'd rather calculated ' for the Meridian of Germany than of Great Britain.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Life, may be ſet the Pleaſure of diſcovering Truth, perhaps the only Pleaſure that Age affords. Nor is it a ſlight Satisfaction to a Man not utterly infatuated or depraved, to find Opportunities of rectifying his Notions, and regulating his Conduct by new Lights.

'But much greater is the Happineſs of that Man to whom every Day brings a new Proof of the Reaſonableneſs of his former Determinations, and who finds, by the moſt unerring Teſt, that his Life has been ſpent in promoting Doctrines beneficial to Mankind. This, Sir, is the Happineſs which I now enjoy, and for which thoſe who never ſhall attain it, muſt look for an Equivalent in lucrative Employments, honorary Titles, pompous Equipages, and ſplendid Palaces.

'Theſe, Sir, are the Advantages which are to be gained by a ſeaſonable Variation of Principles, and by a ready Compliance with the prevailing Faſhion of Opinions; Advantages which I indeed cannot envy when they are purchaſed at ſo high a Price, but of which Age and Obſervation has too frequently ſhown me the unbounded Influence; and to which I cannot deny that I have always aſcribed the Inſtability of Conduct, and Inconſiſtency of Aſſertions which I have diſcovered in many Men, whoſe Abilities I have no Reaſon to depreciate, and of whom I cannot but believe they would eaſily diſtinguiſh Truth, were not Falſhood recommended to them by the glittering Ornaments of Wealth and Power.

'If there are in this new Parliament any Men devoted to their private Intereſt, and who prefer the Gratification of their Paſſions to the Safety and Happineſs of their Country, who can riot without Remorſe in the Plunder of their Conſtituents, who can forget the Anguiſh of Guilt in the Noiſe of a Feaſt, the Pomp of a Drawing-room, or the Arms of a Strumpet, and think expenſive Wickedneſs and the Gayeties of Folly equivalent to the fair Fame of Fidelity and the Peace of Virtue, to them I ſhall ſpeak to no Purpoſe; for I am far from imagining any Power in my Language to gain thoſe to Truth who have reſigned their Hearts to Avarice or Ambition, or to prevail upon Men to change Opinions, which they have indeed never believed, tho' they are hired to aſſert them. For there is a Degree of Wickedneſs which no Reproof or Argument can reclaim, as there is a Degree of Stupidity which no Inſtruction can enlighten.

'If my Country, Sir, has been ſo unfortunate as once more to commit her Intereſt to thoſe, who propoſe to themſelves no Advantage from their Truſt, but that of ſelling it, I may perhaps, fall once more under Cenſure for declaring

claring my Opinion, and be once more treated as a Criminal for aſſerting what they who puniſh me cannot deny; for maintaining the Inconſiſtency of *Hanoverian* Maxims with the Happineſs of this Nation, and for preſerving the Caution which was ſo ſtrongly inculcated by the Patriots that drew up the Act of Settlement, and gave the preſent Royal Family their Title to the Throne. An. 15 Geo. II. 1741.

'Theſe Men, Sir, whoſe Wiſdom cannot be diſputed, and whoſe Zeal for his Majeſty's Family was equal to their Knowledge, thought it requiſite to provide ſome Security againſt the Prejudices of Birth and Education. They were far from imagining, that they were calling to the Throne a Race of Beings exalted above the Frailties of Humanity, or exempted by any peculiar Privileges from Error or from Ignorance.

'They knew that every Man was habitually, if not naturally, fond of his own Nation, and that he was inclined to enrich it and defend it at the Expence of another, even, perhaps, of that to which he is indebted for much higher Degrees of Greatneſs, Wealth and Power; for every Thing which makes one State of Life preferable to another, (and which therefore, if Reaſon could prevail over Prejudice, and every Action were regulated by ſtrict Juſtice) might claim more Regard than that Corner of the Earth in which he only happened to be born.

'They knew, Sir, that Confidence was not always returned, that we moſt willingly truſt thoſe whom we have longeſt known, and careſs thoſe with moſt Fondneſs, whoſe Inclinations we find by Experience to correſpond with our own, without regard to particular Circumſtances which may entitle others to greater Regard or higher Degrees of Credit or of Kindneſs.

'Againſt theſe Prejudices, which their Sagacity enabled them to foreſee, their Integrity incited them to ſecure us, by Proviſions which every Man then thought equitable and wiſe, becauſe no Man was then hired to eſpouſe a contrary Opinion.

'To obviate the Diſpoſition which a foreign Race of Princes might have to truſt their original Subjects, it was enacted that none of them ſhould be capable of any Place of Truſt or Profit in theſe Kingdoms. And to hinder our Monarchs from tranſferring the Revenues of *Great Britain* to *Hanover*, and enriching it with the Commerce of our Traders, and the Labours of our Huſbandmen; from raiſing Taxes to augment the Splendor of a petty Court, and encreaſing the Garriſons of their Mountains by miſapplying that Money which this Nation ſhould raiſe for its own De-

An. 25. Geo. II. 1751.

fence, it was provided that the King of *Great Britain* ſhould never return to his native Dominions, but reſide * always in this Kingdom, without any other Care than that of gaining the Affections of his *Britiſh* Subjects, preſerving their Rights and encreaſing their Power.

'It was imagined by that Parliament that the Electorate of *Hanover*, a ſubordinate Dignity held by Cuſtom of Homage to a greater Power, ought to be thought below the Regard of the King of *Great Britain*, and that the Sovereign of a Nation like this, ought to remember a lower State only to heighten his Gratitude to the People by whom he was exalted. They were far from imagining that *Great Britain* and *Hanover* would in Time be conſidered as of equal Importance, and that our Sovereign would divide his Years between one Country and the other, and pleaſe himſelf with exhibiting in *Hanover*, the annual Show of the Pomp and Dignity of a King of *Great Britain*.

'This Clauſe, Sir, however, a later Parliament readily repealed; † upon what Motives I am not able to declare, having never heard the Arguments, which prevailed upon their Predeceſſors to enact it, confuted or invalidated; nor have I found that the Event has produced any Juſtification of their Conduct, or that the Nation has received any remarkable Advantage from our Royal Expeditions.

'There is another Clauſe in that important Act which yet the Parliament has not adventured to repeal, by which it is provided, that this Nation ſhall not be engaged in War for the Defence of the *Hanoverian* Dominions; Dominions of which we can have no Intereſt in the Protection or Preſervation, Dominions perhaps of no great Value into whatever Hands Chance and Negligence may throw them, which their Situation has made entirely uſeleſs to naval Power, but which, though they cannot benefit, may injure us by diverting the Attention of our Sovereign, or withholding his Affections.

'Whether this Clauſe, Sir, has not ſometimes been eluded, whether the ſix thouſand *Heſſians* which we once ſupported were of Uſe to any of the *Britiſh* Dominions, and whether a double Number of the ſame Nation now paid

* By the before cited Statute it is enacted, 'That no Perſon, who 'ſhould in Purſuance of that Act come to the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, 'ſhould go out of the Dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, 'without Conſent of Parliament.'

† See Sir John Cope's Motion in the Houſe of Commons for that Purpoſe, ſeconded by Mr Hampden, which paſs'd Nem. Con. Anno 2. Geo. I. 1716. p. 105.

paid with our Money for the Defence of the Queen of *Hungary*, have not been ſtationed only where they might defend *Hanover*, without the leaſt Advantage to our Confederates, whether the Nation has not been condemned to double Expences in the Support of this Alliance, by raiſing for the Queen's Service Troops which were only employed in the Protection of *Hanover*, and then in ſuccouring her with pecuniary Supplies, it is perhaps at preſent unneceſſary, though I hope, not yet too late to enquire. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'It is at preſent unneceſſary, becauſe the Clauſe which is propoſed cannot be denied to be equally proper, whether the Act of Settlement has been hitherto obſerved or violated; for the Violation of it ought to engage us in ſome Meaſures that may ſecure us for the Future from the like Injury, and the Obſervation of it is a manifeſt Proof how much it is approved by all Parties, ſince in ſo many Deviations from this Settlement, and the Inconſtancy of Conduct of which an Example is ſcarcely to be found, this Law has been eſteemed ſacred, the Bulwark of our Rights, and the Boundary which the ſovereign Power hath not dared to exceed.

'As his Majeſty, Sir, has in a very ſolemn Manner, called upon us for our Advice and Aſſiſtance, what can be more proper than to lay before him our Opinion on this important Queſtion? War is next to Slavery one of the greateſt Calamities, and an unneceſſary War therefore the greateſt Error which cannot be too cautiouſly obviated, or too ſpeedily reformed.

'If we conſider, Sir, the preſent State of the Continent, there is nothing more probable than that the Subjects of the Elector of *Hanover* may ſolicit the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Great Britain*, and therefore it is neceſſary to inform them, that their Solicitations will be vain. If we enquire into the Suſpicions of our Fellow-Subjects, we ſhall find them generally diſturb'd with Fears that they ſhall be ſacrificed to the Security of Foreign Dominions, and therefore it is neceſſary to recal their Affection to his Majeſty where it is impaired, and confirm their Confidence where it has been hitherto preſerved, by ſhewing in the moſt publick Manner, how vainly they have been diſquieted, and how groſly they have been miſtaken.

'It is certainly our Duty, Sir, to give ſuch Advice as may moſt truly inform his Majeſty of the Sentiments of his People, and moſt effectually eſtabliſh in the People an Adherence to his Majeſty; as it is certain that no Advice will be ſeconded by greater Numbers than that which I now propoſe, nor can his Majeſty by any Act of Goodneſs ſo much endear his

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

his Government as by a ready Promiſe to this Nation of an Exemption from any War in Defence of *Hanover*.

'I hope, Sir, it will not be objected that by ſuch Requeſt a Suſpicion will be inſinuated of Deſigns detrimental to the *Britiſh* Nation, and repugnant to the Conditions on which his Majeſty aſcended the Throne, becauſe an Objection of equal Force may riſe againſt any Advice whatever that ſhall be offered by Parliament. And it may be always urg'd, that to recommend any Meaſures, is to ſuppoſe that they would not have been ſuggeſted to his Majeſty by his own Wiſdom, and by Conſequence that he is defective either in Knowledge or in Goodneſs, that he either miſtakes or neglects the Intereſt of his People.

'Thus, Sir, may the moſt laudable Conduct be charg'd with Sedition, and the moſt awful Regard be accuſed of Diſreſpect, by forced Conſequences, and exaggerated Language; thus may Parliaments become uſeleſs, leſt they ſhould appear to be wiſer than their Sovereign, and the Sovereign be condemn'd to act only by the Information of ſervile Miniſters, becauſe no publick Advice can ſafely be given him.

'That Kings muſt act upon the Information of others, that they can ſee little, with their own Eyes, through the Miſts which Flattery is continually employ'd in raiſing before them, and that they are therefore moſt happy who have, by the Conſtitution of the Country which they govern, an Opportunity of knowing the Opinions of their People without Diſguiſe, has yet never been denied by any who do not ſeperate the Intereſt of the King from that of the People, and leave Mankind no political Diſtinction but that of Tyrants and Slaves.

'This, Sir, is the Happineſs of the King of *Great Britain* beyond other Monarchs, an Advantage by which he may be always enabled to contemplate the happy and flouriſhing State of his Subjects, and to receive the Bleſſings and Acclamations of Millions that owe to his Care their Wealth and their Security.

'Of this Advantage he cannot be depriv'd but by the Cowardice, or the Treachery of thoſe Men who are delegated by the People, as the Guardians of their Liberties; and ſurely it requires no uncommon Penetration to diſcover, that no Act of Treaſon can be equal in Malignity to that Perfidy, which deprives the King of the Affections of his Subjects, by concealing from him their Sentiments and Petitions. He that makes his Monarch hated muſt undoubtedly make him unhappy, and he that deſtroys his Happineſs might more innocently take away his Life.

'To

' To exempt myſelf therefore from ſuch Guilt, to diſ- An. 15. Geo. II.
charge the Truſt conferred on me by my Country, and to 1741.
perform the Duty which I owe to my King, I ſtand up to ſecond this Motion.

Mr *Gybbon* ſpoke next: Mr Gybbon.

Sir,

' As it is not eaſy to remember all the Parts of an Addreſs by only once hearing it, and hearing it in a Form different from that in which it is to be preſented, I think it neceſſary to a more accurate Conſideration of it, that it ſhould be read diſtinctly to the Houſe. We may otherwiſe waſte our Time in Debates, to which only our own Forgetfulneſs gives Occaſion, we may raiſe Objections without Reaſon, and propoſe Amendments where there is no Defect.'

The Motion for the Addreſs being accordingly read, Mr *Gybbon* went on:

Sir,

' Having now heard the Addreſs, I find by Experience the Propriety of my Propoſal, having remark'd a Clauſe, which, in my Opinion, is neceſſarily to be amended, and which I had not obſerv'd when it was repeated before.

' It is well known, that the Speeches from the Throne, though pronounc'd by the King, are always conſider'd as the Compoſitions of the Miniſtry, upon whom any falſe Aſſertions would be charged, as the Informers and Counſellors of the Crown.

' It is well known likewiſe, that whenever this Houſe returns Thanks to the King for any Meaſures that have been purſued, thoſe Meaſures are ſuppoſed to be approv'd by them, and that Approbation may be pleaded by the Miniſter in his Defence, whenever he ſhall be required to anſwer for the Event of his Councils.

' It is therefore, in my Opinion, extremely unreaſonable to propoſe, that *Thanks ſhould be return'd to his Majeſty for his Royal Care, in proſecuting the War againſt* Spain; for what has been the Conſequence of that Care, for which our Thanks are to be with ſo much Solemnity return'd; but Defeats, Diſgrace, and Loſſes, the Ruin of our Merchants, the Impriſonment of our Sailors, idle Shews of Armaments, and uſeleſs Expences?

' What are the Events which are to be recorded in an impartial Account of this War; a War provoked by ſo long a Train of Inſults and Injuries, and carried on with ſo apparent Inequality of Forces? Have we deſtroy'd the Fleets of our Enemies, fir'd their Towns, and laid their Fortreſſes in Ruins? Have we conquered their Colonies, and plunder-

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An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

ed their Cities, and reduc'd them to a Neceſſity of receding from their unjuſt Claims, and repaying the Plunder of our Merchants? Are their Ambaſſadors now ſoliciting Peace at the Court of *Great Britain*, or applying to the neighbouring Princes to moderate the Reſentment of their victorious Enemies?

'I am afraid that the Effects of our Preparations, however formidable, are very different; they have only raiſed Diſcontent among our Countrymen, and Contempt among our Enemies. We have ſhewn that we are ſtrong indeed, but that our Force is made ineffectual by our Cowardice; that when we threaten moſt loudly, we perform Nothing; that we draw our Swords but to brandiſh them, and only wait an Opportunity to ſheath them in ſuch a Manner, as not plainly to confeſs that we dare not ſtrike.

'If we conſider, therefore, what Effect our Thanks for Conduct like this muſt naturally produce, it will appear that they can only encourage our Enemies, and diſpirit our Fellow-Subjects. It will be imagined that the *Spaniards* are a powerful Nation, which it was the higheſt Degree of Raſhneſs to attack, a Nation by whom it is Honour ſufficient not to be overcome, and from whom we cannot be defended without the moſt vigilant Caution, and the moſt extenſive Knowledge both of Politicks and War.

'It will readily be perceiv'd by the proud *Spaniards*, that it is only neceſſary to proſecute their Views a little longer, to intimidate us with new Demands, and amuſe us with new Preparations; and that we, who are already ſatisfied with our Succeſs, ſhall ſoon be weary of a War from which it is plain that we never expected any Advantage, and therefore ſhall in a ſhort Time willingly receive ſuch Terms as our Conquerors will grant us.

'It is always to be remember'd how much all human Affairs depend upon Opinion, how often Reputation ſupplies the Want of real Power, by making thoſe afraid who cannot be hurt, and by producing Confidence where there is no Superiority. The Opinion which the Parliament ought to endeavour to promote, is a Confidence in their Steadineſs, Honeſty, and Wiſdom, a Confidence which will not be much advanc'd by an Addreſs of Thanks for the Conduct of the War againſt *Spain*.

'How juſtly may it be aſked, when this Addreſs is ſpread over the World, what were the Views with which the Parliament of *Great Britain* petition'd their Sovereign to declare War againſt *Spain*?

'If their Deſign was, as they then aſſerted, to procure Security for the Commerce of the *Weſt Indies*, and Reparation

tion for the Injuries which their Merchants had received, by what Fluctuation of Counſels, by what Prevalence of new Opinions have they now abandon'd it? For that they have no longer the ſame Intentions, that they now no more either propoſe Security, or demand Recompence, is evident, ſince tho' they have obtained neither, yet are they thankful for the Conduct of the War. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'To what can this apparent Inſtability be imputed, but to the Want either of Wiſdom to balance their own Power with that of their Enemies, and diſcern the true Intereſt of their Country; or to a mean Compliance with the Clamours of the People, to whom they durſt not refuſe the Appearance of a War, though they had no Expectation of Honour or Succeſs?

'But in far other Terms, Sir, will the *Spaniards* ſpeak of the Addreſs which is now propoſed. "Behold, ſay our boaſting Enemies, the Spirit and Wiſdom of that Aſſembly, whoſe Counſels hold the Continent in Suſpenſe, and whoſe Determinations change the Fate of Kingdoms, whoſe Vote transfers Sovereignty, covers the Ocean with Fleets, preſcribes the Operation of diſtant Wars, and fixes the Balance of the World: Behold them amuſed with idle Preparations, levying Money for Mockeries of War, and returning Thanks for the Pleaſure of the Show. Behold them looking with wonderful Tranquility on the Loſs of a great Number of their Ships, which have been ſeiz'd upon their own Coaſts by our Privateers, and congratulating themſelves and their Monarch, that any have been preſerv'd. How great would have been the Exultation, and how loud the Applauſes, had they ſucceeded in any of their Deſigns? Had they obſtructed the Departure of our Fleets, or hindred our Deſcent upon the Dominions of the Queen of *Hungary*; had they confin'd our Privateers in our Harbours, defeated any of our Troops, or over-run any of our Colonies? In what Terms would they have expreſſed their Gratitude for Victory, who are thus thankful for Diſappointments and Diſgrace?"

'Such, Sir, muſt be the Remarks of our Enemies upon an Addreſs like that which is now propoſed; Remarks which we and our Allies muſt be condemn'd to hear without attempting a Reply. For what can be urg'd to extenuate the Ridicule of returning Thanks where we ought either to expreſs Reſentment, offer Conſolations and propoſe the Means of better Succeſs, or cover our Grief and Shame with perpetual Silence?

'When it ſhall be told in Foreign Nations, that the Parliament of *Great Britain* had return'd Thanks for the Eſcape of the *Spaniards* from *Ferrol*, their uninterrupted Ex-

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

pedition to *Italy*, the Embarraſſment of their own Trade, the Captivity of their Sailors, and the Deſtruction of their Troops, What can they conclude but that the Parliament of *Great Britain* is a Collection of Madmen, whom Madmen have deputed to tranſact the publick Affairs? And what muſt be the Influence of ſuch a People and ſuch a Parliament, will be eaſily conceived.

'If I have given Way, Sir, in theſe Obſervations, to any wanton Hyperbole, or exaggerated Aſſertions, they will, I hope, be pardon'd by thoſe who ſhall reflect upon the real Abſurdity of the Propoſal which I am endeavouring to ſhew in its true State, and by all who ſhall conſider that to return Thanks for the Management of the War, is to return Thanks for the Rot of *Carthagena*, for the Ruin of our Merchants, for the Loſs of our Reputation, and for the Advancement of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

'I hope no Man will be ſo unjuſt, or can be ſo ignorant, as to inſinuate or believe, that I impute any Part of our Miſcarriages to the Perſonal Conduct of his Majeſty, or that I think his Majeſty's Concern for the Proſperity of his People unworthy of the warmeſt and ſincereſt Gratitude. If the Addreſs was confin'd to the Inſpection of our Sovereign alone, I ſhould be very far from cenſuring or ridiculing it; for his Majeſty has not the Event of War in his Power, nor can confer upon his Miniſters or Generals that Knowledge which they have neglected to acquire, or that Capacity which Nature has denied them. He may perform more than we have a Right to expect, and yet be unſucceſsful; he may deſerve the utmoſt Gratitude, even when, by the Miſconduct of his Servants, the Nation is diſtreſs'd.

'But, Sir, in drawing up an Addreſs we ſhould remember that we are declaring our Sentiments not only to his Majeſty, but to all *Europe*, to our Allies, our Enemies, and our Poſterity; that this Addreſs will be underſtood, like all others; that Thanks offered in this Manner, by Cuſtom, ſignify Approbation; and that therefore we muſt at preſent repreſs our Gratitude, becauſe it can only bring into Contempt our Sovereign and ourſelves.

Sir R. Walpole.

To this Sir *Robert Walpole* reply'd:

Sir,

'I am very far from thinking that the War againſt *Spain* has been ſo unſucceſsful as ſome Gentlemen have repreſented it; that the Loſſes which we have ſuffer'd have been more frequent than we had Reaſon to expect from the Situation of our Enemies, and the Courſe of our Trade; or our Defeats ſuch as the common Chance of War does not often produce, even

even when the Inequality of the contending Powers is incontestable, and the ultimate Event as near to Certainty, as the Nature of human Affairs ever can admit.

'Nor am I convinc'd, Sir, even tho' it should be allowed that no Exaggeration has been made of our Miscarriages, that the Impropriety of an Address of Thanks to his Majesty for his Royal Care in the Management of the War, is gross and flagrant. For if it be allowed that his Majesty may be innocent of all the Misconduct that has produc'd our Defeats; that he may have form'd Schemes wisely, which were unskilfully prosecuted; that even Valour and Knowledge concurring will not always obtain Success; and that therefore some Losses may be suffered, and some Defeats received, tho' not only his Majesty gave the wisest Directions, but his Officers executed them with the utmost Diligence and Fidelity; how will it appear from our ill Success, that our Sovereign does not deserve our Gratitude? And if it shall appear to us that our Thanks are merited, who shall restrain us from offering them in the most publick and solemn Manner?

'For my Part, I think no Consideration worthy of Regard in Competition with Truth and Justice; and therefore shall never forbear any Expression of Duty to my Sovereign, for fear of the Ridicule of our Secret, or the Reproaches of our publick Enemies.

'With regard to the Address under our Consideration, if it be allowed either that we have not been unsuccessful in any opprobrious Degree, or that ill Success does not necessarily imply any Defect in the Conduct of his Majesty, or debar us from the Right of acknowledging his Goodness and his Wisdom; I think, Sir, no Objection can be made to the Form of Expression now proposed, in which all sounding and pompous Language, all declamatory Exaggeration and studied Figures of Speech, all Appearance of Exultation and all the Farce of Rhetorick are carefully avoided, and nothing inserted that may disgust the most delicate, or raise Scruples in the most sincere.

Yet, Sir, that we may not waste our Time upon trivial Disputes, when the Nation expects Relief from our Counsels, that we may not suspend the Prosecution of the War by Complaints of past Defeats, or retard that Assistance and Advice which our Sovereign demands, by inquiring whether it may be more proper to thank or to counsel him, I am willing, for the Sake of Unanimity, that this Clause should be omitted, and hope that no other Part of the Address can afford Room for Objection.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Mr Pulteney.

Mr *Pulteney* ſtood up next.

Sir,

' It is no Wonder that the Right Hon. Gentleman willingly conſents to the Omiſſion of this Clauſe, which could be inſerted for no other Purpoſe, than that he might ſacrifice it to the Reſentment which it muſt naturally produce; and, by an Appearance of Modeſty and Complıance paſs eaſily thro' the firſt Day, and obviate any ſevere Inquiries that might be deſign'd.

' He is too well acquainted with the Opinion of many whom the Nation hath choſen to repreſent them, and with the univerſal Clamours of the People; too accurately informed of the State of our Enemies, and too conſcious how much his ſecret Machinations have hinder'd our Succeſs, to expect or hope that we ſhould meet here to return Thanks for the Management of the War, of a War in which nothing has been attempted by his Direction that was likely to ſucceed, and in which no Advantage has been gained, but by acting without Orders and againſt his Hopes.

' That I do not charge him, Sir, without Reaſon, or invent Accuſations only to obſtruct his Meaſures, or to gratify my own Reſentment; that I do not eagerly catch flying Calumnies, prolong the Date of caſual Reproaches, encourage the Malignity of the Envious, or adopt the Suſpicions of the Melancholy; that I do not impoſe upon myſelf by a warm Imagination, and endeavour to communicate to others Impreſſions which I have only received myſelf from Prejudice, will be proved from a Review of his Conduct ſince the Beginning of our Diſpute with *Spain*, in which it will be found that he has been guilty not only of ſingle Errors, but of deliberate Treachery; that he has always co-operated with our Enemies, and ſacrificed to his private Intereſt the Happineſs and the Honour of the *Britiſh* Nation.

' How long our Merchants were plundered, our Sailors enſlaved, and our Colonies intimidated without Reſentment; how long the *Spaniards* uſurped the Dominion of the Seas, ſearched our Ships at Pleaſure, confiſcated the Cargoes without Controul, and tortur'd our Fellow-Subjects with Impunity, cannot but be remembred. Not only every Gentleman in this Houſe, but every Man in the Nation, however indolent, ignorant, or obſcure, can tell what Barbarities were exerciſed, what Ravages were committed, what Complaints were made, and how they were received. It is univerſally known that this Gentleman, and thoſe whom he has gain'd by Penſions and Employments, treated the Lamentations of ruined Families, and the Outcries of tortur'd *Bri-*

tons

tons as the Clamours of Sedition, as deſign'd to enflame the People, and embarraſs the Government.

'It is known, Sir, that our Loſſes were at one Time ridiculed as below the Conſideration of the Legiſlature; and the Diſtreſs of the moſt uſeful and honeſt Part of Mankind was made the Subject of Merriment and Laughter; the awkward Wit of all the Hirelings of the Town was exerted to divert the Attention of the Publick, and all their Art was employed to introduce other Subjects into Converſation.

'But their Wit was not more ſucceſsful on this than on other Occaſions, their Imaginations were ſoon exhauſted, and they found, as at other Times, that they muſt have recourſe to new Expedients. The firſt Artifice of ſhallow Courtiers is to elude with Promiſes thoſe Complaints which they cannot refute; a Practice that requires no Underſtanding or Knowledge, and therefore has been generally followed in his Adminiſtration. This Artifice they quickly made uſe of when they found that neither the Merchants, nor the Nation, were to be ſilenc'd by an Affectation of Negligence, or the Sallies of Mirth; that it was no longer ſafe to jeſt upon the Miſeries of their Countrymen, the Deſtruction of our Trade, and the Violation of our Rights; they condeſcended therefore to ſome Appearances of Compaſſion, and promiſed to exert all their Influence to procure Redreſs and Security.

'That they might not appear, Sir, to have made this Promiſe only to free themſelves from preſent Importunity, they ſet Negociations on Foot, diſpatched Memorials, Remonſtrances, Propoſitions and Computations; and with an Air of Gravity and Importance, aſſembled at proper Times to peruſe the Intelligence which they received, and to concert new Inſtructions for their Agents.

'While this Farce was acted, Sir, innumerable Artifices were made uſe of to reconcile the Nation to Suſpenſe and Delay. Sometimes the Diſtance of the *Spaniſh* Dominions in the *Weſt Indies* retarded the Deciſion of our Claims, ſometimes the dilatory Diſpoſition of the *Spaniards*, and the eſtabliſhed Methods of their Courts *, made it impoſſible to procure a more ſpeedy Determination. Sometimes Orders were diſpatched to the *Weſt Indies* in favour of our Trade, and ſometimes thoſe Orders were neglected by the Captains of the *Spaniſh* Ships, and the Governors of their Provinces; and when it was inquired why thoſe Captains and Governors were not puniſhed or recalled, we were treated with Contempt,

* See the Debate on the Petitions, relating to the Spaniſh Depredations, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Commons, Anno 6, Geo. II. 1732, p. 274, &c.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

tempt, for not knowing what had been ſo lately told us of the dilatory Proceedings of the *Spaniſh* Courts.

'In the mean Time our Mercnants were plundered, and our Sailors thrown into Dungeons, our Flag was inſulted, and our Navigation reſtrained, by Men acting under the Commiſſion of the King of *Spain*; we perceived no Effect of our Negociations but the Expence, and our Enemies not only inſiſted on their former Claims, but proſecuted them with the utmoſt Rigour, Inſolence and Cruelty.

'It muſt indeed, Sir, be urged in Favour of our Miniſter, that he did not refuſe any Act of Submiſſion, or omit any Method of Supplication by which he might hope to ſoften the *Spaniards*; he ſollicited their Favour at their own Court, he ſent Commiſſaries into their Country, he aſſiſted them in taking Poſſeſſion of Dominions, to which neither we nor they have proved a Right; and he employed the Natives of *Britain* to tranſport into *Italy* the Prince on whom the new erected Kingdom was to be conferred.

'Well might he expect that the *Spaniards* would be ſoftened by ſo much Kindneſs and Forbearance, and that Gratitude would at length induce them to ſpare thoſe, whom no Injuries or Contempt had been able to alienate from them; and to allow thoſe a free Courſe through the Seas of the *Weſt Indies*, to whom they had been indebted for an uninterrupted Paſſage to the Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom.

'He might likewiſe urge, Sir, that when he was obliged to make War upon them, he was ſo tender of their Intereſt, that the *Britiſh* Admiral † was ſent out with Orders rather to deſtroy his own Fleet than the Galleons, which, in Appearance, he was ſent to take, and to periſh by the Inclemency of the Climate, rather than enter the *Spaniſh* Ports, terrify their Colonies, or plunder their Towns.

'But to little Purpoſe, Sir, did our Miniſter implore the Compaſſion of the *Spaniſh* Court, and repreſent the Services we had done for them; for his Compliance was by the *Spaniards* attributed not to Kindneſs but to Fear, and it was therefore determined to reduce him to abſolute Slavery, by the ſame Practices which had already ſunk him to ſo abject a State.

'They therefore treated our Remonſtrances with Contempt, continued their Inſolence and their Oppreſſions; and while our Agent was cringing at their Court with freſh Inſtructions in his Hand. while he was hurrying with buſy Looks from one Grandee to another, and perhaps diſmiſſed without an Audience one Day, and ſent back in the midſt of his Harangue on another, the *Spaniſh* Guard da Coſta's con-

† Admiral Hoſier.

continued their Havock, our Merchants were ruined, and our Sailors tortured. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'At length, Sir, the Nation was too much inflamed to be any longer amuſed with idle Negotiations, or trifling Expedients; the Streets echoed with the Clamours of the Populace, and this Houſe was crowded with Petitions from the Merchants. The honourable Perſon with all his Art found himſelf unable any longer to elude a Determination of this Affair. Thoſe whom he had hitherto perſuaded that he had failed merely for want of Abilities, began now to ſuſpect that he had no Deſire of better Succeſs; and thoſe who had hitherto chearfully merited their Penſions by an unſhaken Adherence to all his Meaſures, who had extolled his Wiſdom, and his Integrity, with all the Confidence of Security, began now to be ſhaken by the Univerſality of the Cenſure brought upon them. They were afraid any longer to aſſert what they neither believed themſelves, nor could perſuade others to admit. The moſt Indolent were alarmed, the moſt Obſtinate convinced, and the moſt Profligate aſhamed.

'What now could be done, Sir, to gain a few Months, to ſecure a ſhort Interval of Quiet in which his Agents might be employed to diſſeminate ſome new Falſhood, bribe to his Party ſome new Advocates, or lull the People with the Opiate of another Expedient, with an Account of Conceſſions from the Court of *Spain*, or a Congreſs to compute the Loſſes, and adjuſt the Claims of our Merchants?

'Something was neceſſarily to be attempted, and Orders were therefore diſpatched by our Miniſter to his Agent at the Court of *Spain*, to procure ſome Stipulations that might have, at leaſt, the Appearance of a Step towards putting an End to the Diſputes between the two Nations. His Agent obey'd him with his uſual Alacrity and Addreſs, and in Time ſent him, for the Satisfaction of the People of *Great Britain*, the celebrated Convention *.

'That Convention, Sir, has been ſo lately diſcuſſed, is ſo particularly remembered, and ſo univerſally condemned, that it would be an unjuſtifiable Waſte of Time to expatiate upon it. There were but few in the laſt Parliament, and I hope there are none in this, who did not ſee the Meanneſs of ſuffering inconteſtable Claims to be diſputed by Commiſſaries, the Injuſtice of the Demand which was made on the *South-Sea* Company, and the contemptuous Inſolence of amuſing us with the Shadow of a Stipulation, which was to vaniſh into nothing, unleſs we purchaſed a Ratification of it, by paying what we did not owe.

'That

* See the Debate on the Convention, with the Names of the Members who voted Pro and Con, Anno 12. Geo. II. 1739.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'That Convention therefore, Sir, was so far from pacifying, that it only exasperated the Nation, and took from our Minister the Power of acting any longer openly in Favour of the *Spaniards*; of whom it must be confessed, that their Wisdom was over-power'd by their Pride; and that, for the Sake of shewing all the Powers of *Europe* the Dependance in which they held the Court of *Great Britain*, they took from their Friends the Power of serving them any longer.

'The *Spaniards* did not sufficiently distinguish between the Nation and the Ministry of *Great Britain*; nor suspected that their Interests, Inclinations, and Opinions were directly opposite, and that those who were caressed, feared, and reverenced by the Ministry, were by the People hated, despised, and ridiculed.

'By enslaving our Ministry, they weakly imagined that they had conquer'd our Nation; nor, perhaps, Sir, would they quickly have discover'd their Mistake, had they used their Victory with greater Moderation, condescended to govern their new Province with less Vigour, and sent us Laws in any other Form than that of the Convention.

'This last Proof of their Contempt of our Sovereign and our Nation, was too flagrant to be palliated, and too publick not to be resented. The Cries of the Nation were redoubled, the Solicitations of the Merchants renewed, the Absurdity of our past Conduct exposed, the Meanness of our Forbearance reproach'd, and the Necessity of more vigorous Measures evidently proved.

'The Friends of *Spain* discovered, Sir, at length, that War was necessarily to be proclaimed, and that it would be no longer their Interest to act in open Opposition to Justice and Reason, to the Policy of all Ages, and Remonstrances of the whole Nation.

'The Minister therefore, after long Delays, after having run round the Circle of all his Artifices, and endeavouring to intimidate the Nation by false Representations of the Power of our Enemies, and the Danger of an Invasion from them, at length suffered War to be proclaimed, tho' not 'till he had taken all Precautions that might disappoint us of Success.

'He knew that the State of the *Spanish* Dominions exposed them, in a particular Manner, to sudden Incursions by small Parties; and that in former Wars against them, our chief Advantages had been gained by the Boldness and Subtilty of private Adventurers, who by hovering over their Coasts in small Vessels, without raising the Alarms which the Sight of a Royal Navy necessarily produces, had discovered

vered Opportunities of landing unexpectedly, and entering their Towns by Surprize, of plundering their wealthy Ships, or enriching themſelves by Ranſoms and Compoſitions: He knew that inconſiderable Bodies of Men, incited by private Advantage, ſelected with Care for particular Expeditions, inſtructed by ſecret Intelligence, and conceal'd by the Smallneſs of their Numbers, had found Means to march up into the Country thro' Ways which would never have been attempted by regular Forces, and have brought upon the *Spaniards* more Terror and Diſtreſs than could have been produced by a powerful Army, however carefully diſciplined, or ſkilfully commanded. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'It was therefore, Sir, his firſt Care to ſecure his darling *Spaniards* from the pernicious Deſigns of private Adventurers; he knew not but ſome of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Heroes might unfortunately revive, and terrify with an unexpected Invaſion the remoteſt Corners of the *Spaniſh* Colonies, or appear before their Ports, and bid Defiance to their Navies and their Garriſons. When therefore a Bill * was brought into this Houſe, by which Encouragement was given to the Subjects of this Kingdom to fit out Privateers, and by which thoſe who ſhould conquer any of the Colonies of the *Spaniards*, were confirmed in the Poſſeſſion of them for ever, it cannot be forgotten with what Zeal he oppoſed, and with what Steadineſs he rejected it, tho' it is not poſſible to aſſign any Diſadvantage which could have been produced by paſſing it, and the utmoſt that could be urged againſt it was, that it was unneceſſary and uſeleſs.

'Having thus diſcouraged that Method of War which was moſt to be dreaded by our Enemies, and left them little to fear but from National Forces and publick Preparations, his next Care was to ſecure them from any deſtructive Blow, by giving them Time to equip their Fleets, collect their Forces, repair their Fortifications, garriſon their Towns, and regulate their Trade; for this Purpoſe he delay'd, as long as it was poſſible, the Diſpatch of our Navies, embarraſſed our Levies of Sailors by the Violence of Impreſſes; Violence which proper Encouragement and Regulations might have made unneceſſary; and ſuffered the Privateers of the Enemy, to plunder our Merchants without Controul, under Pretence that Ships of War could not be ſtationed, nor Convoys provided for their Protection.

'At length ſeveral Fleets were fitted out, *Vernon* was ſent to the *Weſt Indies*, and *Haddock* into the *Mediterranean*;

* A Bill *for the more effectual ſecuring the Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects in America*, brought in by Mr Pulteney. See the Debate thereon in CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Anno 11 Geo. 1738, p. 287.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

the Conſequences are ſo well known, that I ſhould not mention them at this Time, had I not been called upon to it by a Propoſal of Thanks for the Conduct of the War.

'The Behaviour of the two Admirals was very different; tho' it has not yet appeared but that their Orders were the ſame. *Vernon* with ſix Ships deſtroy'd thoſe Fortifications, before which *Hoſier*'s formerly periſh'd in Obedience to the Commands of our Miniſtry. How this Succeſs was received by the Miniſter and his Adherents, how much they were offended at the Exultations of the Populace, how evidently they appeared to conſider it as a Breach of their pacifick Scheme, the whole Nation will teſtify.

'Nor is it to be forgotten, Sir, how invidiouſly the Miniſter himſelf endeavour'd to extenuate the Honour of that Action, by attempting in the Addreſs which was on that Occaſion preſented to his Majeſty, to ſuppreſs mentioning the Number of Ships with which that gallant Admiral atchiev'd it.

'In the mean Time, Sir, the Nation expected Accounts of the ſame Kind from the *Mediterranean*, where *Haddock* was ſtationed with a very conſiderable Force; but inſtead of Relations of Ports bombarded, and of Navies deſtroyed, we were daily informed of the Loſſes of our Merchants whoſe Ships were taken almoſt within Sight of his Squadrons.

'We had indeed once the Satisfaction of hearing that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was confined in the Port of *Cadiz*, deſtitute of Proviſions; and it was even reported that they would either be deſtroy'd in that Harbour, or ſhut up, till the Want of Neceſſaries ſhould oblige them to diſband their Crews.

'We therefore, Sir, bore with Patience the daily Havock of our Trade in Expectation of the entire Deſtruction of the Royal Navy of *Spain*, which would have compell'd them to implore a Peace. But while we were flattering ourſelves with thoſe pleaſing Dreams, we were wakened with an aſtoniſhing Account that the *Spaniards* had left *Cadiz*, and without any Interruption from the *Britiſh* Fleet, were taking in Proviſions at *Ferrol*.

'Even this Diſappointment did not deprive us of Hope, we know that the moſt politic are ſometimes deceived, and the moſt vigilant may be ſurpriz'd; we did not expect in our Commanders any Exemption from human Frailties, and required only that they ſhould endeavour to correct their Miſtakes; and therefore waited with Patience, in Expectation that what was neglected at *Cadiz* would be effected at *Ferrol*.

'But

' But no ſooner, Sir, had the *Spaniards* ſtored their Fleet, than we were ſurpriſed with a Revolution of Affairs yet more wonderful. *Haddock* inſtead of remaining before *Ferrol*, was drawn off by ſome chimerical Alarm to protect *Minorca*, and the *Spaniards* in the mean Time ſailed away to the *Weſt Indies* in Conjunction with the *French* Squadron that had been for ſome Time ready for the Voyage. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

' If we conſider the Abſurdity of this Conduct, it cannot but be imagined that our Miniſter muſt ſend *Haddock* falſe Intelligence or treacherous Directions, on Purpoſe that the *Spaniſh* Fleet might eſcape without Interruption. For how can it be conceived that the *Spaniards* could have formed any real Deſign of beſieging *Port Mahon?* Was it probable that they would have ſent an Army in defenceleſs Tranſports, into the Jaws of the *Britiſh* Fleet? and it was well known that they had no Ships of War to protect them. It was not conſiſtent even with common Policy to land an Army upon an Iſland, an Iſland wholly deſtitute of Proviſions for their Support, while an hoſtile Navy was in Poſſeſſion of the Sea, and capable of ſupplying their Troops with Neceſſaries, and their Garriſon with new Forces, while the *Spaniſh* Army would be itſelf ſhut up in a barren Iſland, without Proviſions, without Recruits, without Hope of Succour, or Poſſibility of Succeſs.

' But ſuch was the Solicitude of our Admiral for the Preſervation of *Minorca*, that he abandoned his Station, and ſuffered the *Spaniards* to join their *French* Confederates, and proſecute their Voyage to the *Weſt-Indies* unmoleſted.

' In the *Weſt-Indies* they remained for ſome time Maſters of the Sea, and confined *Vernon* to the Ports; but happily for us, Want of Proviſions obliging the *French* to return, no Invaſion of our Colonies was attempted which we had Reaſon to have apprehended.

' The *Spaniards* however gained by this Expedient Time to repair their Fortifications, ſtrengthen their Garriſons, and diſpoſe their Forces in the moſt advantageous Manner; and therefore, tho' they were not enabled to attack our Colonies, had at leaſt an Opportunity of ſecuring their own.

' At length, Sir, leſt all the World ſhould be convinced that our Miniſter was in Confederacy with the *Spaniards*, it was determined, that their Territories in the *Weſt Indies* ſhould be invaded, but Care was taken to diſappoint the Succeſs of the Expedition by employing raw Troops, and unexperienc'd Officers. That by increaſing the Number of Officers on the Eſtabliſhment, he might render the War

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

more burthenſome to the People, and encreaſe the Influence and multiply the Dependants in the Miniſtry.

'But not content with favouring the Deſigns of the *Spaniards*, by the Delay which the Levy of new Troops neceſſarily produced, and encouraging them by the Probability of an eaſy Reſiſtance againſt raw Forces; the Nation was not, in the Opinion of the Miniſter, puniſhed ſufficiently for its Rebellion againſt him, by being condemned to ſupport a double Number of Troops. Some other Methods were to be uſed for protracting the War.

'The Troops, therefore, Sir, being by the Accident of a hard Winter more ſpeedily raiſed than it was reaſonable to expect, were detained in this Iſland for ſeveral Months, upon trivial Pretences; and were at length ſuffered to embark at a Time when it was well known that they would have much more formidable Enemies than the *Spaniards* to encounter; when the unhealthy Seaſon of the *Weſt Indian* Climate, muſt neceſſarily deſtroy them by Thouſands.

'Theſe were the Hardſhips to which Part of our Fellow-Subjects have been expoſed by the Tyranny of the Miniſter; Hardſhips which Caution could not obviate, nor Bravery ſurmount; they were ſent to combat with Nature, and to make War againſt the Elements.

'In the Paſſage the General * died, and the Command devolved upon a Man who had never ſeen an Enemy, and was therefore only a ſpeculative Warriour; an Accident, which as it was not unlikely to happen, would have been provided againſt by any Miniſter who wiſhed for Succeſs. The melancholy Event of this Expedition, I need not mention, it was ſuch as might be reaſonably expected; when our Troops were ſent out without Diſcipline, without Commanders, into a Country where even the Dews are fatal, againſt Enemies informed of their Approach, ſecured by Fortifications, inured to the Climate, and well diſciplin'd.

'In the mean Time, Sir, it is not to be forgotten what Depredations were made upon our trading Veſſels, with what Inſolence Ships of very little Force approached our Coaſts, and ſeized our Merchants in Sight of our Fortifications; it is not ſo be forgotten that the Conduct of ſome of theſe who owed their Revenues and Power to the Miniſter, gave yet ſtronger Proofs of a Combination.

'It is not to be forgotten with what Effrontery the Loſſes of our Merchants were ridiculed, with what contemptuous Triumph of Revenge they were charged with the Guilt of this fatal War, and how publickly they were condemned to ſuffer for their Folly.

'For

* Lord Cathcart.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, they were either denied the Security of Convoys, or forſaken in the moſt dangerous Parts of the Sea, by thoſe to whoſe Protection they were, in Appearance committed. For this Reaſon, they were either hindered from engaging in their Voyage by the Loſs of thoſe Men who were detained unactive in the Ships of War, or deprived of their Crews upon the high Seas, or ſuffered to proceed only to become a Prey to the *Spaniards*.

'But it was not, Sir, a ſufficient Gratification of our implacable Miniſter, that the Merchants were diſtreſſed for alarming the Nation, it was thought likewiſe neceſſary to puniſh the People for believing too eaſily the Reports of the Merchants, and to warn them for ever againſt daring to imagine themſelves able to diſcern their own Intereſt, or to preſcribe other Meaſures to the Miniſters, than they ſhould be themſelves inclin'd to purſue; our Miniſter was reſolv'd to ſhow them, by a Maſter-ſtroke, that it was in his Power to diſappoint their Deſires by ſeeming to comply, and to deſtroy their Commerce and their Happineſs by the very Means, by which they hoped to ſecure them.

'For this Purpoſe, Sir, did this great Man ſummon all his Politicks together, and call to Council all his Confidents and all his Dependents, and it was at length determined by their united Wiſdom, to put more Ships into Commiſſion, to aggravate the Terrors of the Impreſs by new Severity, to draw the Sailors by the Promiſe of large Rewards from the Service of the Merchants, to collect a mighty Fleet, and to diſpatch it on a *ſecret Expedition*.

'A ſecret Expedition, Sir, is a new Term of Miniſterial Art, a Term which may have been, perhaps, formerly made Uſe of by Soldiers for a Deſign to be executed without giving the Enemy an Opportunity of providing for their Defence, but is now uſed for a Deſign with which the Enemy is better acquainted, than thoſe to whom the Execution of it is committed. A ſecret Expedition is now an Expedition of which every one knows the Deſign, but thoſe at whoſe Expence it is undertaken. It is a Kind of naval Review, which excels thoſe of the Park in Magnificence and Expence, but is equally uſeleſs and ridiculous.

'Upon theſe ſecret Expeditions, however, were fixed for a long Time the Expectations of the People; they ſaw all the Appearances of Preparation for a real War, they were informed that the Workmen in the Docks were retained by uncommon Wages to do double Duty; they ſaw the moſt ſpecious Encouragements offered to the Sailors; they ſaw Naval Stores accumulated with the utmoſt Induſtry; heard of

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of nothing but the Proof of new Cannon, and new Contracts for Proviſions, and how much Reaſon ſoever they had to queſtion the Sincerity of the great Man who had ſo long engroſſed the Management of all Affairs, they did not imagine he was yet ſo abandon'd to levy Forces only to exhauſt their Money, and equip Fleets only to expoſe them to Ridicule.

'When therefore, Sir, after the uſual Delays, the News-Papers had informed the People that the great Fleet was ſailed, they no longer doubted that the *Spaniards* were to be reduced to our own Terms; they expected to be told, in a few Days, of the Deſtruction of Fleets, the Demolition of Caſtles, and every one envy'd the Fortune of thoſe, who, by being employed in their formidable Fleet, were entitled to the Treaſures of ſuch wealthy Enemies.

'When they had for ſome Time indulged theſe Expectations, an Account was brought that the Fleet was return'd without the leaſt Action, or the leaſt Attempt, and that new Proviſions were to be taken in, that they might ſet out upon another ſecret Expedition.

'But, Sir, this Wonder-working Term had now loſt its Efficacy, and it was diſcovered that ſecret Expeditions, like all other ſecret Services, were only Expedients to drain the Money of the People, and to conceal the Ignorance, or worſe Qualities of the Miniſter.

'Such has been the Conduct for which we are deſired to return Thanks in an humble and dutiful Addreſs; ſuch are the Tranſactions which we are to recommend to the Approbation of our Conſtituents, and ſuch the Triumphs upon which we muſt congratulate our Sovereign.

'For my Part, Sir, I cannot but think that Silence is too gentle a Cenſure for that Wickedneſs which no Language has yet provided a Name for. Murder, Parricide, and Treaſon are modeſt Appellations, when compared with that Conduct by which a King is betrayed, and a Nation ruined, under Pretence of promoting its Intereſt, by a Man truſted with the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs.

'Let us therefore, Sir, if it be thought improper to lay before his Majeſty the Sentiments of his People in their full Extent, at leaſt not endeavour to conceal them from him; let us at leaſt addreſs him in ſuch a Manner, as may give him ſome Occaſion to enquire into the late Tranſactions, which have for many Years been ſuch, that to even but know them is to condemn them.'

Sir R. Walpole.

'Hereupon Sir *Robert Walpole* ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

' Tho' I am far from being either confounded or intimidated by this heavy Charge, tho' I am confident that all the Meaſures ſo clamorouſly cenſured, will admit of a very eaſy Vindication, and that whenever they are explained they will be approved; yet as an Accuſation ſo complicated cannot be refuted, without a long Recapitulation of paſt Events, and a Deduction of many particular Circumſtances, ſome of which may require Evidence, and ſome a very minute Explication, I cannot think this a proper Day for engaging in a Controverſy, which it is my Intereſt ſhould be thoroughly diſcuſſed.

' At preſent, Sir, I ſhall content myſelf with bare Aſſertions like thoſe by which I am accuſed, and hope they will not be heard with leſs Attention, or received with leſs Credit. For ſurely it was never denied to any Man to defend himſelf with the ſame Weapons with which he is attacked. I ſhall therefore, Sir, make no Scruple to aſſert, that the Treaſure of the Publick has been employed with the utmoſt Frugality, to promote the Purpoſes for which it was granted; that our Foreign Affairs have been tranſacted with the utmoſt Fidelity, in Purſuance of long Conſultations, and ſhall venture to add that our Succeſs has not been ſuch as ought to produce any Suſpicion of Negligence or Treachery.

' That our Deſign againſt *Carthagena* was defeated, cannot be denied, but what War has been one continued Series of Succeſs? In the late War with *France*, of which the Conduct has been ſo laviſhly celebrated, did no Deſigns miſcarry? If we conquer'd at *Ramelies*, were we not in our Turn beaten at *Almanza*? If we deſtroyed the *French* Ships, was it not always with ſome Loſs of our own? And ſince the Sufferings of our Merchants have been mentioned with ſo much Acrimony, do not the Liſts of Ships taken in that War, prove that the Depredations of Privateers cannot be entirely prevented?

' The Diſappointment, Sir, of the publick Expectation by the Return of the Fleets, has been charged upon the Adminiſtration, as a Crime too enormous to be mentioned without Horror and Deteſtation. That the Miniſtry have not the Elements in their Power, that they do not preſcribe the Courſe of the Wind, is a ſufficient Proof of their Negligence and Weakneſs; with as much Juſtice is it charged upon them, that the Expectations of the Populace, which they did not raiſe, and to which perhaps the Conqueſt of a Kingdom had not been equal, failed of being gratified.

' I am very far from hoping or deſiring that the Houſe ſhould be ſatisfied with a Defence like this; I know, by obſerving

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ſerving the Practice of the Opponents of the Miniſtry, what Fallacies may be concealed in general Aſſertions, and am ſo far from wiſhing to evade a more ſtrict Inquiry, that if the Gentleman who has thus publickly and confidently accuſed the Miniſtry, will name a Day for inquiring into the State of the Nation, I will ſecond his Motion.'

An Addreſs agreed on.

The Clauſe for returning Thanks to his Majeſty for the Conduct of the War againſt *Spain*, being given up without a Diviſion, a Committee was appointed to draw up an Addreſs of Thanks.

A Day appointed to conſider the State of the Nation.

Then Mr *Pulteney* ſtood up, and mov'd for appointing a Day for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider of the State of the Nation, and Sir *Robert Walpole* (according as he had declared he would) immediately ſeconded that Motion; whereupon it was agreed, *Nem. Con.* that the 21ſt Day of *January* be appointed for that Purpoſe.

On the 9th Mr Speaker acquainted the Houſe, that in Obedience to the Commands of the Houſe the laſt Seſſion, he had tranſmitted to Vice-Admiral *Vernon* their Thanks for his Services to his King and Country in the *Weſt-Indies*, and that he had received from the ſaid Admiral an Anſwer as follows:

SIR,

Admiral Vernon's Anſwer to the Thanks of the Houſe for his Services in the Weſt Indies.

THE ſingular Honour done me in being thought deſerving of the unanimous Thanks of the Houſe of Commons for my Endeavours to diſcharge my Duty to his Majeſty in theſe Seas, is what I cannot find Words ſufficiently to expreſs my grateful Senſe of; but I ſhall ever retain a juſt Acknowledgment of the great Honour done me by the Houſe, in their Approbation of my Services to his Majeſty and my Country, and thinking them deſerving of their Notice in this publick Manner.

As the publick Approbation of ſo auguſt an Aſſembly is the higheſt Honour a Subject can receive, I muſt beg the Favour of you, Sir, to aſſure the Houſe, that a grateful Senſe of it will never be effaced out of my Memory; and that I ſhall endeavour, in all my future Conduct, by a continual Diligence, and faithful Diſcharge of my Duty to his Majeſty in the Execution of his Orders for the Honour of the Crown, and Service of my Country, to ſtudy to preſerve the Continuance of their Eſteem. I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant,

E. VERNON.

Then

Then Mr *Henry Arthur Herbert* reported from the Committee their Addreſs to his Majeſty, which was read and agreed to by the Houſe, *Nem. Con.* and is as follows:

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

The Commons Addreſs of Thanks for the King's Speech.

'WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty, upon your ſafe and happy Return to theſe your Kingdoms, and to return our ſincere Thanks for your moſt gracious Speech from the Throne; and at the ſame Time, with Hearts full of Duty and Gratitude, cannot but acknowledge your Majeſty's Regard and Attention to the Honour and Intereſt of this Nation.

'The great and impending Dangers that threaten *Europe*, under the preſent critical and perplex'd Situation of Affairs, have been repreſented by your Majeſty to your Parliament, for their Advice and Aſſiſtance, with ſuch paternal Concern, and ſuch Affection to your People, ſuch Confidence in your faithful Commons, and ſuch Anxiety for the general Good of *Europe*, as cannot fail to excite in us a due Senſe of your Majeſty's Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion; and therefore we aſſure your Majeſty, in the ſtrongeſt Manner, that this Houſe will, as often as theſe momentous Affairs ſhall come under our Conſideration, give your Majeſty ſuch Advice, as becomes dutiful and faithful Subjects, and ſuch Aſſiſtance and Support, as ſhall be moſt conducive to the Honour and true Intereſt of your Crown and Kingdoms.

'And in order to anſwer theſe neceſſary Purpoſes, we will grant ſuch effectual Supplies, as ſhall enable your Majeſty, not only to be in Readineſs to ſupport your Friends and Allies, at ſuch Times, and in ſuch Manner, as the Exigency and Circumſtances of Affairs ſhall require, but to oppoſe and defeat any Attempts that ſhall be made againſt your Majeſty, your Crown and Kingdoms, or againſt thoſe, who, being equally engaged with your Majeſty by the Faith of Treaties, or united by common Intereſt and common Danger, ſhall be willing to concert ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall be found neceſſary and expedient for maintaining the Balance of *Europe*.'

Petition from the Electors for Weſtminſter

A Petition of ſeveral Burgeſſes and Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter* *, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the ſaid City and Liberty, was ordered to be heard at the Bar.

* See the Account of that Election, p. 14.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Petition for Boſſiney.

Then a Petition of *John Robins*, Mayor of *Boſſiney* *, *&c.* in *Cornwall*, [*See p.* 3.] was read, complaining of an undue Return for the ſaid Borough, in Purſuance whereof ſeveral Perſons were ordered to attend the Houſe.

On the 10th the Houſe waited on the King with their Addreſs, to which his Majeſty return'd the following Anſwer:

Gentlemen,

The King's Anſwer to the Addreſs.

"I Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Addreſs; and for the Aſſurances you have given me at "this critical and important Conjuncture.

"I ſhall always have the greateſt Regard to the Advice of "my Parliament; and I make no doubt but you will act "therein in ſuch Manner, as ſhall be moſt conducive to the "Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms, and "give me your Support and Aſſiſtance in carrying on ſuch "Meaſures, as ſhall be judged to be neceſſary and expe-"dient."

Petition for Anſtruther, &c.

Dec. 11. A Petition of Major Gen. *Anſtruther*, and of the Magiſtrates and Town Council of *Anſtruther-Weſter*, *Anſtruther-Eaſter*, and of *Kilrenny*, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Burghs of *Anſtruther-Weſter*, *&c.* was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the ſecond of *Feb.*

For the Shire of Berwick.

A Petition of the Hon. *Alexander Hume-Campbell*, Eſq; and alſo of Sir *John Sinclair*, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and double Return for the Shire of *Berwick*, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 19th of *Jan.*

For Hedon.

A Petition of *Algernoon* Earl of *Montrath*, and *George Berkeley*, Eſq. complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Hedon*, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 16th of *Feb.*

For Chippenham.

A Petition of *Alexander Hume* and *John Frederick*, Eſqrs. complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Chippenham* [*See p.* 4.] was ordered to be heard at the Bar the 26th of *Jan.*

And Carliſle.

As alſo a Petition of *John Hylton*, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Carliſle*, [*See p.* 4.] to be heard at the Bar the 26th of *Jan.*

The

* Boſſiney is a ſmall Village, which, with another little Hamlet called Trevena, lie in the Pariſh of Tintagil, and, together, make one Borough. It was impriviledged by Richard Earl of Cornwall, Brother to King Henry III. who granted, 'Quod Burgus noſter de Tyntajoll ſit liber Burgus.' The firſt Return of Members to be met with is in the Time of King Edward VI. Here are two Leets annually; the firſt Monday after Euſter Sejſions, and the other in October. Number of Electors about 23, who are limited to the Freeholders within the Borough, admitted by the Grand Jury at one of the Leets.

The Clerk of the Crown attending with the Return for *Boſſiney*, after an Examination of divers Witneſſes, the Indenture of Return, whereby *John Sabine* and *Chriſtopher Tower*, Eſqrs. are return'd Burgeſſes to ſerve for the ſaid Borough, ſign'd by *John Robins*, and ſubſcribed with the Names of Thirteen other Perſons, as free Burgeſſes of the ſaid Borough, was read: Then Mr *Foſter*, one of the ſitting Members, being preſent, withdrew, and it was reſolved, by 222 Voices againſt 216, that the Clerk of the Crown do take off the File the Indenture of Return, ſigned by *Paske Hoskin*, the ſame not being ſigned by the proper returning Officer; and that he do annex to the Writ the Indenture of Return, ſigned by *John Robins*, he being the proper returning Officer of the ſaid Borough. It was, nevertheleſs, order'd that *Thomas Foſter* and *Richard Liddel*, Eſqrs. be at Liberty to petition the Houſe touching the Election for the ſaid Borough, within Fourteen Days.

Proceedings on the Election for Boſſiney.

A Petition of the ſeveral Freeholders of the County of *Denbigh*, and alſo of Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne*, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the ſaid County, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 4th of *Feb.* on a Diviſion, 202 Voices againſt 193.

Petition for Denbighſhire.

A Petition of *Hugh Barlow* *, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Haverford Weſt* [*See p.* 6.].

For Haverford-Weſt.

Alſo of *Charles Cotes*, Eſq; for *Tamworth* †, were ſeverally referred to the Committee of Elections.

For Tamworth.

A Petition of *John M'Kye*, and of the Hon. *James Carmichael*, Eſq; ſeverally complaining of an undue Election and double Return for the Boroughs of *Peebles*, *&c.* were ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 25th of *Jan.*

For Peebles, &c.

A Petition of *James Fall* Merchant, and of Sir *Hew Dalrymple*, Bar. and alſo of the Magiſtrates and Town Council of *Haddington*, *North-Berwick*, and *Lauder*, complaining of an undue Election and double Return for the Boroughs of *Dunbar*, *North-Berwick*, *&c.* was referred to the Committee of Elections.

For Haddington, &c.

A Petition of *William Sclater*, Eſq; one of the preſiding capital Bailiffs of *Milborne Port*, [*See p.* 8.] alſo of *Michael*

And for Milborne Port, &c.

* On the 4th of July, 1715, it was reſolved that the Proceeding of the Mayor and Common-Council of the Town of Haverford-Weſt, in making Burgeſſes, without the Conſent of the Commonalty, was illegal, and contrary to the Rights of the ſaid Town; and that the Burgeſſes ſo made, have not thereby acquired any Right of voting in any future Election.

† On the 19th of March 1698, the Right of Election was declared to be in the Inhabitants paying Scot and Lot, and in ſuch Freemen of the Borough, reſiding within the Limits of the ſame.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Harvey and *William Thompſon*, Eſqrs. complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Milborne Port* *, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 23d of *Jan.*

Petition for the Shire of Kinroſs.

Dec. 15. A Petition of *Alexander Bruce*, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Shire of *Kinroſs*:

For Colcheſter.

Alſo of *Charles Gray* and *Samuel Savill*, Eſqrs. for *Colcheſter* †, [*See p.* 4.]

For Newcaſtle upon Tyne.

Likewiſe of *William Carr* and *Matthew Ridley*, Eſqrs. for *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, [*See p.* 8.] were ſeverally referred to the Committee of Elections.

For Pembroke.

A Petition of *Thomas Philips*, Gent. late Mayor, and ſeveral other Burgeſſes of *Wiſton* ‡ in the County of *Pembroke*, and alſo of *Rawleigh Manſel*, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *Pembroke*, were ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 6th of *Feb.*

For Dornock, &c.

A Petition of Sir *Robert Monro*, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Burghs of *Dornock*, *Kirkwall*, *&c.* was ordered to be heard at the Bar the firſt of *March.*

And for Cardiganſhire.

A Petition of ſeveral Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of *Cardigan*, and alſo of *Thomas Powell*, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the ſaid County, was referred to the Committee of Elections.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, that it was the Opinion of that Committee, that a Supply be granted to his Majeſty, which was agreed to, *Nem. Con.*

Reſolutions on the Supply.

Then it was ordered that an Eſtimate of the Navy, with the Half-Pay of the Officers of the Navy and Marines: Alſo of the Charge for Guards and Garriſons, and other Land Forces and Marines: Likewiſe of the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service: And that a Liſt of the Regimental and Warrant Officers, who are to be in Half pay, with an Eſtimate of the Charge of the Out-Penſioners of *Chelſea* Hoſpital, all for the Year 1742, be laid before

* On the 8th of Dec. 1702, the Right of Election for this Borough was declared to be only in the Capital Bailiffs, and their Deputies, in the Commonalty, Stewards, and the Inhabitants thereof, paying Scot and Lot.

† On the 28th of March, 1696, it was reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, That the Right of Election was in the ſworn Burgeſſes, not receiving Alms. On the 27th of Jan. 1710, it was reſolved, that the Mayor cannot make Foreigners free without Conſent of the Majority of the Aldermen and Common Council: And on the 6th of May, 1714, it was farther reſolved, that the Right of making Foreigners Freemen, not having a Right thereto by Birth or Service, is in the Mayor and free Burgeſſes in Common-Hall aſſembled.

‡ On the 23d of February, 1711, it was reſolved, that the Mayor and Burgeſſes of Wiſton have a Right to vote for a Member for the Borough of Pembroke.

fore the Houſe: Alſo that an Account of Services incurred, and not provided for by Parliament: An Account, ſhewing the Monies ariſen within the reſpective half Years, ending at *Lady-day* and *Michaelmas* laſt, as well of the Surplus of the aggregate Fund, as of the Surplus of the *South-Sea* Fund; as alſo of the Surplus of the General Fund; With an Account, ſhewing how the Monies given for the Year 1741, have been diſpoſed of, diſtinguiſhed under the ſeveral Heads, be laid before the Houſe: And it was reſolved that an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to lay before the Houſe the ſaid Eſtimates, Liſts, and Accounts. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Then the Houſe proceeded to the hearing of the Matter of the Petition, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the City of *Weſtminſter*; [*See p.* 11] and, after hearing Counſel, and the laſt Determination of the Houſe, concerning the Right of electing Citizens to ſerve for the ſaid City, made the 15th of *November* 1680, when the Houſe reſolved, 'That the King's menial Servants, not having proper Houſes of their own within the City of *Weſtminſter*, have not a Right to give Voices in the Election of Citizens to ſerve in Parliament for the ſaid City,' was alſo read. And the ſtanding Order † of the Houſe, made the 16th of *January*, 1735, for reſtraining the Counſel at the Bar of this Houſe, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, from offering Evidence, touching the Legality of Votes for Members to ſerve in Parliament for any County, Shire, City, Borough, Cinque Port, or Place, contrary to the laſt Determination in the Houſe of Commons, was alſo read, and the Counſel for the Petitioners were heard; and having examined ſeveral Witneſſes, the farther hearing of that Matter was adjourned. Proceedings on the Weſtminſter Election.

Dec. 16. A Petition of Gen. *James Campbell*, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Shire of *Air*: Petition for the Shire of Air.

Alſo of *George Mackenzie*, Eſq; for the Shire of *Cromarty*: For Cromarty.

Likewiſe of *Patrick Dunbar*, Eſq; for the Shire of *Caithneſs*: For Caithneſs.

And another of *Richard Williams*, Eſq; for the ſeveral Boroughs of *Flint* *, *Rydland*, *Overton*, *Caerwys*, and *Caergurley*: And for the Town of Flint, &c.

Alſo

† See Mr Bramſton's Motion for this Order in Chandler's Hiſtory, Anno 8 Geo. 2. p. 94.

* On the 21ſt of May, 1728, the Right of Election was declared to be in the Inhabitants of the Five Boroughs above recited, paying Scot and Lot: And that the Inhabitants of Knolton and Overton-Foreign, paying Scot and Lot in the Parish of Overton, have a Right to vote at the ſaid Election; but on the 9th of April, 1737, a Motion being made that the Inhabitants of the ſaid Five Boroughs, including Knolton and Overton-Foreign, renting Burgage Tenements, for which the Landlords there only pay Scot and Lot, have a Right to vote at the ſaid Election; and the previous Queſtion being put, that that Queſtion be then put, it paſſed in the Negative.

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Petition for the Shire of Sutherland.

Also a Petition of the Hon. *George Mackay*, Esq; for the Shire of *Sutherland* §, were severally referred to the Committee of Elections: But a Motion was made, and the Question being put, that it be an Instruction to the said Committee, that they do hear the Matter of the last mention'd Petition the 10th of *February*; It passed in the Negative.

For Grimsby.

Then a Petition of *Matthew Boucherett*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Great Grimsby*. [*See p.* 6.]

For Penryn.

Of *John Clavering*, Esq; and of the Lord Viscount *Glenorchy*, for * *Penryn*. [*See p.* 9.]

For Aberdeen, &c.

And of *Alexander Udney*, Esq; for the Boroughs of *Aberdeen*, *Inverbervie*, &c. were severally referred to the Committee of Elections; But it was ordered, That the Committee do hear the Matter of the last mention'd Petition on the 24th of *Feb.*

For Cricklade.

A Petition of *Charles Gore*, and also of *Welbore Ellis*, Esquires, were severally read, complaining of an undue Election and Double Return for *Cricklade* †; whereupon it was ordered that the Clerk of the Crown do attend the House the next Morning with the Return for the said Borough.

For Pembrokeshire.

A Petition of *John Symmons*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of *Pembroke*:

For Carmarthen.

Of *Griffith Philipps*, Esq; for the County Borough of *Carmarthen* ‡. [*See p.* 4.]

For Radnorshire.

Of *Roderick Gwynne*, Esq; for the County of *Radnor*, [*See p* 9]

For Denbigh, &c.

Of *Arthur Trevor*, Esq; for the several Boroughs of *Denbigh*, *Ruthyn*, and *Holt*, [*See p* 5]

For the Shire of Dumfries.

Of *Matthew Sharp*, Esq; for the Shire of *Dumfreis* ‖:

And for Grampound.

Of *Thomas Hales* and *Thomas Trefusis*, Esquires, for *Grampound*

§ On the 25th of Feb. 1722, it was resolv'd, That the Right of Election is in the Heritors, Feuars, Wadsetters, and Life Renters, possess'd of Lands in the said Shire, whether holding of the Crown or a Subject.

* The first Return of Members for this Borough was in the Reign of Queen Mary. There is a Mayor, eight Aldermen and twelve Assistants; the Number of Electors about 140, being Inhabitants paying Scot and Lot. King James II. granted them a new Charter, which vested the Election of Members in the Magistracy only; but they refused to make Use of it.

† On the 22d of Feb. 1695, it was reported from the Committee of Elections, that the Right of Election appeared to be in the Freeholders, Copyholders, and Leaseholders, for not less than three Years.

‡ On the 19th of March 1727, it was resolved, that the Right of Election is in the Burgesses of the said Borough; and on the 23d following, that the Execution of the Writ for electing a Burgess, and the making a Return thereof, are in the two Sheriffs of the said Borough jointly.

‖ On the 13th of February, 1710, the Question being put, that Homer Maxwell, and Others, who were infeft of an Estate, redeemable upon the paying a Rose-Noble, had a Right to vote in the Election of Commissioners for the Shire of Dumfries, it passed in the Negative. -- On the 22d of Feb. 1710, the Question being put, that Abraham Crichton (being the Husband of an apparent Heiress, who was not infeft) had a Right to vote in the Election of a Commissioner for the Shire of Dumfries, it passed in the Negative.

pound ‖. [*See p.* 6.] were ſeverally referred to the Committee of Elections. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

The ſame Day came on the Election of a Chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections, when Dr *Lee* was choſen in Oppoſition to *Giles Earle*, Eſq; * (who had been Chairman of that Committee in the two laſt Parliaments) by 242 againſt 238. Dr Lee choſen Chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

We ſhall upon this Occaſion give the Names of the Members who voted for each of theſe Gentlemen.

For Dr Lee.

Abdy Sir Robert, Bt.
Aiſlabie William, Eſq;
Aſhby Thomas, Eſq;
Aſtley Sir John, Bt.
Bagot Sir Walter, Bt.
Baltimore Lord
Bance John, Eſq;
Banks William, Eſq;
Banks Henry, Eſq;
Barrington Lord.
Barrington Sir John, Bt.
Barrymore Earl of.
Barnard Sir John, Kt.
Bayntun Edward Rolt, Eſq;
Bathurſt Benjamin, Eſq;
Bathurſt Henry, Eſq;
Berkeley Norbonne, Eſq;
Beſt Thomas, Eſq;
Blagrave John, Eſq;
Blacket Walter, Eſq;
Bligh Hon. John, Eſq;
Bludworth Thomas, Eſq;
Boone Daniel, Eſq;
Bootle Thomas, Eſq;
Bowes George, Eſq;
Bouverie Sir Jacob, Bt.
Bramſton Thomas, Eſq;
Browne John, Eſq;
Bruce Sir John, Bt.
Buchanan Neil, Eſq;
Buck John, Eſq;

For Mr Earle.

Beresomby James Eſq;
Acourt Pierce, Eſq;
Archer Thomas, Eſq;
Archer Henry, Eſq;
Arſcot John, Eſq;
Arſcott Arthur, Eſq;
Arundel Hon. Richard, Eſq;
Aſhe Edward, Eſq;
Baker Hercules, Eſq;
Beauclerc Lord Vere.
Beauclerc Lord Sidney.
Bennet Philip, Eſq;
Bertie Lord Vere.
Bladen Martin, Eſq;
Bockland Col. Maurice.
Bond John, ſen. Eſq;
Bowles William, Eſq;
Bodville William, Eſq;
Bradſhaigh Sir Roger, Bt.
Brand Thomas, Eſq;
Braſſey Nathaniel, Eſq;
Brereton Thomas, Eſq;
Bridges George, Eſq;
Briſtow John. Eſq;
Brodie Alexander, Eſq;
Broughton Sir Brian, Bt.
Browne Sir Robert, Bt.
Brudenell Hon. James, Eſq;
Burrel Peter, Eſq;
Burrard Henry, Eſq;
Calthorpe Henry, Eſq;

Bul-

‖ This Borough has a Mayor, eight Magiſtrates, a Recorder, and Town-Clerk; the Members are elected by the Majority of the Magiſtrates and Freemen, about 60 in Number, being all the Inhabitants that pay Scot and Lot. The firſt Return was in the Reign of Edward VI.

* One of the Lords of the Treaſury.

An. 15 Geo. II. 1741.

For Dr Lee.	For Mr Earle.
Bulkeley Lord Viſcount.	*Campbel John, Eſq;*
Bulter James Eſq;	*Campbel Brig. John.*
Bourgoine Sir Roger, Bt.	*Cary Walter, Eſq;*
Bunbury Sir Charles, Bt.	*Carnegie Sir James, Bt.*
Butler Edward, L. L. D.	*Carpenter Lord.*
Bury Thomas, Eſq;	*Carter William, Eſq;*
Campbel Alex. Hume, Eſq;	*Charlton Job Staunton, Eſq;*
Carew Sir William, Bt.	*Cholmondeley Col. James.*
Carew Thomas, Eſq;	*Churchill General Charles.*
Carnarvon Marquiſs of.	*Churchill Charles, Eſq;*
Cartwright Thomas, Eſq;	*Chute Francis, Eſq;*
Cave Sir Thomas, Bt.	*Chute Anthony, Eſq;*
Cavendiſh Lord James.	*Clayton Sir William, Bt.*
Chapman Sir John, Bt.	*Clayton Kendrick, Eſq;*
Chernoke Sir Boteler, Bt.	*Cleveland John, Eſq;*
Cheſter Sir John, Bt.	*Clive Edward, Eſq;*
Cheſter Thomas, Eſq;	*Clutterbuck Thomas, Eſq;*
Chetwynd Lord Viſcount.	*Coke Hon. Edward, Eſq;*
Chetwynd William, Eſq;	*Colebroke Robert, Eſq;*
Cholmondeley Charles, Eſq;	*Conolly William, Eſq;*
Cocks James, Eſq;	*Cope Monsux, Eſq;*
Compton Hon. George, Eſq;	*Copleſton Thomas, Eſq;*
Cornbury Lord Viſcount	*Corbet Sir William, Bt.*
Cornewall Velters, Eſq;	*Corbet Sir Richard, Bt.*
Cotton Sir John Hind, Bt.	*Cornwallis Hon. John, Eſq;*
Cotton John, Eſq;	*Cornwallis Hon. Stephen, Eſq;*
Courtney Sir William, Bt.	*Croſt Sir John, Bt.*
Courtney Henry, Eſq;	*Crowle George, Eſq;*
Crawford Patrick, Eſq;	*Danvers Joſeph, Eſq;*
Crawley John, Eſq;	*Dominique Charles, Eſq;*
Crewe John, junr. Eſq;	*Doneraile Lord Viſcount.*
Cunningham Alexander, Eſq;	*Douglas Capt. Robert.*
Curzon Sir Nathaniel, Bt.	*Downing Sir George, Bt.*
Dalrymple Sir Hew, Bt.	*Downing Jacob, Eſq;*
Damer Joſeph, Eſq;	*Drury Sir Thomas, Bt.*
Daſhwood Sir James, Bt.	*Duncomb Anthony, Eſq;*
Daſhwood Sir Francis, Bt.	*Dupplin Lord Viſcount.*
Dawkins James, Eſq;	*Earle Will. Rawlinſon, Eſq;*
Delme Peter, Eſq;	*Edgcumbe Richard, Eſq;*
Denton George, Eſq;	*Eliot Col William.*
Dering Sir Edward, Bt.	*Euſton Earl of.*
Doddington G. Bub, Eſq;	*Evans Hon. George, Eſq;*
Douglas Sir John, Bt.	*Evans Captain Richard.*
Douglas James, Eſq;	*Eversfield Charles, Eſq;*
Drax Henry, Eſq;	*Eyles Francis, Eſq;*
Dundaſs George, Eſq;	*Fane Francis, Eſq;*

Eliot

For Dr Lee.	For Mr Earle.	An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.
Eliot Richard, Eſq;	*Finch Hon Henry, Eſq;*	
Erſkine Hon. James, Eſq;	*Fitzroy Charles, Eſq;*	
Evelyn John, Eſq;	*Fitzwilliams Lord.*	
Fazakerley Nich. Eſq;	*Fonnerau Thomas, Eſq;*	
Fellows Coulſton, Eſq;	*Foreſter Brook, Eſq;*	
Fenwick Robert, Eſq;	*Fox Henry, Eſq;*	
Fenwick John, Eſq;	*Frankland Sir Thomas, Bt.*	
Fenwick Nicholas, Eſq;	*Frankland Frederick, Eſq;*	
Finch Hon. William, Eſq;	*French Jeffery, Eſq;*	
Firebrace Sir Cordell, Bt.	*Gage Sir William, Bt.*	
Floyer John, Eſq;	*Galloway Lord Viſcount.*	
Foley Thomas, jun. Eſq;	*Gaſbry Francis, Eſq;*	
Forbes Sir Arthur, Bt.	*Gibſon Thomas, Eſq;*	
Forteſcue Hon. Theop. Eſq;	*Gildart Richard, Eſq;*	
Fortroſe Lord.	*Glanville William, Eſq;*	
Furneſe Henry, Eſq;	*Glenorchy Lord Viſcount.*	
Gage Ld Viſcount.	*Godolphin Francis, Eſq;*	
Gibbon Edward, Eſq;	*Gough Capt. Henry.*	
Gilmour Sir Charles, Bt.	*Grant Lodowick, Eſq;*	
Glynne Sir John, Bt.	*Grant Sir James, Bt.*	
Godſchall Sir Robert, Kt.	*Gregory George, Eſq;*	
Gordon Sir William, Bt.	*Gulſton Joſeph, Eſq;*	
Gore Charles, Eſq;	*Hampden John, Eſq;*	
Gore Thomas, Eſq;	*Hanbury Capel, Eſq;*	
GowerWilliam Leveſon, Eſq;	*Harris John, Eſq;*	
Gower Bapt. Leveſon, Eſq;	*Harriſon George, Eſq;*	
Granard Earl of.	*Hartington Marquiſs of*	
Grenville Richard, Eſq;	*Hay William, Eſq;*	
Grenville George, Eſq;	*Hayward Thomas, Eſq;*	
Groſvenor Sir Robert, Bt.	*Heathcote Samuel, Eſq;*	
Groves William, Eſq;	*Hedworth John, Eſq;*	
Guernſey Lord Viſcount.	*Henley Henry Holt, Eſq;*	
Gundry Nathaniel, Eſq;	*Herbert Henry Arthur, Eſq;*	
Gwyn Francis, Eſq;	*Herbert Hon. Robert, Eſq;*	
Gybbon Philips, Eſq;	*Herbert Hon. William, Eſq;*	
Hamilton Sir James, Bt.	*Hoby Sir Thomas, Bt.*	
Hamilton Baſil, Eſq;	*Holmes Henry, Eſq;*	
Hamilton Charles, Eſq;	*Howard Col. Charles.*	
Hay Lord Charles.	*Howarth Sir Humphry, Kt.*	
Heathcote George, Eſq;	*Hungerford Walter, Eſq;*	
Herbert Philip, Eſq;	*Hunter Thomas Orby, Eſq;*	
Hill Andrew, Eſq;	*Jenyns Soame, Eſq;*	
Hill Hon. Wills, Eſq;	*Jeaukes John, Eſq;*	
Holte Sir Lifler, Bt	*Ingram Col Charles.*	
Hooper Edward, Eſq;	*Jolliffe John, Eſq;*	
Hopton Edward Cope, Eſq;	*Keene Benjamin, Eſq;*	

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For Dr Lee.	For Mr Earle.
Houblon Jacob, Eſq;	*Kent Samuel, Eſq;*
Jeffreys John, Eſq;	*Kinaſton William, Eſq;*
Inchiquin Earl of.	*Knight Robert, Eſq;*
Johnſton Lord John.	*Lamb Matthew, Eſq;*
Irby Sir William, Bt.	*Lambton Henry, Eſq;*
Iſham Sir Edmund, Bt.	*Legge Hon. Henry, Eſq;*
Lambert Daniel, Eſq;	*Lewis Thomas, Eſq;*
Lechmere Edmund, Eſq;	*Liddel Sir Henry, Bt.*
Levinz William, Eſq;	*Lloyd Walter, Eſq;*
Liſter Thomas, Eſq;	*Lock William, Eſq;*
Lyſter Richard, Eſq;	*Lockyer Charles, Eſq;*
Long Sir Robert, Bt.	*Lumley Hon. James, Eſq;*
Lowndes Richard, Eſq;	*Martin Matthew, Eſq;*
Lowther Sir Thomas, Bt.	*Martin James, Eſq;*
Lyttelton George, Eſq;	*Martin John, Eſq;*
M'Leod Norman, Eſq;	*Maule Hon. William, Eſq;*
M'Kye John, Eſq;	*Maule John, Eſq;*
Mackworth Herbert, Eſq;	*Metcalfe Laſcelles, Eſq;*
Manſell Hon Buſſy, Eſq;	*Middleton Sir William, Bt.*
Marſhall Henry, Eſq;	*Middleton John, Eſq;*
Maſters Thomas, Eſq;	*Mill Sir Richard, Bt.*
Melliſh William, Eſq;	*Miſſing Thomas, Eſq;*
Methuen Sir Paul, Kt.	*Mitchel William, Eſq;*
Montague Edward, Eſq;	*Monſon Charles, Eſq;*
Montague Charles, Eſq;	*Mordaunt John, Eſq;*
Mordaunt Sir Charles, Bt.	*Mordaunt Col. John.*
Moore William, Eſq;	*Morden William, Eſq;*
Morrice Sir William, Bt.	*Morgan Thomas, Eſq;*
Murray John, Eſq;	*Murray Lord John.*
Muſgrave Sir Philip, Bt.	*Murray Alexander, Eſq;*
Newſam James, Eſq;	*Muſſenden Hill, Eſq;*
Newland George, L.L.D.	*Neal Robert, Eſq;*
Newton Sir Michael, Bt.	*Newnham Thomas, Eſq;*
Noel William, Eſq;	*Norris Sir John, Kt.*
Noel Hon. James, Eſq;	*Norton Thomas, Eſq;*
Northcote Sir Henry, Bt.	*Olmius John, Eſq;*
Nugent Robert, Eſq;	*Onſlow Denzil, Eſq;*
Ongley Samuel, Eſq;	*Onſlow Col. Richard.*
Ord Robert, Eſq;	*Oſbaldeſton William, Eſq;*
Ord John, Eſq;	*Owen William, Eſq;*
Orme Garton, Eſq;	*Palmerſton Lord Viſcount.*
Oſwald James, Eſq;	*Poulet Hon. Vere, Eſq;*
Owen John, Eſq;	*Paulet Lord Harry.*
Oxenden Sir George, Bt.	*Powlet Charles Armand, Eſq;*
Packer W. Howard, Eſq;	*Pelham Hon. Henry, Eſq;*
Poulet William, Eſq;	*Pelham James, Eſq;*

Peachy

For Dr Lee.	For Mr Earle.
Peachy Sir John, Bt.	*Pelham Thomas, jun. Eſq;*
Pelham Charles, Eſq;	*Pennington Sir Joſ. Bt.*
Philips Sir Eraſmus, Bt.	*Penton Henry, Eſq;*
Philips John, Eſq;	*Philipſon John, Eſq;*
Pitt Thomas, Eſq;	*Pilſworth Charles, Eſq;*
Pitt William Eſq;	*Pitt Geo. Moreton, Eſq;*
Pitt John, Eſq;	*Plumer Richard, Eſq.*
Pleydell Edm. Morton, Eſq;	*Plumtree John, Eſq;*
Popham Edward, Eſq;	*Pollen John, Eſq;*
Portman W. Henry, Eſq;	*Revel Thomas, Eſq;*
Powney Peniſton, Eſq;	*Rider Sir Dudley, Kt.*
Pratt John, Eſq;	*Robinſon Luke, Eſq;*
Proby John, Eſq;	*Rolle Henry, Eſq;*
Prowſe Thomas, Eſq;	*Sabine Joſeph, Eſq;*
Pryſe Thomas, Eſq;	*Sackville Lord George.*
Pulteney William, Eſq;	*St Clair Brig. James.*
Pytts Edmond, Eſq;	*Scrope Hon. John, Eſq;*
Quarendon Lord Viſcount.	*Selwyn John, Eſq;*
Raſhleigh Jonathan, Eſq;	*Selwyn Charles, Eſq;*
Raymond Jones, Eſq;	*Selwyn John, jun. Eſq;*
Richards George, Eſq;	*Smelt William, Eſq;*
Rowney Thomas, Eſq;	*Speke George, Eſq;*
Roſs Hon. Charles, Eſq;	*Stanhope Hon. William, Eſq;*
Rudge Edward, Eſq;	*Stert Arthur, Eſq;*
Ruſh John, Eſq;	*Stewart Col. James.*
Ruſhout Sir John, Bt.	*Steele William, Eſq;*
Sandys Samuel, Eſq;	*Strickland William, Eſq;*
St Aubin Sir John, Bt.	*Stone Andrew, Eſq;*
Scot David, Eſq;	*Stuart Capt. William.*
Seymour Sir Edward, Bt.	*Sundon Lord.*
Shaſtoe John, Eſq;	*Talbot Hon. John, Eſq;*
Shippen William, Eſq;	*Thompſon Edward, Eſq;*
Shuttleworth Richard, Eſq;	*Thompſon William, Eſq;*
Shuttleworth James, Eſq;	*Tower Chriſtopher, Eſq;*
Slingsby Sir Henry, Bt.	*Townſend Joſeph, Eſq;*
Smith Edward, Eſq;	*Townſhend Hon. Roger, Eſq;*
Smithſon Sir Hugh, Bt.	*Townſhend Hon. Thomas, Eſq;*
Somerſet Lord Noel.	*Treby George, Eſq;*
Southwell Edward, Eſq;	*Trevor John Morley, Eſq;*
Spencer Hon John. Eſq;	*Tuffnel Samuel, Eſq;*
Stanhope Hon. John, Eſq;	*Turner Sir John, Bt.*
Stapylton Sir Miles, Bt.	*Tyrrell James, Eſq;*
Stuart Hon. John, Eſqr	*Vere Thomas, Eſq;*
Stewart Archibald, Eſq;	*Wade General George.*
Strange Lord.	*Wager Sir Charles, Kt.*
Strode William, Eſq;	*Walker Thomas, Eſq;*

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For Dr Lee.	For Mr Earle.
Sydenham Humphry, Eſq;	*Wallop John, Eſq;*
Thomas Sir Edmund, Bt.	*Walpole Sir Robert, Kt.*
Thrale Ralph, Eſq;	*Walpole Horatio, Eſq;*
Thurſby John Harvey, Eſq;	*Walpole Edward, Eſq;*
Trelawney Charles, Eſq;	*Walpole Horatio, jun. Eſq;*
Tucker John, Eſq;	*Walter Peter, Eſq;*
Turner Sir Edward, Bt.	*Wardour William, Eſq;*
Twiſden Sir Roger, Bt.	*Weſt James, Eſq;*
Tyrwhitt Sir John, Bt.	*White John, Eſq;*
Vane Hon. Henry, Eſq;	*Whitmore Thomas, Eſq;*
Vaughan William, Eſq;	*Whitmore William, Eſq;*
Vernon Geo. Venables, Eſq;	*Wilſon Daniel, Eſq;*
Vyner Robert, Eſq;	*Williams Sir Nicholas, Bt.*
Waller Harry, Eſq;	*Wilmer William, Eſq;*
Waller Edmund, Eſq;	*Wilkinſon Andrew, Eſq;*
Warren Borlace, Eſq;	*Winnington Thomas, Eſq;*
Watſon Hon. Thomas, Eſq;	*Wynn Thomas, Eſq;*
Webber Whiſtler, Eſq;	*Wynne Sir George, Bt.*
Wentworth Godfrey, Eſq;	*Wynn John, Eſq;*
Whichcote Thomas, Eſq;	*Young Sir William, Bt.*
Wigley James, Eſq;	*York Hon. Philip, Eſq;*
Wilbraham Randle, Eſq;	*Yorke John, Eſq;*
Winford Thomas, Eſq.	*Young Hitch, Eſq;*
Wodehouſe Armine, Eſq;	Total —— 238
Wright George, Eſq;	
Wortley Edward, Eſq;	
Wynn Sir Watkin Will. Bt.	
Total —— 242	

Another Petition for Flint.

Dec. 17. A Petition of ſeveral Burgeſſes of the Towns of *Flint*, *Rhyalan*, *Overton*, *Caergwys*, and *Caergurley*, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Shire-Town of *Flint*, [*See p.* 53] was referred to the Committee of Elections.

For the Shire of Roſs.

Of *Hugh Roſe*, Eſq; for the Shire of *Roſs* *:

And for Retford.

Of Sir *Robert Clifton* and of *Stephen Soame*, Eſq; for *Eaſt Retford* †, [*See p.* 9.]

Alſo

* January 28, 1708, Reſolved that there ought to have been Twelve Days exclusive between the Day of Election of a Committee to ſerve in Parliament for the ſaid Shire, and the Day appointed by the Writ of Summons for the Meeting of the Parliament.

† April 15, 1701, The Right of Election was declar'd to be as well in the Burgeſſes non-reſident, as in the Burgeſſes reſident within the ſaid Borough. March 17, 1701-2, it was reſolved that the younger Sons of Freemen of the Borough, have not a Right to demand their Freedom of the ſaid Borough. Nov. 28, 1702, That Perſons not inhabiting in the Borough, are incapable of being made free of the ſaid Borough by Redemption

Alſo of the Hon. *William Stuart*, Eſq; for the Stewartry of *Kirkcudbright*, were ſeverally referred to the Committee of Elections. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Then the Houſe proceeded to the further Hearing of the Petition for the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, and, after the Examination of ſeveral Witneſſes, that Affair was farther adjourn'd. Petition for Kirkcudbright.

Dec. 18 Ordered that Leave be given to bring in a Bill, to explain and amend an Act made in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, intituled, *An Act for the Preſervation of the publick Roads in* England, and that Mr *Barbuſt*. the Lord *Baltimore*, Mr *Sandys*, Mr *Powney*, and Mr *Grenville* do prepare and bring in the ſame: And that a Committee be appointed to conſider the Laws in being, with Reſpect to the Repair and Preſervation of the publick Roads in *England*. Bill for preſerving the Roads.

A Petition of *Richard Lloyde*, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *Cardigan* *. Petition for Cardigan.

And of *Benjamin Hyet*, Eſq; and others, for the City of *Glouceſter*, were referred to the Committee of Elections. For Glouceſter.

A Petition of *Edmund Hungate Beaghan* and *Samuel Peake*, Eſqrs. for *Winchelſea*, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 20th of *Jan.* For Winchelſea.

A Petition of the Bailiff and Burgeſſes of *Knighton*, *&c.* complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *New Radnor* †, was referred to the Committee of Elections. For Radnor.

Then it was reſolved that an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to give Directions, that there may be laid before the Houſe, Copies of all Memorials, Repreſentations and Declarations ‡, ſent either to his Majeſty or his Miniſters by the Queen of *Hungary* or her Miniſters, or by his Majeſty or his Miniſters An Addreſs for Copies of Memorials, &c. to or from the Queen of Hungary.

tion; And that all Sons of Freemen have a Right to the Freedom of the ſaid Borough. On the 17th of Jan. 1705, The Right of Election was declared to be in ſuch Freemen only as have a Right to their Freedom by Birth, as eldeſt Sons of Freemen, or by ſerving ſeven Years Apprenticeſhip, or have it by Redemption, whether inhabiting or not inhabiting in the ſaid Borough at the Time of their being made free. But on the 11th of Jan. 1710, it was reſolved that the Right of Election is in ſuch Freemen only, *&c.* [*as in the laſt recited Reſolution.*] inhabiting in the ſaid Borough at the Time of their being made free.

* On the 7th of May, 1730, it was reſolved, that the Burgeſſes of the Borough of Tregaron have no Right to vote for a Burgeſs for Cardigan; and that the Right of Election for the ſaid Town of Cardigan, is in the Burgeſſes at large of the Borough of Cardigan, Aberyſtwith, Lampeter, and Atpar only.

† On the 11th of November, 1690, the Right of Election was declared to be in the Burgeſſes of Radnor, Ryadar, Knighton, Knucklas, and Kevenlice only.

‡ A Motion was made for adding the Word LETTERS after DECLARATIONS, but it paſſed in the Negative, by 137 againſt 227.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

a Knight of the Shire for *York* (c), in the Room of *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Morpeth*, deceas'd: For a Knight of the Shire for *Hereford*, in the Room of *Edward Harley* (d), Eſq; now Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*: For a Burgeſs for *Whitchurch*, (e), in the Room of Mr *Wallop*, who made his Election for *Andover*: For a Burgeſs for *Thetford* (f), in the Room of Lord *Auguſtus Fitzroy*, deceas'd: For a Burgeſs for *Lymington* (g), in the Room of Lord *Naſſau Powlet*, deceas'd: For Citizens for *Weſtminſter* (h), in the Room of *William* Lord *Sundon* and Sir *Charles Wager*, whoſe Election for the ſaid City had been declared void: For a Burgeſs for *Higham Ferrers* (i), in the Room of *Henry Finch*, Eſq; who made his Election for *Malton*: For a Burgeſs for *Malton* (k), in the Room of Lord *James Cavendiſh*, deceas'd: For a Burgeſs for *Huntingdon* (l), in the Room of Mr *Hill*, who made his Election for *Warwick*: For a Burgeſs for *Apulby* (m), in the Room of Mr *Doddington*, who made his Election for *Bridgwater*: And for a Burgeſs for *Old Sarum* (n), in the Room of *George Lyttelton*, Eſq; who made his Election for *Oakhampton*.

Inſolvent Debtors Petition.

A Petition of the Priſoners confined for Debt in his Majeſty's Goal for the County of *Hereford*, and alſo in the Caſtle of *York*, were ordered to lie upon the Table.

Dec. 24. Ordered a new Writ for a Burgeſs for *Downton*, in the Room of the Rt. Hon. *John Verney*, Eſq; (o) deceas'd.

Petitions for Cricklade and Winchelſea withdrawn.

Charles Gore, Eſq; who was returned in the double Return for *Cricklade*, withdrew his ſaid Petition; as did alſo *Wellbore Ellis*, Eſq; and the Clerk of the Crown was ordered to raſe out the Name of *Charles Gore*, Eſq; *Edmund Hungate Beaghan*, and *Samuel Jeake*, Eſqrs, alſo withdrew their Petitions for *Winchelſea*.

Mr *Bathurſt* preſented to the Houſe a Bill to explain and amend an Act of laſt Seſſion, *For the Preſervation of the*

(c) The Candidates were Cholmley Turner, Eſq; who poll'd 8005.
George Fox, Eſq; —— 7049.
(d) Thomas Foley, Eſq; was elected.
(e) William Sloper, Eſq; was choſen in his Room.
(f) He was Captain of a Man of War in the Weſt Indies, in Admiral Vernon's Squadron. Lord Harry Beauclerck was elected in his Place.
(g) Charles Paulet, Eſq; was choſen.
(h) Lord Perceval and Charles Edwin, Eſq; were elected.
(i) Henry Conway Eſq; was elected.
(k) John Maſtyn, Eſq; was elected.
(l) Albert Nugent, Eſq; was elected.
(m) Sir Charles Wyndham, Bar. was elected.
(n) James Grenville, Eſq; was elected.
(o) He was Maſter of the Rolls. Joſeph Wynham Aſh, Eſq; [See p. 3.] was elected in his Place.

the publick Roads in England, which was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading, and alſo to be printed. Then the Houſe adjourn'd to the 18th of *January*. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Jan. 18. Ordered a new Writ for a Burgeſs for *Totneſs*, in the Room of Sir *Charles Wills* (p), deceaſed: Another for a Knight of the Shire for *Argyle*, in the Room of *Charles Campbell*, Eſq; (q) deceas'd: For a Knight of the Shire for *Roxburgh*, in the Room of *John Rutherfurd* (r), Eſq; made Captain of one of the Independent Companies: For a Burgeſs for *Eaſt-Grinſtead*, in the Room of the Earl of *Middleſex* (s), who accepted the Office of Head Steward of his Majeſty's Honour of *Oſford* in *Kent*. New Writs ordered.

A Petition of the poor Priſoners for Debt in the Sheriff of *Cornwall*'s Ward or Priſon, in *Bodmyn*, was ordered to lie on the Table. Petition of the Debtors in Bodmyn.

Mr Comptroller (t) preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs to his Majeſty, a Copy of the Queen of *Hungary*'s Letter to the King, 29th *Dec.* 1740, and of the King's Letter to the Queen of *Hungary*, 29th *Jan.* 1740-1, with ſeveral other Letters, Memorials, *&c.* with a Liſt of the ſaid Papers, which was ordered to lie on the Table, to be peruſed by the Members. Letters, &c. preſented.

Then it was ordered, That *William Middleton*, Eſq; High Sheriff of the County of *Denbigh* at the laſt Election, do attend the Houſe on the 4th of *Feb.*

The ſame Day *Matthew Boucherett*, Eſq; withdrew his Petition for *Grimſby*. Petition for Grimsby withdrawn.

Jan. 19. The Commons ordered a State of the Debt of his Majeſty's Navy, as it ſtood at *Chriſtmas* laſt; Alſo an Account of the Number of Seamen in the Royal Navy, from *December* 31ſt, 1740, to *December* 31ſt, 1741: An Account of what Arrears of Land-Taxes, and Arrears of Duties upon Houſes were ſtanding out at *Chriſtmas* laſt, to be laid before the Houſe. Accounts ordered.

Mr Secretary at War (u) preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs, an Eſtimate of the Charge of Guards, Garriſons, and other Land Forces; alſo of the Charge of a Regiment of Foot raiſed in *America*, for the Service in the *Weſt Indies*; and alſo an Eſtimate of the Charge of Ten Regiments of Marines for the Year 1742, all which were ordered to lie upon the Table. Eſtimates preſented.

(p) Sir John Strange, Kt. Solliciter General was choſen.
(q) He was Captain of Marines, and died at Cuba. The Hon. Stewart M'Kenzie was choſen in his Place.
(r) William Douglas of Cavers, Eſq; was choſen in his Room.
(s) John Butler, Eſq; was elected.
(t) Sir Convers Darcy, Knight of the Bath.
(u) Sir William Yonge.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Accounts ordered.

Ordered that an Account of what Ships of War have been in Commiſſion from *Jan.* 1740, to 31ſt *Dec.* 1741: And alſo an Account of the Number of Ships of War, diſtinguiſhing their Rates, as they ſtood at *Chriſtmas*, 1741, to be laid before the Houſe.

40,000 Seamen voted for 1742.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Reſolutions: I. That 40,000 Men be employed for the Sea Service for the Year 1742. II. That 4 *l. per* Man, *per* Month, be allowed for maintaining the ſaid 40,000 Men; which Reſolutions were agreed to by the Houſe.

Election for Berwickſhire determin'd.

Then the Houſe proceeded to the hearing the Petitions of the Hon. *Alexander Hume-Campbell*, Eſq; and Sir *John Sinclair*, Bar. ſeverally complaining of an undue Election and double Return for the Shire of *Berwick*, when, after an Examination of ſeveral Hours, it was reſolved, without a Diviſion, that the Hon. *Alexander Hume-Campbell*, Eſq; was duly elected and returned; and that *David Hume*, Sheriff Depute for the ſaid Shire, having accepted and returned to the Clerk of the Crown an Indenture of Return, not

The Sheriff-Depute order'd into Cuſtody.

ſigned by the proper Clerk, had acted arbitrarily and illegally, in Defiance of the Laws of the Land, and in Breach of the Privilege of this Houſe; And he was ordered into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms.

New Writs.

Jan. 20. A new Writ was ordered for a Burgeſs for *Taviſtock*, in the Room of Lord *Sherard Manners* (a), deceas'd: Alſo for a Burgeſs for *Tregony*, in the Room of *Thomas Watts* (b), Eſq; deceas'd.

Eſtimates, Letters, &c. preſented.

Sir *Charles Wager* (c) preſented to the Houſe the ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy for the Year 1742.

Mr Comptroller preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs to his Majeſty, ſeveral Letters, Memorials, *&c.* and other Papers, all which were ordered to lie upon the Table.

Mr *Rawlinſon Earle* (d), preſented to the Houſe an Eſtimate of the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service for the Year 1742.

Petition of Debtors in York.

A Petition of the Priſoners for Debt in *Ouze-Bridge* Goal, *York*, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Petition from the London Merchants relating to the Conduct of the War with Spain.

Then Sir *Robert Godſchall* preſented to the Houſe, a Petition of the Merchants and Traders of the City of *London*, ſetting forth, 'That the Petitioners, with the utmoſt Concern, have found themſelves under the Neceſſity of repreſenting to

(a) Lord Limerick was elected in his Place.
(b) George Cooke, Eſq; was choſen in his Room.
(c) Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.
(d) Clerk of the Ordnance.

to the Houſe, that the Navigation and Commerce of theſe Kingdoms have been continually expoſed to the growing Inſolence of the *Spaniſh* Privateers, from the Commencement of this juſt and neceſſary War; that during its whole Progreſs and Continuance, notwithſtanding the repeated Applications of the ſuffering Merchants for Protection and Redreſs, their Loſſes and Misfortunes have conſiderably increaſed of late, to the impoveriſhing of many of his Majeſty's Subjects, the great Detriment of Trade in general, the Diminution of his Majeſty's Revenue, and the Dishonour of the Nation; that upwards of Three Hundred Ships and Veſſels have been already taken, (the greateſt Part of them in or near the *Britiſh* Channel and Soundings) and carried into *St Sebaſtian*, and other adjacent Ports; by which Numbers of his Majeſty's moſt uſeful Subjects have been reduced to Want and Impriſonment, or compelled by inhuman Treatment, and deſpairing of a Cartel for the Exchange of Priſoners, have enliſted in the Service of *Spain*; that the Petitioners apprehend, that moſt of theſe Misfortunes might have been prevented, conſidering the Weakneſs of our Enemy at Sea, had a few of his Majeſty's Ships of War been properly ſtationed, and the Commanders kept ſtrictly to their Duty; a Neglect, which appears the more ſurpriſing, as there was a Precedent of an Act of Parliament in 1707, expreſly made for thoſe Purpoſes, intituled, *An Act for the better ſecuring the Trade of this Kingdom, by Cruizers and Convoys*: that by Means of this Neglect, and the many valuable Prizes the *Spaniards* have made, they have been encouraged and enabled to fit out ſuch Numbers of Privateers from *St Sebaſtian* and *Bilboa*, excluſive of other Ports, as to render the Navigation to and from theſe Kingdoms every Day more and more dangerous; and that the preſent great and unexpected Power of the Enemy in the *Mediterranean*, gives the Petitioners Reaſon to apprehend, that their Trade is become extremely precarious in thoſe Parts; that there have been various Neglects and Delays in the Appointment and ſending out of Convoys; and that out of thoſe few which have been granted, ſome of the Commanders have paid ſo little Regard to the Ships under their Care, that they have deſerted them at Sea, and left them as a Prey to the Enemy; and praying Leave further to repreſent, that the Navigation to and from ſeveral of his Majeſty's Colonies has often been much expoſed to the Enemy; and that many Ships have been taken in the *American* Seas by their Privateers, principally owing, as the Petitioners preſume, to a Want of a ſufficient Number of Ships, or a proper Care in ſome of his Majeſty's Commanders, ſtationed in

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

thoſe Parts; that many Ships have been brought into Danger, by the arbitrary impreſſing of their ableſt Hands out of the Homeward bound Ships before they had made the Land, or arrived to a Place of Safety, and out of the outward bound Ships in the Proſecution of their Voyages; and praying Leave to aſſure the Houſe, that they do not complain of ſuch Captures as are the unavoidable Conſequence of a War, but of ſuch only as have been occaſioned by a Want of due Care for the Protection of Trade, which has, during the whole War, labour'd under an apparent Neglect and Diſregard; nor ſhall they ever be induced, either by their paſt Misfortunes, or future Apprehenſions, ſo far to forget their Duty to his Majeſty and the Legiſlature, as once to repine or murmur at the preſent War with *Spain*, which his Majeſty and theſe Kingdoms are ſo neceſſarily engaged in, and upon the vigorous Proſecution of which the Intereſt of the *Britiſh* Trade, and the Freedom of Navigation ſo evidently depend; and praying the Houſe to take the Premiſſes into their Conſideration, that ſuch Proviſion may be made for the future Protection of the Trade and Navigation of theſe Kingdoms, as the Houſe ſhall think fit, and that the Petitioners may be heard by themſelves or Counſel thereupon.'

Ordered, That the ſaid Petition be referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe; and that the Petitioners be heard by themſelves or Counſel on the 27th Inſtant: As were likewiſe the Petitions from the Merchants of *Biddeford*, *Southampton*, *Liverpool*, *Lancaſter*, *Briſtol*, *Exeter*, and *Glaſgow*.

Which is referred to a Committee, with other Petitions of the ſame Import.

Then the Commons ordered an Account of his Majeſty's Ships of War, employed ſince the firſt of *January*, 1740, as Cruiſers for the Protection of the Trade of this Kingdom on this Side Cape *Finiſterre*, with the Stations of ſuch Ships, and how long ordered to continue thereupon, with the Times of their going to Sea, and their returning into Port: Alſo the Journals of the Commanders of ſuch Ships of War: Likewiſe an Account of Ships of War built in any of his Majeſty's Yards, or in private Yards for his Majeſty's Service, ſince the 10th of *July* 1739, and of Ships purchaſed for his Majeſty's Service, all ſince the 10th of *July*, 1739, diſtinguiſhing the Times when launch'd, purchaſed, when firſt put to Sea, and on what Services employed: Likewiſe an Account of the Ships of War appointed as Convoys to Foreign Parts, ſince the Commencement of the preſent War with *Spain*, diſtinguiſhing the Ships appointed, and their Services; the Notices given to the Traders of their Time of ſailing, and when they ſailed: And reſolved to preſent an Addreſs to his Majeſty to give Directions to lay before the Houſe

Several Accounts order'd in Purſuance of the Merchants Petitions.

House a Copy of the Report of the Commissioners of the Admiralty to his Majesty in Council, on the Petition of the Merchants relating to their Losses during the War.

Ordered in a Bill *For taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts*; and that Sir *John Rushout*, and Sir *John Hinde Cotton* do prepare and bring in the same.

Bill for stating the Publick Accounts.

On the 21st the House resolved, that towards raising the Supply, the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry be continued from *June* 23, 1742, to *June* 24, 1743, and order'd in a Bill accordingly.

Malt-Tax voted for 1743.

Voted an Address to his Majesty for Copies of all Applications to his Majesty, or to either of the Secretaries of State, or to the Admiralty, since the Commencement of the War with *Spain*, for Cruizers or Convoys, together with what has been done thereupon respectively: Also for Copies of all Complaints made to his Majesty, his Secretaries of State, or Commissioners of the Admiralty, relating to the Commanders of Ships of War, for leaving the Trade under their Convoy, or the Station in which they were appointed to cruize, or for impressing of Seamen out of any outward-bound Ships after their leaving their Port of Clearance, or any homeward-bound Ships before they arrived at the Port of delivering of their Cargo, and for any other Misbehaviour or Injury done by them to the Navigation of this Kingdom, and what has been done thereupon respectively.

Copies of Applications, Petitions, Lists, Accounts, &c. relating to the War, order'd in.

Ordered a List of the Names of the Merchant Vessels, which the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships have given Instructions to, and have proceeded under their Convoy, distinguishing the Names of the Commanders, and of his Majesty's Ships, and the Voyages respectively, and whether they proceeded the whole Voyage, or only Part of the Voyage: Also of the Names of the Merchant Ships that have negligently delay'd the Convoys, from whom they had taken sailing Orders, or that abandoned the same, or have been disobedient to their Instructions: Likewise Copies of the Reasons given in Writing by such Commanders of his Majesty's Ships as have been appointed as Cruizers on this Side Cape *Finisterre*, for leaving their Station, or for coming into Port, before the Time required by their Orders.

Then it was further resolved to address his Majesty for Copies of all Memorials, Petitions, or other Papers delivered or transmitted to either of the Secretaries of State, the Commissioners of the Admiralty, or the Commissioners for sick and wounded, relating to a Cartel for Exchange of Prisoners with *Spain*, or the Condition and Usage of such as have been taken Prisoners by the *Spaniards*, together with what has been done thereupon.

Ordered,

An. 15 Geo. II. 1741.

The Place-Bill order'd in.

Ordered in a Bill *For the better ſecuring the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons*; and that Mr *Sandys*, Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne*, Mr *Charles Cholmondeley*, and Mr *Philips* do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Then a Motion being made by Mr *Pulteney*, that the ſeveral Papers preſented to the Houſe on *Monday* and Yeſterday by Mr *Comptroller*, be referred to a ſelect Committee, and that they do examine the ſame, and report to the Houſe what they find material therein: It occaſioned a great Debate. Mr *Pulteney* introduc'd his Motion with the following Speech:

Mr Speaker,

Mr Pulteney's Motion for referring to a ſelect Committee the ſeveral Papers laid before them relating to the Conduct of the War.

'I have always thought, that when Papers of State are called for by this Houſe, as well as when ſuch Papers are laid before us without being called for, it ſhould be with ſome Sort of View or Deſign. We know very well, that when Treaties, Eſtimates or Accounts are laid before us without being called for, it is generally with a Deſign to demand a Sum of Money, or Vote of Credit; and ſuch Demands have of late Years been uſually complied with, I believe, by moſt Members of this Houſe, without ſo much as looking at any one of the Papers or Eſtimates, which were laid before us as the Foundation of that Demand. This Practice, Sir, muſt be allowed to be a little extraordinary; but our late Practice, with regard to thoſe Papers that are expreſsly called for, has been much more ſurpriſing; for after the Papers called for have been laid before us, they have been ordered to lie upon the Table, and there they have generally lain, without the leaſt Examination, as if we had had no View in calling for them, but that of increaſing the Bulk of our Votes by long Liſts of Letters, Inſtructions and Memorials. Experience has ſhewn, that when ſuch Papers are ordered to lie upon the Table for the Peruſal of the Members, they are ſeldom peruſed with Attention by any, and when they are peruſed ſeperately and diſtinctly by a few particular Members, none of them have Authority enough to prevail with the Houſe to enter into a ſtrict Inquiry, or to take into Conſideration the Errors, Miſtakes or Blunders, they may from ſuch Papers have diſcovered.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, and that the Nation may ſee we do not put the Adminiſtration to the Trouble and Expence of laying Piles of State Papers before us, without any View or Deſign, either for the Service or Satisfaction of the Publick, I think, when we call for any Papers of Importance, and they are accordingly laid before us, they ought of courſe to be referred to a ſelect Committee, that they may examine

examine them ſtrictly, and report their Remarks, Obſervations, or Objections, to the Houſe; for the Examination of ſuch a Committee muſt always be more exact and full, and their Report will have more Weight, than the Examination or Report of any ſingle Member, who peruſes the Papers upon our Table, without any Direction or Authority from the Houſe. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'When I argue in this Manner, Sir, I hope no Gentleman will think, that I am arguing againſt this or any other Adminiſtration; for a wiſe and juſt Adminiſtration will always be glad to have its Conduct inquired into in the moſt ſtrict, regular, and authentick Method; and if the Adminiſtration be weak or wicked, it is then the Duty of Parliament to take that Method, which is the moſt regular, and the moſt proper for reſcuing the Nation out of the Hands of ſuch an Adminiſtration; therefore every Gentleman muſt, with me, ſuppoſe one of theſe two Things: Either, that the Doctrine I have advanced will be approved by thoſe who have the Honour of being our preſent Miniſters, or that their oppoſing it ought to be a prevailing Argument with every independent Member of this Houſe for agreeing to it; and conſequently, I muſt look upon it as an eſtabliſhed Maxim, that all the Papers which are laid before this Houſe, and deemed to be of great Importance, ought to be referred to the Conſideration of a ſelect Committee.

'This, Sir, is a Maxim which will hold good at all Times, and in all Circumſtances; but when the Nation finds itſelf involved in great Difficulties, when our Affairs both abroad and at home are apparently in great Diſtreſs, and when a general Suſpicion prevails againſt the Conduct of our Adminiſtration; this Maxim ought not only to be approved, but in every Inſtance, without Heſitation, purſued; and that this is our Caſe at preſent, I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate. With regard to our Trade and Manufactures, they have been upon the Decay for ſeveral Years: Every Man is now ſenſible of this Decay, and every Man is now convinced, that it is owing to the Taxes we have upon the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life. By theſe Taxes the Subſiſtence of poor Labourers and Manufacturers is rendered more expenſive in this than in any foreign Country, which of courſe renders it impoſſible for them to work ſo cheap, and this muſt neceſſarily make our Manufactures come dearer to foreign Markets than the Manufactures of any other Country. This has gradually diminiſhed the Quantity of our Exports to all Parts of the World, except to our own Plantations, and muſt, at laſt, put

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. put an entire Stop to our exporting any one Sort of Manufacture; for other Nations will by Degrees fall into the Method of rivalling us in every Sort, and as faſt as they do, our Export of that Sort of Manufacture muſt ceaſe.

'We may talk, Sir, againſt the Exportation of our Wool, and buſy ourſelves in forming Schemes for preventing it; but unleſs we can, by aboliſhing many of our Taxes, enable our Poor to work as cheap as the Poor in other Countries do, it will be impoſſible for us to prevent it, any other Way than by diminiſhing our Produce; for if we can work up none of our Wool, but barely what is neceſſary for home Conſumption; and if a greater Quantity be produced than what is neceſſary for this Demand, the Surplus muſt be exported, or it muſt rot upon the Hands of the Owners, which would render it impoſſible for many of our Farmers to pay their Rents; and this might, in a little Time, make the Cry as loud for the Exportation of our Wool, as it is now againſt it.

'The bad Effects of our Taxes, and the great Decreaſe in the Export of our Manufactures, were moſt ſenſibly felt, Sir, before the breaking out of our preſent War with *Spain*; but they then began to be more ſenſibly felt than ever, becauſe that War put an entire Stop to our Exportation of any Manufactures to *Spain*, and made it more dangerous to export them any where elſe, which of courſe inhanced the Price, and, conſequently, diminiſhed the Sale at every other foreign Market. This at once threw Numbers of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers out of their uſual Way of ſubſiſting, and brought them and their Families upon their reſpective Pariſhes, which has, in many Pariſhes, raiſed the Poors Rates to a Height never known before in this, nor, I believe, in any other Kingdom.

'This, Sir, is the preſent deſperate State of our Trade, and God only knows when, or if ever we ſhall recover; but this is far from being the only dire Effect of the long Continuance of our many heavy Taxes. Our People bore with Patience the Loads they groan under, as long as they had any Hopes of ſeeing our Debts paid off, and our Taxes aboliſhed; but they have now loſt all Hopes, and this creates a general Uneaſineſs, which, if not ſpeedily removed, muſt end in the Subverſion of our Liberties, and, perhaps, the Overthrow of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment. If this unhappy State had been the neceſſary Conſequence of a long and unavoidable War: If by the extraordinary Expence we have put ourſelves to for twenty Years paſt, the Balance of Power in *Europe* had been ſettled upon a ſolid Foundation: If we had eſtabliſhed ſuch a Confidence among our Allies, and ſuch a Reſpect at all the Courts of *Europe*, as to prevent any

any one of them from daring to inſult or injure us, the People would have had ſome Conſolation, and would ſtill have had Reaſon to hope, that, at laſt, we might have been able to have paid off our Debts, and aboliſhed moſt of our Taxes. But can this be ſaid to be the Caſe? We have been engaged in no War: We have had no Occaſion to put ourſelves to any extraordinary Expence; for I will venture to ſay, that if we had not for theſe twenty Years paſt ſent one Miniſter or Courier abroad, nor kept one marching Regiment on foot at home, the Balance of Power would have been more ſecure than it is at preſent, and we ſhould have been more confided in by our Friends, and more dreaded by our Enemies, than we are at this Time, or have been at any Time within that Period. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'It is ſomething ſurpriſing, Sir, but it is what the whole Nation is now convinced of, that every extraordinary Article of Expence we have put ourſelves to for twenty Years paſt, every Negotiation we have entered into, and every Treaty we have concluded, has contributed to embroil more and more our Affairs, both at home and abroad, and to render the Balance of Power in *Europe* more precarious than it was before. By this Conduct, Sir, we at laſt found ourſelves involved in an open War with *Spain*, and threatned and dictated to by *France*, without one Ally to aſſiſt us, and without one Fund for carrying on the War, except an additional *two Shillings* upon Land; for we can no more call the Sinking Fund a Fund for carrying on a War, than we can call the Funds appropriated to the Payment of the Intereſt growing due to our publick Creditors a Fund for that Purpoſe; becauſe the Sinking Fund was ſo ſolemnly, as legally, and as authentically appropriated to the Payment of their Principal, as ever the other was to the Payment of their Intereſt.

'In theſe Circumſtances we were, Sir, nay, I may ſay, in worſe, when the late Emperor died; for *France*, by ſending her Squadrons to the *Weſt-Indies*, and the Manifeſto ſhe publiſhed upon that Occaſion, had in ſome Meaſure openly declared againſt us; and conſidering what little Succeſs we have had againſt *Spain* alone, what Succeſs could we have expected againſt *France* and *Spain* united together againſt us? From this immediate Danger we were ſet free by the Accident of the *Emperor*'s Death; for *France* then foreſaw ſhe might have a better Game to play, and was therefore willing to keep fair with this Nation for a Time; but how were we ſet free, Sir, from this immediate Danger? Sir, by the Balance of Power's being brought into the moſt imminent, and in all human Probability, the moſt unavoidable Danger; for, in my Opinion, nothing leſs than a Miracle

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. has hitherto prevented the utter Ruin of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, conſidering the many Powers which *France* has found Means to unite againſt it, and the little Aſſiſtance it has received from thoſe who were both in Honour and Intereſt obliged to ſupport it. This, Sir, I ſay, has for a Time prevented our having *France* avowedly united with *Spain* in the preſent War againſt us. If the *Emperor* had lived, we ſhould probably, before now, have been obliged to ſubmit to ſuch Terms of Peace with *Spain*, as *France* pleaſed to preſcribe, or we ſhould have been now ſtanding ſingle, and alone, againſt the joint Force of the two powerful Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*; for conſidering how we had deſerted the *Emperor* in the Year 1733, he would probably have rejoiced at our Diſtreſs; conſidering how we have treated the King of *Pruſſia* for ſeveral Years paſt, he would certainly have refuſed to give us any Aſſiſtance; and the *Dutch* durſt not have ventured to have joined us, without a powerful Confederacy in *Germany*. By good Conduct, and the Aſſiſtance of Providence, we might, perhaps, by ourſelves, have been able to have ſupported ſuch a War, eſpecially if we had by our former Oeconomy paid off our Debts, and freed our publick Revenue from Mortgage. We might have carried it on with Glory, and ended it with Honour; but conſidering what a powerful Navy *France* might have fitted out, if ſhe had no Way been obliged to divert her Strength by a Land War, and conſidering how we ſhould have been obliged to divide our Naval Force, for the Protection of our Trade in every Part of the World, and for the Defence of our Dominions in the *Mediterranean*, and in *America*, as well as at home, it muſt be allowed, that ſuch a War, ſuppoſing the beſt Conduct on our Side, would have been extremely heavy and dangerous; and if it had been left to the Management of thoſe, who have hitherto managed with ſo little Succeſs our War againſt *Spain* alone, we ſhould certainly, before this Time, have been undone.

'From hence we may ſee, Sir, that tho' the *Emperor*'s Death, at the Time it happened, was unlucky for *Europe*, and may, at laſt, prove unlucky for this Nation, yet it ſuſpended, or put off for a Time, the imminent Danger we were then expoſed to; but are we now free from this Danger? Does not every Man of common Penetration foreſee, that if *France* be allowed to ſettle the Affairs of *Germany* to her own Likeing, this Danger will recur upon us with redoubled Force? She may then dictate to moſt of the other States of *Europe*: She may compel thoſe that formerly would have remained neuter, to join with *Spain* and her againſt us; and thus, unleſs we ſubmit to whatever *France* ſhall pleaſe

pleaſe to preſcribe, we ſhall have not only *France*, but moſt of the States of *Europe*, united with *Spain* in a War againſt us. Such a War it would be impoſſible for us to ſupport. We ſhould then have no Alternative: We muſt ſubmit; and in ſuch a Caſe, who can tell what Sort of Submiſſion *France* might require? An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'This, Sir, is a moſt diſagreeable, a moſt melancholy Proſpect, and it becomes the more ſo when we conſider, that in the preſent diſtreſſed Condition of this Nation, and confuſed State of *Europe*, it is hardly poſſible to prevent the Danger, or to diſperſe the Cloud that hangs over us; for unleſs we can break that Confederacy which *France* has, by our Blunders, found Means to form againſt the Queen of *Hungary*, I am afraid, it will be impoſſible for us to form any counter Confederacy; and conſidering the preſent Load of Debt we groan under, and the general Uneaſineſs thereby occaſioned, it will be impoſſible for us to afford ſuch a powerful Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*, as may enable her to make Head againſt ſuch a mighty Confederacy. Thus, Sir, I hope, I have demonſtrated, that at preſent we labour under great Difficulties, and that our Affairs are in the utmoſt Diſtreſs both abroad and at home. This of itſelf is ſufficient for raiſing a general Suſpicion againſt the Conduct of our Miniſters. From the many expenſive Negotiations we have of late Years carried on: From the many expenſive and unprofitable Treaties we have concluded: From the vaſt Expence we have put ourſelves to, for giving Weight to thoſe Negotiations, or for enforcing the Obſervance of thoſe Treaties, the People of this Nation expected, that the Liberties of *Europe* would have been by this Time ſecured, beyond a Poſſibility of being attacked, and the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom ſecured beyond a Poſſibility of being interrupted; and, conſequently, that from this Time we might have diſbanded our Armies, laid up our Squadrons, diſmiſſed our foreign Auxiliaries, and applied ourſelves ſincerely and effectually to the paying off our Debts, and aboliſhing our Taxes. This, I ſay, the People expected: This they had Reaſon to expect; and now, when they find themſelves diſappointed in every one of theſe Particulars, they cannot but ſuſpect, they do moſt generally, and moſt violently ſuſpect, both the Wiſdom and Integrity of thoſe who, for ſo many Years, have had the Direction of our publick Affairs, and who have never been refuſed any Sum they thought neceſſary for ſecuring the Succeſs of their Meaſures.

'The Difficulties we labour under, the Diſtreſſes we are drove to, and the Dangers to which the Liberties of *Europe*,

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

and, consequently, the Liberties of this Nation, now lie exposed, may be owing to Causes of a different Nature. They may be owing, Sir, to the Folly or Ambition of foreign Courts, or to Events that could not be foreseen or provided against: It may appear, that our Ministers have done all that human Wisdom could direct, for preventing these fatal Effects; but the present Face of Affairs, both at home and abroad, affords such a strong Presumption against them, that it is become the Duty of Parliament to make an Inquiry into their Conduct. If they are conscious of no Neglect, Weakness, or Crime, they will promote that Inquiry, they will assist us in every Step that is necessary for making that Inquiry satisfactory to the Nation. If they behave otherwise, it will add Strength to the Presumption against them, and consequently, ought to make us more zealous in performing our Duty to our Country.'

'Thus, Sir, if at all Times, it ought to be look'd on as a Maxim, that all such Papers of Moment as are laid before this House, ought to be referred to a Select Committee, this Maxim ought, in our present Circumstances, to be most religiously observed, and therefore, I shall conclude with moving, 'That the several Papers presented to this House on 'Monday last, and, likewise, the several Papers presented to 'the House *Yesterday*, by Mr. *Comptroller*, be referred to 'a Select Committee; and that they do examine the same, 'and report to the House, what they find material in them.'

Mr H. Pelham.

This Motion being seconded, Mr. *Henry Pelham* stood up, and spoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

'If a Parliamentary Inquiry into our past Conduct could be carried on without any Interruption or Prejudice to our future, no Man should be more ready than I to agree to it: No Man should be more zealous in promoting it; because I am convinced, it would terminate in a full Justification of those lately concerned in our Administration, against all the Aspersions and Calumnies that have been cast upon their Conduct. But a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of Ministers always has been, and always must be attended with great Warmth; for the most innocent Minister will always have a Party in Parliament zealous to condemn, and the most guilty will generally have a Party zealous to acquit. This of course raises a Warmth within Doors, and this Warmth within Doors will always occasion Heats and Animosities without, which may rise to such a Height as to break out in a Civil War. Of this we had such a late Instance, that it can escape the Notice of no Gentleman in this House. I believe, few Gentlemen will now pretend to justify the Conduct

duct of thoſe, who were our Miniſters during the laſt four Years of Queen *Anne*: I believe, moſt Gentlemen are now convinced, they were guilty of very high Crimes and Miſdemeanors; and yet, we all know, a Parliamentary Inquiry into their Conduct, was the Occaſion of a Civil War in the Kingdom, which might have been fatal to us, if we had at that Time been engaged in a foreign War, or if *Europe* had been in ſuch a Situation as it is in at preſent.'

'I had then, Sir, the Honour to be a Member of this Houſe, and I was zealous for the Inquiry then ſet on Foot, becauſe I thought the Miniſters guilty, and becauſe I thought we had then an Opportunity to inquire into their Conduct, without expoſing the Nation to any foreign Danger. But for as much as I was convinced of the Miſconduct of thoſe Miniſters, if the Nation had been at that Time involved in a dangerous foreign War, or if the Liberties of *Europe* had been as much in Danger as they are at preſent, I ſhould have been for ſuſpending our Reſentment againſt the Guilty, till we had fully provided for the Safety of the Innocent; and the Event ſhewed, that this Sort of Conduct would have been the moſt prudent.'

'This ought always, in my Opinion, to be a Rule for our Conduct, even when we are convinced that Miniſters are criminal, or have been guilty of ſome Piece of Miſconduct: How much more ought it to be a Rule for our Conduct, when we are convinced of their Innocence, or have but a bare Suſpicion of their Guilt. When a Parliamentary Inquiry is ſet up, Innocence may be a Safeguard, but it is far from being a Safeguard in which a Miniſter can ſecurely and quietly put his Truſt. He muſt not ſit with his Arms acroſs, and truſt to the Honeſty of his Proſecutors and Impartiality of his Judges. He muſt be watchful that no falſe Evidence ſhall be brought or given againſt him, and diligent and expeditious in detecting and expoſing it when it is. He muſt take Care to make his Innocence appear in every Inſtance where it is attacked, and for this Purpoſe he may very probably be obliged to diſcover Secrets which may be of great Prejudice to the Nation. At the ſame Time, he muſt in every Step be watchful, leſt any Point ſhould be carried againſt him by a factious Cabal, and for this Purpoſe he muſt diligently and earneſtly ſollicit the Attendance of all his Friends. Theſe Conſiderations, Sir, muſt ſhew, that during ſuch an Inquiry, no Adminiſtration can have Leiſure to mind the publick Buſineſs as they ought; and beſides, the Neceſſity Miniſters are in ſuch Caſes reduced to, of divulging the Secrets of Government, in order to juſtify their Conduct, may be of infinite and irreparable Prejudice to the Publick;

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Publick; therefore, I think, we ought to lay it down as a Rule for our Conduct, never to conſent to a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of an Adminiſtration, unleſs we be convinced, that ſome of thoſe concerned have been guilty of very great Crimes or Miſdemeanors.'

'A common Rumour, or a bare Suſpicion, however general, can be no ſufficient Ground for ſetting up ſuch an Inquiry; becauſe ſuch Rumours and Suſpicions are ſpread againſt the beſt, as well as againſt the worſt Miniſters. Nay, a good Miniſter is more liable than a bad one to ſuch Rumours and Suſpicions. If he be frugal of the publick Treaſure, and cautious in granting publick Favours: If he prefers meritorious Modeſty to clamorous Impudence, he muſt raiſe to himſelf a great Number of Enemies; for every Man who is refuſed any Suit, however juſtly, becomes a ſecret or declared Enemy to the Miniſter, and of courſe endeavours to propagate Calumnies againſt him; and the Misfortune is, that the moſt Impudent and Clamorous are generally moſt liſtned to by the unthinking Part of Mankind. Tho' this be by far the moſt numerous Part of Mankind, yet, I hope, there are none of them in this Houſe, and therefore, whatever Rumours or Suſpicions may be ſpread without Doors, I hope, they will not be liſtned to here, unleſs they appear to be founded upon indiſputable Facts, or very ſtrong Preſumptions.'

'As to Facts, Sir, notwithſtanding the many Rumours that are ſpread without Doors, I have never yet heard a Proof offered of any one criminal Fact againſt thoſe concerned in our Adminiſtration; and as to the Preſumptions that have been ſuggeſted, I do not think there is the leaſt Foundation for any one of them. That this Nation labours under great Difficulties, and that the preſent Poſture of Affairs, both at Home or Abroad, is far from being agreeable, I ſhall readily grant; but to every one who, with Candour, examines the Hiſtory of this Nation, and of *Europe*, for Twenty Years paſt, it muſt appear evident, that neither of theſe Misfortunes can juſtly be imputed to any Deſign or Miſconduct in our Miniſters. Our Debts were all contracted long before the preſent Adminiſtration had a Being. At leaſt, if any new Debt has been contracted, a much greater old one has been paid off; for when our preſent Miniſters firſt came into Power, the National Debt was larger than it is at preſent, and what was worſe, our publick Credit, by an ill managed Project, was almoſt entirely ſunk. They, by their Wiſdom and good Management, ſoon reſtored the publick Credit of the Nation, and they have ſince paid off

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as much of the publick Debt as it was poſſible, without loading the People with ſome new or additional Taxes. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

' If we had kept up no Army; if we had kept up no Navy; if we had been put to no Expence by the ambitious Projects of foreign Princes, I ſhall admit, Sir, that a much larger Share of our publick Debt might have been paid off, and, perhaps, many of our heavy Taxes aboliſhed. But will any one ſay, that at any Time for this Twenty Years paſt, it would have been prudent or ſafe to disband our Army? Will any one ſay, that we ought to have left our Navy to rot and fall to decay? Will any one ſay, now that we ſo ſenſibly feel a Want of Seamen, that we ought not always to keep a large Number of Seamen in Pay? Will any one ſay, that when we were threaten'd with an Attack, we ought not to have provided for our Defence? By ſo doing, Sir, we have always prevented the Attack, and thereby preſerved our domeſtick Tranquility for theſe Twenty Years paſt; and ſurely it will be allowed, that it is both ſafer and cheaper to prevent than to repel an Invaſion.

' Therefore, Sir, if a greater Share of our publick Debt has not been paid off; if none of our heavy Taxes have been aboliſhed, it is not owing to any Miſmanagement in our Miniſters, but to the publick Neceſſities, which annually required a larger Expence than had been foreſeen. If our Miniſters had taken upon them to be ſole Judges of thoſe Neceſſities, there might have been ſome Pretence for finding Fault with their Conduct; but they have regularly laid theſe Neceſſities before the Parliament, and have never put the Nation to one Shilling Expence, but what has been previouſly authoriſed, or afterwards approved of by a Majority in both Houſes; therefore an Inquiry into their Conduct upon this Head, may properly be called an Inquiry into the Conduct of Parliament, and if you ſhould give Sentence againſt the former, it will be a Condemnation of the latter, which, with Regard to the Reſpect due to Parliament, may have a very bad Effect upon all Degrees of Men in this Kingdom.

' Now, Sir, with regard to the preſent Poſture of Affairs at Home and Abroad, I ſhall grant, it is a Misfortune to this Nation to be involv'd in a War with *Spain*: I ſhall grant it is a Misfortune to *Europe*, to have ſo many of its Princes united for deſtroying that Balance of Power upon which their own Independency, at leaſt the Independency of all of them but one, moſt abſolutely depends. But can either of theſe Misfortunes be imputed to any Miſconduct in our Miniſters? Our being involv'd in a War with *Spain*, is owing to nothing but the Pride, Haughtineſs, and Obſtinacy of that Nation. Did our Miniſters adviſe his Majeſty to declare

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declare War againſt *Spain* without a Cauſe? Did they precipitate the Nation into that War, without having firſt tried every Method for obtaining Satisfaction by peaceable Means? We all know that their Backwardneſs in commencing Hoſtilities was exclaimed againſt by many in this Nation, and even by thoſe who now endeavour to load them with the Misfortune of our being involv'd in War. Thus, Sir, if Miniſters purſue pacifick Meaſures, their Conduct is found Fault with, and if they purſue warlike Meaſures their Conduct is found Fault with; if they provide for our Defence at Home, and thereby prevent an Attack, their Conduct is found Fault with, on Account of the Expence; and if, by their neglecting to provide for our Defence, the Nation ſhould be invaded, their Conduct would certainly, and, I am ſure, with more Reaſon, be found Fault with. This, Sir, makes me think, it is not ſo much their Conduct, as their continuing to be our Miniſters, that is the real Ground of Complaint; and this will be a Ground of Complaint againſt all future, as well as againſt our preſent Miniſters; for no Man that ſerves the Crown will give up his Imployment, as long as the King inclines he ſhould keep it, and deſires nothing of him, inconſiſtent with his Honour, or the Good of his Country, which, it is well known, his preſent Majeſty will never deſire of any Man that ſerves him; and this, perhaps, makes Gentlemen ſo fond of getting into Imployment, but it is, in my Opinion, an ungrateful Return in Gentlemen, to endeavour to diſtreſs his Majeſty's Affairs, in order to force themſelves into his Service.

'Thus, Sir, I think, it muſt appear, that no one who has the Honour of having a Share in his Majeſty's Councils, can be blamed for the Misfortune of our being involved in a War with *Spain*, and as little can they be blamed for the preſent unhappy State of Affairs in *Europe*, which is entirely owing to one of theſe two Cauſes: Either to a fatal, I may ſay frantick Ambition in ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, who, rather than not extend their Dominions, ſeem reſolved to render themſelves dependent upon the Crown of *France*; or it is owing to an unaccountable Obſtinacy in the Court of *Vienna*, who, rather than do Juſtice to their neighbouring Princes in *Germany*, ſeem reſolved to bring themſelves, and the whole *German* Empire, into a Sort of Subjection to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. Which of theſe two Cauſes the preſent Misfortune of *Europe* is owing to, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but let it be which it will, our Miniſters cannot be blamed. It was not, it cannot be ſuppoſed to have been in their Power to govern the Ambition of the Princes of *Germany*, or to overcome the Obſtinacy of the Court of *Vienna*.

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'I hope, I have now ſhewn, Sir, that neither the Difficulties we labour under, nor the preſent dangerous Situation of Affairs, can afford any Preſumption of Miſconduct in thoſe, who for ſome Time paſt, have had the Honour of being in his Majeſty's Councils; and as no particular Crime has yet been charged againſt them, nor the leaſt Proof offered of any Fact, if there are any Suſpicions without Doors, thoſe Suſpicions can have no ſolid Foundation, and ought not therefore to have ſuch Weight within Doors, as to lead us into a Parliamentary Inquiry, which is always troubleſome, and, at this Juncture, would be extremely dangerous. If this Nation be in Diſtreſs, if the Affairs of *Europe* be in Diſtreſs, as they certainly are, it ſhould be an Argument with us to avoid all perſonal Altercations and Animoſities, and to unite heartily among ourſelves, both in Council and Action, for retrieving Affairs both abroad and at home. The Caſe of this Nation, the Caſe of *Europe*, is not yet, thank God! ſo deſperate, but that both may be reſtored, if proper Remedies be ſpeedily applied. Our publick Credit is yet in a flouriſhing Condition: We may yet raiſe large Sums for the Support of a neceſſary War; and if the Tranquility of *Europe* be reſtored, and eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid Foundation, we may ſoon pay off old Arrears, as well as what we may be obliged to contract for that ſalutary Purpoſe. The Confederacy formed againſt the Queen of *Hungary* is ſo unnatural, that it muſt of itſelf be diſſolved, unleſs the Princes of *Germany* be kept firm to *France*, by ſeeing it impoſſible or dangerous to break from her. This may be prevented, if we immediately unite amongſt ourſelves, and interpoſe with the whole Strength of the *Britiſh* Nation; but if, like ignorant and contentious Phyſicians, we ſit accuſing one another of Malpractice, the Patient may expire in the Interim.'

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'I muſt, therefore, conjure Gentlemen to give over all perſonal Animoſities, and think of nothing but giving his Majeſty that Advice, and thoſe Aids, which may be thought proper and neceſſary for providing againſt the Calamity that threatens us. If any Thing has been done amiſs, we may ſoon find a proper Time for inquiring into it, but the preſent is far from being ſo; and if no immediate Inquiry be deſigned, we have no Occaſion for referring any Papers to the Conſideration of a Select Committee; for I cannot agree with my honourable Friend in thinking, that every important Paper, or Parcel of Papers, that are, or may be laid before the Houſe, ſhould be referred to a Select Committee. If this were laid down as a Rule for our Conduct, we ſhould have Time to do nothing, but to hear and conſider the Reports from ſuch Committees. It would therefore be impoſſible to ob-

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

ſerve the Rule, and it has never been the Practice. When Gentlemens Curioſity prompts them to deſire a Sight of any Papers of State, they move for having them laid before the Houſe, and their Motion is always complied with, when conſiſtent with the publick Safety. When the Papers thus called for are laid upon the Table, they examine them: If they find nothing material, their whole Deſign is anſwered; but if they find any Thing they think worth the Notice of the Houſe, they acquaint the Houſe with what they have obſerved, and if a Majority be of the ſame Opinion, the Houſe either enters into the immediate Conſideration thereof, which they may eaſily do, becauſe the Papers are upon the Table; or refer the Whole to the Conſideration of a Committee, perhaps a Select Committee.'

'This, Sir, is the uſual Method of proceeding in ſuch Caſes, and as no Obſervations have been made upon any of the Papers referred to in this Motion, nor any one Fact mentioned from them for inducing us to take any of them into our Conſideration, I muſt ſuppoſe, that thoſe Gentlemen who have peruſed them, for I confeſs I have not, have found nothing in them, they think worth the Notice of the Houſe; and if they have not, I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould give any Committee the Trouble to peruſe and examine them.'

'But, beſides ſeeing no Reaſon for referring theſe Papers to a Select Committee, there are, I think, ſtrong Reaſons againſt it. If this Motion ſhould be complied with, it will immediately ſpread an Opinion abroad, that inſtead of taking proper Meaſures for the Time to come, we are going to enter upon an Inquiry into paſt Meaſures; this will certainly raiſe Diviſions amongſt us, and may produce a Civil War in the Kingdom, or, at leaſt a Breach between his Majeſty and his Parliament, which will of courſe diſable us from giving our Friends abroad any Aſſiſtance, or interpoſing any Manner of Way in the Affairs of *Europe*; and the Conſequence of ſuch an Opinion's being ſpread abroad, may be moſt fatal. The Princes now united in an Alliance with *France*, will then ſee it impoſſible to break off from that Alliance: The other Princes and States of *Europe* will ſee it impoſſible to form any Confederacy, capable of giving a Check to the Deſigns of *France*: The Queen of *Hungary*, deſpairing of any Relief or Aſſiſtance, will immediately ſubmit to ſuch Terms as *France* ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe; and the Court of *France*, being free from the Fear of Controul, will ſet no Bounds to their Ambition. Suppoſe their preſent chief Miniſter ſhould be moderate in his Views; ſuppoſe he has no other Intention than to reduce the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, without

out adding to the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, yet in ſuch a Caſe, it would be impoſſible for him to ſtem the Torrent of *French* Ambition, or to govern a Court where that Paſſion has always ſo much prevailed.'

'The ſpreading ſuch an Opinion abroad is, therefore, Sir, what we ought moſt carefully to prevent; but if this Motion ſhould be agreed to, it would be impoſſible to prevent a moſt ſtrict Inquiry, and a moſt violent Proſecution's being ſet on Foot. There are many Gentlemen, I hope, both within Doors and without, of a moderate Diſpoſition, and ſuch as have a greater Regard for the Safety of the Publick, than for any perſonal Reſentment. Thoſe Gentlemen may, as yet, be able to govern and moderate the Temper of the Nation, or, at leaſt of this Houſe; but if a Select Committee were once named, I am afraid, it would be out of their Power. That Committee would think it incumbent upon them to do ſomething: The Papers now propoſed to be referred to them would give them an Inclination to ſee others, and thoſe again would make them think it neceſſary to ſee more, till they had got all the State Papers, even the moſt ſecret before them; and in order to ſucceed in all their Motions for this Purpoſe, and to have their Report approved of, they would endeavour to raiſe, and would probably ſucceed in raiſing a moſt violent and revengeful Spirit, both without Doors and within, which might fall heavy upon ſome innocent Men, as well as upon the Guilty. The former, his Majeſty would certainly, from his known Juſtice and Reſolution, endeavour to protect, and what might be the Conſequence of ſuch a Conteſt God only knows.'

'Thus, Sir, as I can ſee no Reaſon for this Motion: As, I think, it would be attended with the moſt dangerous, the moſt fatal Conſequences, I muſt therefore be againſt it, and hope the honourable Gentlemen will not inſiſt upon their Motion; for even their inſiſting upon it may have a very bad Effect upon his Majeſty's Negotiations abroad.'

Mr Alex. Hume Campbell.

The Hon. *Alexander Hume Campbell* ſpoke next.

Sir,

'The honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has made me conſider the Motion now before you with great Attention, and that the Houſe may do the ſame, I deſire, it may be again read by the Clerk at your Table.'

The Motion being read, he went on thus.

'I cannot conceive, Sir, how the honourable Gentleman could from this Motion take Occaſion to talk of Inquiries, perſonal Piques and Reſentments. Is there any Word, is there any Expreſſion in the Motion, that ſeems to inſinuate, as if an Inquiry were intended, or that can be thought

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to carry any perſonal Reſentment? If an Hon. Gentleman near him had talk'd ſo upon this Queſtion, I ſhould not have been ſurpriſed, becauſe, I believe, there is nothing he dreads ſo much; and when one's Mind is ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the Fear of any thing, the Imagination often preſents the Phantom when there is no real Appearance; but as I am convinced, the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt can dread no Inquiry, with reſpect to himſelf at leaſt, I am amazed how this Queſtion came to preſent to his View the Phantom of an Inquiry.'

'Sir, there is nothing more in this Queſtion, nor, I believe, any thing more intended by it, than a proper Examination of thoſe Papers, which were certainly called for with the Deſign of having them properly examined; and as they cannot be properly examined without referring them to a Select Committee, I hope to ſhew ſuch Reaſons for our complying with the Motion, as cannot be ſuppoſed to proceed from any perſonal Reſentment, but I muſt beg Leave to ſay a Word or two about Inquiries in general, which the Hon. Gentleman has repreſented in ſo hideous a Light. He has told us, Sir, that Parliamentary Inquiries always raiſe Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, and have ſometimes raiſed a Civil War in the Kingdom. On the contrary, I will venture to affirm, from the whole Tenor of our Hiſtory, that the Preventing or Oppoſing of a Parliamentary Inquiry has always had that Effect; and that the giving Way to a Parliamentary Inquiry, when the Majority of the Nation call'd for it, never raiſed any. The Rebellion at the Beginning of the late Reign, was not occaſioned by the Parliamentary Inquiry then ſet on Foot, but by a *Jacobite* Spirit which at that Time but too univerſally prevailed in the Nation. Whatever Tranſgreſſions the former Miniſters had been guilty of, they had found Means to ſet themſelves at the Head of a very numerous and powerful Party in the Nation, who were attached to them, not by Bribery and Corruption, or any ſelfiſh View, but from a real, tho' very wrong Principle. That Party wanted nothing but a Head for flying to Arms, and the Inquiry, indeed, furniſhed them with what they wanted. But is this the Caſe at preſent? Can it be ſaid, that our preſent Miniſters have any Party attached to them from Principle? They have no Party but ſuch as are attached to them from Motives of Self-Intereſt, and as ſoon as you take from them the Diſtribution of the Loaves and Fiſhes, their Followers will deſert them of courſe.'

'We have therefore, Sir, nothing to fear from ſetting up a Parliamentary Inquiry, but a great deal from our neglecting it. The whole Nation, at leaſt all thoſe who dare ſpeak their

their Minds, call loudly for it, and if it ſhould be prevented, or defeated by a Court Majority in Parliament, it will raiſe a general Diſaffection to our Government. Will our Friends abroad put any Truſt or Confidence in ſuch a Government? Can our Enemies dread any Thing from ſuch a Government? Sir, it is well known, both abroad and at home, that an unpopular Government in this Kingdom never did, nor, I hope, ever can act with Vigour or Spirit. I ſay, I hope, it never can; for this muſt be the Caſe as long as there is the leaſt Relick of Liberty amongſt us. All thoſe fatal Conſequences therefore, which the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to prognoſticate from our entering upon an Inquiry into our late Conduct, may more naturally, and more reaſonably be prognoſticated, nay, muſt neceſſarily enſue, from our not giving the Nation the Satisfaction they expected from this new Parliament. Our Friends abroad will deſpair: Our Enemies will rejoice. For this Reaſon, Sir, ſo far as I can judge at preſent, I ſhall give my Vote for an Inquiry as ſoon as it ſhall be propoſed; and I ſhall be for carrying it through with all poſſible Strictneſs, without any perſonal Prejudice. I have no Reſentment againſt any but thoſe who are ſuſpected of being the Enemies and Betrayers of their Country, and againſt ſuch I ſhall always have a Reſentment, till I ſee them cleared by an honeſt and fair Inquiry.'

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'But I beg Pardon, Sir, for taking up ſo much of your Time upon this Subject; for the preſent Queſtion is not about an Inquiry, it has nothing to do in the Debate; much leſs with Admonitions againſt perſonal Piques and Animoſities; for from what is now propoſed, no Man can fear a perſonal Attack, unleſs he be conſcious, that from theſe Papers ſomething criminal in his Conduct may be diſcovered: and I hope no Member of this Houſe will refuſe doing his Duty towards his Sovereign, for fear ſome Crime ſhould thereby be diſcovered in any Miniſter. I ſay, doing his Duty towards his Sovereign, Sir, for whether we ſhall do ſo or no, is the Queſtion, and the only Queſtion now before us. His Majeſty, in his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, has expreſsly required our Counſel and Aſſiſtance; Can we give him either without firſt knowing how? Can we know how, without firſt examining into the preſent State of Affairs both abroad and at home? Would not a Phyſician be a Madman, to preſcribe to a Patient, without firſt examining into the State of his Diſtemper, the Cauſes from which it aroſe, and the Remedies that had before been applied? This is our Caſe at preſent. His Majeſty has deſired our Counſel: If he had not, we are bound to give it, conſidering the preſent melancholy State of Affairs; and for this Purpoſe we ought to examine into it as narrowly as we can. 'I

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'I have not Sir, perused many of the Papers mentioned in this Motion: Neither shall I, unless this Motion be agreed to; for who would peruse such Piles of Papers, without an Expectation at least, that his Perusal might probably be attended with some good Effect. But from the very Titles of them, I can see, that it is absolutely necessary to have all these Papers, at least, narrowly look'd into, before we can know any Thing about the political Distemper which at present threaten the Liberties of this Nation, as well as the Liberties of *Europe*, with an immediate Dissolution. We are by Treaty obliged to assist the Queen of *Hungary* against the *French* and *Bavarians*, because they directly attack the *Pragmatick Sanction*; but we are not obliged by Treaty to assist her against the King of *Prussia*, because he asserts only what he pretends to be the antient Rights of his House. We are therefore both in Honour and Justice obliged to inquire into the Foundation of this Dispute; for if *Prussia*'s Claim be just, and the Queen of *Hungary* obstinately refuses to do him Justice, it will free us from the Engagement we are under, of assisting her against the *French* and *Bavarians*; because, tho' we have guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction*, yet if she by her Obstinacy makes it more difficult and dangerous for us to perform that Guaranty, than it would have been otherwise, it frees us both in Equity and Honour from that Engagement.'

'This, Sir, must shew how absolutely necessary it is for us to examine strictly into the Contents of the Letters, Memorials, and Papers presented to us, before we can give any Advice to his Majesty, with regard to the present State of Affairs in *Europe*; and particularly, Sir, I must mention the Treaty between his Majesty and the Queen of *Hungary*, dated at *Hanover*, *June* 13, 1741. Surely this Treaty, with every Paper, previous and consequent, relating to it, ought to be examined in the strictest Manner, before we can judge how Matters stands between us and the Queen of *Hungary*.'

'Then, Sir, with regard to our War with *Spain*, as there have been many Disputes between *France* and us, on Account of that War, and as its Continuance very much depends upon the impartial as well as neutral Behaviour of the *French*, we ought certainly to examine carefully the Papers, before we offer any Advice to his Majesty, relating to the future Conduct of the War. The Case may stand between the King of *Prussia* and Queen of *Hungary*, so as to free us from any Obligation to assist her; but if it should appear, that the *French* have assisted the *Spaniards* as much as they could in an underhand Manner, we may from thence judge,

judge, that they will declare openly againſt us, as ſoon as they have ſettled the Affairs of *Germany* to their Mind. This ſhould make us, without any other Conſideration, reſolve to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary* in the moſt ſtrenuous Manner, let the Conſequence be what it will. Nay, I don't know, but that it ſhould make us immediately declare War againſt *France*; for it would be better to declare againſt her, whilſt ſhe is engaged in War with the Queen of *Hungary*, than to wait for her declaring againſt us, after ſhe has reduced the Queen of *Hungary* to her own Terms.' An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'These Arguments, I hope, the Hon. Gentleman cannot ſay proceed from any perſonal Reſentment. It is not poſſible for any one to ſuppoſe, that a Parliamentary Proſecution would be the Conſequence of this Motion, without firſt ſuppoſing, that our Miniſters have been guilty of ſome criminal Sort of Conduct; and this is a Suppoſition which I ſhall not make, leſt the Hon. Gentleman ſhould ſay, it proceeds from particular Prejudice: Surely the Parliament may offer Advice, and take the proper Methods for being able to do ſo, without ſetting up an Inquiry. None of the Arguments he has made uſe of againſt an Inquiry can, therefore, operate in the leaſt againſt this Motion, which tends merely to enable us to perform, as we ought, that Duty his Majeſty has required of us; and the ſooner we ſet about the Performance of that Duty, it will be the better both for ourſelves and our Friends. The publick Affairs of this Nation have for many Years paſt, been ſolely directed by his Majeſty's inferior Councils, for his great and ſupreme Council has never once offered any Advice, but ſuch as was dictated by the Miniſter: Both the Affairs of this Nation, and the Affairs of *Europe*, are at laſt brought into the utmoſt Diſtreſs: Whether the Advice his Majeſty has received from his inferior Councils has any Way contributed to this Diſtreſs, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but it is certain, their Advice has not prevented it, nor have they applied ſo much as one Remedy, tho' the Diſtreſs has been apparent for above this Twelvemonth It is therefore high Time for his Majeſty's great Council to interpoſe with its Advice. From ſuch an Interpoſition our Friends will conceive Hopes, our Enemies Apprehenſions.'

'Thus, Sir, makes me extremely ſollicitous about the Succeſs of this Motion; becauſe the Fate of *Europe*, as well as of this Nation, in a great Meaſure, depends upon it. If this Motion be agreed to, I ſhall expect to ſee the Queen of *Hungary* continue to reſiſt the Torrent of Enemies that have broke in upon her, with that ſurpriſing Firmneſs of Mind ſhe has hitherto manifeſted. If this Motion ſhould be rejected, eſpecially

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ally if by a great Majority, I fear, it may have a moſt miſchievous Effect upon her Councils, by making them deſpair, and conſequently ſubmit; I ſhall therefore heartily give my Affirmative to the Queſtion.'

Mr Winnington.

Hereupon Mr *Winnington* * ſpoke to the following Effect:

Mr *Speaker*,

'Whatever Gentlemen may pretend, it is evident, that the Motion now under our Conſideration, muſt produce an Inquiry, and a very general one too. You are deſired to appoint a Seleſt Committee, and, I ſuppoſe, the next Motion will be to make it a Secret one; to do what? To examine the ſeveral Papers mentioned in the Motion, and to report what they may think material in them. Is not this a Motion for an Enquiry into the Affairs which thoſe Papers relate to? It is certainly therefore a Motion for a particular Inquiry. But can any one imagine the Inquiry will ceaſe there? An Inquiry into thoſe Affairs will naturally, and even neceſſarily, produce an Inquiry into other Affairs, and thoſe again into others; ſo that the Inquiry will, at laſt, become general, and may extend itſelf farther back than moſt People now dream of; for there is ſuch a Concatenation between State Affairs, domeſtick and foreign, precedent and ſubſequent, that it is impoſſible to judge of one without a thorough Inſight into all the reſt, till you arrive at a certain Criſis, when the whole Affairs of the Nation began to take a new Turn, which probably will be as far back as the Acceſſion of his late Majeſty to the Throne.

'Whether we can find Twenty-one Perſons in this Houſe, fit to be intruſted with all the Secrets of our Government, is what I very much queſtion, but this I am ſure of, that when a Secret Committee is once named, and inveſted with the uſual Powers, no one can tell how far they will go. The Mind of Man is naturally curious, and fond of diving into Secrets, eſpecially when they think they may thereby raiſe their Character, purſue their Intereſt, or gratify their Reſentment. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that this Secret Committee will extend their Inquiries as far as poſſible, and that in every Report they make, they will refer it to ſome Affair not yet inquired into. This will give them a Pretence for deſiring an Extenſion of Power, and as the Majority of the Houſe will probably be as curious as they, their Deſire will be readily granted. Thus the Houſe, inſtead of putting a Stop to their Progreſs, will probably encourage it, and his Majeſty can put an End to it no other Way than by a Diſſolution or Prorogation, either of

* Cofferer of his Majeſty's Houſehold.

of which would throw all Things into Confuſion. From whence we may ſee, that our agreeing to this Motion muſt neceſſarily terminate in a general Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs, for God knows how many Years paſt; and this, beſides diſcovering all the Secrets of our Government to our Enemies, would certainly raiſe great Animoſities and Heart-burnings amongſt us, which at a Time when we are in open War with *Spain*, and when the Liberties of *Europe* ſtand ſo much in need of our Aſſiſtance, might be attended with Conſequences which I tremble to think of. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'A Civil War, Sir, is in itſelf a moſt terrible Evil, but conſidering the preſent Circumſtances of Things, that would be one of the leaſt Evils we ſhould have to fear; for while we were engaged in cutting one another's Throats, the Liberties of *Europe* would be undone, and the Nation itſelf would fall a Prey to its moſt antient and moſt inveterate Enemy. That an Inquiry into the paſt Conduct of our publick Affairs would have ſuch a Tendency, has, I think, been confeſſed by thoſe who have ſpoke in Favour of this Motion. It has been allowed, that the Inquiry at the Beginning of the late King's Reign, furniſhed a Head for the diſaffected Party; and that this was the Cauſe of the Rebellion muſt likewiſe be allowed, for without a Head, the Diſaffected, or if you pleaſe, the Party attached to the former Adminiſtration, could never have had Recourſe to Arms. How are we ſure, that an Inquiry at this Time may not produce the ſame Effect? It is *gratis dictum* to ſay, that no Man is attached to our preſent Adminiſtration but from Motives of Self Intereſt: I might as well ſay, that none but Jacobites and Republicans are againſt it.

'All thoſe who approve of our publick Meaſures, and are convinced that nothing has been done amiſs, muſt be attached to the Government from a Principle of Juſtice, and would, nay ought to ſtand up againſt their being unjuſtly condemned by a prevailing Faction in Parliament; we are not therefore to ſuppoſe, that our preſent Miniſters would be deſerted by all their Friends, upon a Cenſure's being unjuſtly paſſed againſt them in Parliament. And as Secret Committees generally pique themſelves upon finding Fault, and upon getting their Opinion approved of by a Majority, ſuch a Cenſure would probably be the Conſequence of an Inquiry, which might put the Friends of our Miniſters upon defending them by Arms, ſince they found they could not defend them by a Majority of Voices in Parliament.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

' To this I muſt add, Sir, the Danger of his Majeſty's being prevailed on to think, that the Proſecution of his Miniſters proceeded from a Jacobite or Republican Spirit in Parliament, and that tho' the Attack was firſt made upon his Miniſters, it was principally deſigned againſt himſelf, or againſt the moſt eſſential Prerogatives of his Crown. This Belief his Majeſty may the more eaſily be brought into, from the Example of the Parliament of the Year 1640. That Parliament, or at leaſt the principal Leaders of it, had certainly, from the very Beginning, a Deſign againſt the Crown itſelf, but they covered their Deſign under the Cloak of a Deſire to puniſh guilty Miniſters, and a Zeal for that very Conſtitution which they intended to deſtroy. They attack'd the King's Miniſters, and thoſe Miniſters, perhaps, deſerved the Attack, but the Conſequence ſhewed, that their chief Deſign was againſt the Crown. In this, it is now certain, they were encouraged by the Court of *France*, and ſome of them, perhaps, were bribed by *French* Gold. May not the ſame Thing happen again? May not the Majority of this Houſe be influenced by a Jacobite or Republican Spirit, ſupported by *French* Promiſes and *French* Gold? If this ſhould happen to be the Caſe, his Majeſty would be obliged to defend himſelf and his Miniſters by Force of Arms; and ſuppoſe this were not really the Caſe, yet if his Majeſty ſuppoſed it were, the Effect would be the ſame.

' We ſhould therefore, Sir, be extremely cautious of going upon an Inquiry into the Conduct of Miniſters, unleſs we have ſome very ſtrong Proofs of their being guilty, and ſuch as may give our Sovereign Reaſon to think they are ſo. Such Proofs are neceſſary not only in Juſtice to our Miniſters, who ought not to be ſubjected to the Trouble and Danger of a Trial, without any Sort of Proof, but alſo in reſpect to our Sovereign, and in order to prevent his having any Suſpicion, that the Inquiry proceeds from Diſaffection to him, or from a concealed Deſign againſt his Crown and Dignity. Such a Caution is neceſſary at all Times, but eſpecially at preſent, on Account of the Circumſtances of our Affairs, both domeſtick and foreign. With regard to our domeſtick Affairs, it is well known, that there is ſtill a very ſtrong Spirit of Jacobitiſm in the Country, and therefore, when a Spirit of Inquiry prevails in Parliament, the King has Reaſon to believe it proceeds from a Spirit of Jacobitiſm, unleſs by the Proofs upon which that Inquiry is founded, he ſhould be convinced, that there are very good Reaſons to ſuſpect his Miniſters having been guilty of Miſconduct. Then with regard to the Circumſtances of our Affairs abroad, we are in open War with *Spain*, and upon very bad Terms with *France*,

France, becauſe of her Apprehenſions leſt we ſhould defeat her ambitious Deſigns in *Europe*, by giving effectual Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*. A Diſſenſion between his Majeſty and his Parliament would prevent our being able to proſecute the War againſt *Spain* with Vigour, or to give any Diſturbance to the Projects of *France*: It is therefore the Intereſt of both, to raiſe, if poſſible, ſuch a Diſſenſion; and for that Purpoſe to procure an Attack upon the beſt Miniſters of the Crown. This his Majeſty has, at this Time eſpecially, great Reaſon to be jealous of; and if he ſhould ſee any of his Miniſters attacked in Parliament without Proof, without ſo much as an Allegation of any particular criminal Fact, would not he have great Reaſon to conclude, that the Attack proceeded from *French* and *Spaniſh* Gold, and that according to the old Maxim; *Principiis obſta*, he was obliged, both for his own Safety, and the Safety of his Kingdoms, to ſtifle it in its Infancy. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'But the Inquiry now propoſed is not, it ſeems, with a Deſign to attack any of his Majeſty's Miniſters, or to diſcover any Crimes or Overſights in their Conduct, but merely to enable us to give his Majeſty our Counſel and Advice upon the preſent Poſture of Affairs. Sir, if the Advocates for this Motion have ſuch a Knowledge of our ancient Conſtitution as they pretend, they muſt know, that to counſel or adviſe is the proper Buſineſs of the other Houſe: Our Buſineſs is to conſent: Our very Writs ſhew, that this is our proper Province; and therefore, I think, we ought not to be forward in offering our Advice, except when it is particularly and expreſsly aſk'd by his Majeſty. In his Speech from the Throne his Majeſty has, 'tis true, told both Houſes, for this Part of the Speech is addreſſed to both, that the Poſture of Affairs makes our Counſel and Aſſiſtance neceſſary. Whether theſe two Words ought to be taken jointly or ſeparately is the Queſtion? According to our antient Conſtitution, they ought to be taken ſeparately: The Word *Counſel* ought to be ſuppoſed to be directed to the other Houſe, and the Word *Aſſiſtance* to this. The Peers are to adviſe ſuch Meaſures as they think neceſſary: The Commons are to aſſiſt by granting ſuch Sums as are neceſſary for carrying thoſe Meaſures into Execution. But ſuppoſe the Words were to be taken jointly, we are not from hence to conclude, that we are to determine what Points we are to give our Advice upon. We ought to ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty will afterwards communicate to us, by Meſſage, the Points upon which he deſires our Advice; and when he does ſo, he will certainly order all the neceſſary Papers to be laid before the Houſe, or if they are of ſo ſecret a Nature

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742. that they ought not to be laid before ſuch a numerous Aſſembly, he will deſire us to appoint a Secret Committee for inſpecting ſuch Papers as he may think fit to communicate. To wait for ſuch a Meſſage would be acting in our proper Sphere, and with due Reſpect to our Sovereign, agreeably to our antient and real Conſtitution. To act otherwiſe, would be a Breach of our Duty to our Sovereign, and ſuch an Incroachment upon our Conſtitution, as might at this Juncture be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Liberties of *Europe*, as well as the Liberties of our native Country.

'After what I have ſaid, Sir, I believe, I may freely declare, that I neither think it my Duty, nor do I think I have any Call to examine how Affairs ſtand between us and the Queen of *Hungary*, and much leſs between her and the King of *Pruſſia*; nor do I think we ought to examine how Matters ſtand between *France* and us with regard to our War with *Spain*. When his Majeſty deſires our Advice, it will then, and not till then, be neceſſary to examine the Papers already laid before us, or ſuch as may hereafter be laid before us, relating to any of the Points upon which that Advice is deſired; and if his Majeſty ſhould require it, but not otherwiſe, I ſhall be for appointing a Select and Secret Committee for examining into ſuch Papers as his Majeſty tells us are not proper to be divulged to the whole Houſe.

'Thus, Sir, it muſt appear, that if the Motion now before us be deſign'd as a Foundation for an Inquiry into the Conduct of our Miniſters, it ought not to be complied with: and if it be deſign'd only as a Step towards enabling us to give his Majeſty our Advice, it is too early. Let us examine it therefore in what Light we will, it appears to be improper. This is my ſincere Opinion of it, and for this Reaſon, I hope the honourable Gentleman will excuſe me, if I give my Negative to his Motion.'

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

Mr *Winnington* was anſwered by Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne*:

Sir,

'If the Houſe were to be directed by ſuch Reaſoning as an Hon. Gentleman has made uſe of againſt this Motion, we ſhould never inquire into the Conduct of any Miniſter, nor into the State of any publick Affair, foreign or domeſtick, but when the Miniſter ſhould pleaſe to give us Leave; I ſay Miniſter, Sir, for there has always been a Sort of Gentlemen in this Houſe, who make uſe of the Word Sovereign inſtead of Miniſter, in order to give an Appearance of Reaſon to an Argument which would otherwiſe appear in itſelf ridiculous

dículous. To confirm what I ſay, I ſhall repeat the Arguments which the Hon. Gentleman has made uſe of, and by ſubſtituting the Word Miniſter, which is the only proper Word to be made uſe of in this Houſe, when we talk of any publick Affair, inſtead of the Word Sovereign, you will then ſee his Arguments in their true Light.

'He ſays, we ought never to inquire into the Conduct of Miniſters, or to ſpeak more properly, of one ſole Miniſter, unleſs we have ſuch Proofs againſt him as muſt convince that Miniſter of his having been in the wrong; and the Reaſon for this, he ſays, is, leſt that Miniſter ſhould ſuſpect, or rather pretend, that the Inquiry into his Conduct proceeded from a Jacobite or Republican Spirit, or from the Influence of Foreign Gold. Sir, upon ſuch a Principle could the Parliament ever inquire into the Conduct of any Miniſter? A Miniſter may be conſcious of his Crimes or Miſconduct; but could the Parliament, previous to any Inquiry, ever have ſuch Proofs againſt him, as would induce him to confeſs his having been weak or criminal? If the Weakneſs of his Conduct were from its Effects apparent to the whole Nation, he would pretend, that thoſe Effects proceeded from Accidents that could not be foreſeen or provided againſt, or from the Ambition, Obſtinacy, or Weakneſs of Foreign Courts, and not from any Weakneſs in the Meaſures he had purſued. Suppoſe we had poſitive Evidence againſt him: Suppoſe we had Letters under his Hand, for proving his having been guilty of the moſt treaſonable Practices; a guilty Miniſter would pretend, that the Letters were forged, or that the Witneſſes were Jacobites, or Republicans, or brib'd by Foreign Gold, and therefore not to be credited. In ſhort, Sir, the more guilty a Miniſter is, the more poſitively, the more arrogantly, will he inſiſt upon his Innocence, and that therefore he ought not be put to the Trouble of defending himſelf againſt a Parliamentary Inquiry. Thus we muſt never inquire into the Behaviour of any Miniſter while he continues in that Station, unleſs it be at his own Deſire, and with a View to juſtify and applaud his Wiſdom and Conduct; nor into the Behaviour of any diſcarded Miniſter, unleſs it be to ſatisfy the Revenge of ſome ſucceeding one; and what a pretty miniſterial Tool this Argument would make of a Parliament, I ſhall leave to the Conſideration of thoſe Gentlemen who make uſe of it.

'For my Part, Sir, I ſhall always be of Opinion, that the leaſt Suſpicion of Wickedneſs, the leaſt Suſpicion of Weakneſs, in the Conduct of any publick Affair, or in the Conduct of our publick Affairs in general, is a ſufficient Foundation for a Parliamentary Inquiry. Nay, ſuch Inquiries

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ought to be often ſet on Foot, even when there is no Suſpicion of any Miſconduct. Shall a Miniſter ſay, I have been a very honeſt and faithful Miniſter, and therefore I ought not to be put to the Trouble of having my Conduct inquir'd into. Sir, a Steward may as well ſay, I have been a very honeſt Man and a good Steward, and therefore ought not to be put to the Trouble of paſſing my Accounts. Every Gentleman knows, that the proper, and indeed the only Way to keep a Steward honeſt, is to make him frequently paſs his Accounts. A good Steward will deſire it, and ſo will a good Miniſter; for a Miniſter is but a Steward for the Publick; and therefore when I find a Miniſter uſing all his Art to evade or prevent a Parliamentary Inquiry, it will always give me a Suſpicion of his Conduct, and conſequently will with me be a prevailing Argument for ſetting up immediately an impartial and ſtrict Inquiry. This, Sir, was the Maxim of our Anceſtors: By this Maxim they have handed down to us our Liberties and Properties. Without this Maxim we ſhall hand nothing down to our Poſterity, but Slavery and Poverty.

A Civil War, I ſhall grant, Sir, is a terrible Misfortune; but it is far from being the moſt terrible: for I had rather ſee my Country engag'd for twenty Years in a Civil War, than to ſee it tamely ſubmit but for one Year to miniſterial Bondage; therefore, if this Country ſhould ever be reduc'd to the fatal Dilemma of being oblig'd to give up its Liberties, or engage in a Civil War, I hope no *true Briton* would balance a Moment in his Choice. Thank God! this is not our Caſe at preſent. I hope the Fate of this Queſtion will ſhew it is not our Caſe; for from our Inquiry into the Conduct of our preſent Miniſters, no Civil War, I am ſure, can enſue. If they are innocent, an impartial Inquiry will juſtify their Conduct. To ſuppoſe otherwiſe, would be offering the higheſt Indignity to this Houſe, which has never impeach'd, nor paſs'd any Cenſure upon a Miniſter without a juſtifiable Cauſe. If our Miniſters are guilty, they ought to be puniſh'd, and his Majeſty has too much Wiſdom to think of protecting a guilty Miniſter againſt the Juſtice of the Nation. To ſuppoſe otherwiſe, would be offering the higheſt Inſult to the Crown.

'What Motives Gentlemen may have for being attach'd to our preſent Miniſters, I do not know, nor ſhall determine; but when Gentlemen poſſeſs'd of Poſts which they got by his Favour, and perhaps hold at his Pleaſure, are almoſt the only Perſons that appear in his Vindication; the Preſumption militates ſtrongly againſt the Diſintereſtedneſs of their Behaviour, as well as againſt the Uprightneſs of his Conduct

duct; and whatever such Gentlemen may pretend, if his Majesty should give his Minister up to national Justice, I believe, no Man in the Kingdom apprehends, that any of them would attempt drawing their Swords in his Defence. The Danger of a Civil War is therefore not in the least to be apprehended from a fair Inquiry into our Minister's Conduct; but considering the Suspicions and Expectations of the People, if this Session of Parliament should end without such an Inquiry, a Civil War may very probably be the Consequence. The People will not, but his Majesty may suppose, that our Neglect to inquire proceeds from our Opinion of his Innocence. The People feel the Effects of his Misconduct, and may, perhaps, feel them every Day more and more: This will make them imagine, that our Neglect to inquire proceeds not from our having a good Opinion of his Conduct, but from our having a Share in his Plunder. On the other hand, his Majesty neither does, nor can feel those Effects: At least he cannot feel them till it is too late to prevent the Consequences; and as he has a good Opinion of his Parliament, he will naturally suppose the Conduct of his Minister to be wise and upright, because his Parliament has neither condemned it, nor so much as inquired into it. Thus his Majesty may be prevailed on to continue him at the Head of the Administration, notwithstanding the People's being generally convinced, that he is every Day undermining their Liberties, by Means of a venal and corrupt Parliament: and if this should be the Case, I must conclude, that a Civil War will certainly ensue, or I must form a much more disagreeable Conclusion, which is, that the People of this Country have so much degenerated from the Virtue and Courage of their Ancestors, that they chuse rather to submit tamely to Slavery, than to run the Risk of asserting their Liberties by the Sword.'

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* A Republican and Enthusiastical Spirit join'd together, was, 'tis true, Sir, the ultimate Cause of the Ruin of King *Charles* the First, but it was far from being the Original. The first and original Cause of the Ruin of that unfortunate Prince, was his allowing himself to be governed, for the first fifteen Years of his Reign, by Ministers that were hateful to the People, and protecting those Ministers against all Inquiries and Prosecutions in Parliament. By this means he raised and fomented a Republican Spirit in the Nation, to such a Degree, that the People would not be satisfied with the Sacrifice of a few. They had conceived such a Jealousy of the Power of the Crown, by the ill Use his Ministers made of it, that nothing would satisfy them but a Diminution of that Power; and his taking Arms in Defence

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fence of that Power, and in Oppoſition to the prevailing Spirit of this Nation, was what brought him at the laſt to the fatal Cataſtrophe he met with: His untimely End ought to be a Warning to all future Miniſters, that have any Regard to their Maſter, to ſubmit in Time to a fair Inquiry, or if they be conſcious of Guilt, to fly from that Fate which ſuch an Inquiry muſt bring them to; and, I hope, it will be an Example to all future Kings of this Country, to let their Favour towards a Miniſter have the ſame Period with the Favour of the People. In a free Country the Prince's Favour ought to proceed from the Favour and Eſteem a Man has acquired among the People, and it muſt have the ſame Period, or the Liberties of the People muſt be overturned; for a free People will not be governed by a Man they hate or deſpiſe.'

'This, we know, his preſent Majeſty is fully ſenſible of, and therefore we need be under no Apprehenſions, that He will obſtruct an Examination, or endeavour to protect a Miniſter after he has been found guilty upon a fair Inquiry into his Conduct; but ſuppoſe we were ſo unlucky as to have a Prince upon the Throne, that would obſtinately protect a weak or wicked Miniſter againſt the Juſtice of his Parliament, and the Reſentment of his People, ſhould we ſit here, and patiently ſee the Nation ruined by the Miniſter's Weakneſs, or our Liberties undermined, and the People plundered and oppreſſed by his Wickedneſs? Should we, I ſay, patiently bear this, for Fear of involving the Nation in a Civil War? I hope, I ſhall never hear ſuch a cowardly Doctrine inculcated within theſe Walls. It is a Doctrine that breathes nothing but Slavery, and ſuch as will never, I hope, be harbour'd in the Breaſt of any *Britiſh* Subject.'

'The Fears, therefore, which the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to inſtill into us, are either fantaſtical, or they are ſuch as no Member of this Houſe ought to allow to have the leaſt Influence upon his Conduct, with regard to the preſent Queſtion. Suppoſe a general Inquiry ſhould be the Conſequence of our appointing the Select Committee now moved for: Suppoſe that Inquiry ſhould extend itſelf as far back as the Hon. Gentleman ſeems to apprehend, could it be of any bad Conſequence to the Nation? On the contrary, it would be of great Service, becauſe it would ſhew our future Miniſters, that however quietly they might paſs through the Courſe of their Adminiſtration, their Conduct would ſome Time or other be impartially inquired into; and as former Adminiſtrations have not been free from Suſpicions, no more than the preſent, I hope it would be of Service to them

them too, by convincing the World that thoſe Suſpicions were groundleſs.' Anno 15 Geo. II. 1741

'I hope I have now ſhewn, that the Hon Gentleman's Arguments againſt this Motion are of no Weight, even upon the Suppoſition of its being intended as the firſt Step towards a general Inquiry; and his Argument againſt it, upon the Suppoſition of its being intended only as a neceſſary Step towards enabling us to give his Majeſty proper Advice in the preſent Poſture of Affairs, will appear to be of no greater Weight, eſpecially, if by the ſame Change of Words, we ſtate his Argument in its true Light. He has told us, that if we are to give any Advice to our Sovereign, for whether we ought to do ſo ſeems with him to be a Doubt, we ought not to think of giving Advice, unleſs his Majeſty not only deſires it in general Terms, by his Speech from the Throne, but likewiſe by Meſſage, directs us to the particular Point upon which we are to give our Advice. We all know, Sir, that Speeches from the Throne, and Meſſages from the Crown, are in this Houſe ſuppoſed to be the Speeches and Meſſages of the Miniſter; and therefore, to put this Argument in the Language of Parliament, it will ſtand thus; 'Let us be never ſo fully convinced of our Sovereign's being 'miſled by his Miniſter, we ought not to give him any Ad'vice, unleſs that Miniſter points out to us by Meſſage, the 'Subject upon which we are to give Advice.' I hope it will be granted, Sir, that an Addreſs to remove a Miniſter is a Sort of Advice, and often a very wholeſome Piece of Advice, but according to this Doctrine, we can never adviſe our Sovereign to remove any Miniſter.'

'I am really ſorry, Sir, for being obliged to ſet the Abſurdity of this Doctrine in ſuch a ſtrong Light; but in Juſtice to my Country I could not avoid it. If we are never to adviſe our Sovereign in any Caſe, but ſuch as is pointed out to us by his Miniſter, no Miniſter will ever deſire the Advice of Parliament but when he is aſſured, they will adviſe juſt as he has before reſolved, and ſuch Advice can never be of any Service to the King, tho' it may be to the Miniſter, by taking the Odium of a bad Meaſure off of his Shoulders, and fixing it upon the Parliament; but I hope I ſhall never ſee ſuch a Parliament in *Great Britain*.

'Now, Sir, with regard to the Right we have, or the Obligation we lie under, of offering our Advice to our Sovereign; as the honourable Gentleman ſeemed to doubt of it, I hope, I ſhall be indulged a few Words upon the Subject. To conſult and adviſe us, I ſhall grant, the Buſineſs and the Duty of the other Houſe, perhaps more properly than of this; but when the other Houſe happens to be de-

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ficient in this Reſpect, it is our Duty to make good that Deficiency. We muſt know better than the other Houſe what may be agreeable or diſagreeable to the People, and it is our proper Province, to give our Advice in Favour of what we think will be ſo, and againſt what we think will be otherwiſe. But ſuppoſe we were in no Caſe to adviſe, are not we to conſent, and have not we a Right to refuſe that Conſent to any Meaſure we think inconſiſtent with the publick Good? Is it not then our Duty to examine every publick Meaſure, eſpecially when it is attended with a publick Expence, which is the Caſe at preſent? And can we examine it ſo as to determine whether we ought to conſent to it or no, without ſtrictly examining all the Letters and Papers that relate to it?

'Suppoſe we ſhould in this Seſſion be called on, as we probably may, to grant a Sum of Money for the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*; can we determine what Sum to grant, without knowing how Affairs ſtand between *France* and us, as well as between us and the Queen of *Hungary*? For if we ſtand upon bad Terms with *France*, we ought certainly to be the more zealous, and to grant the more liberally, for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*. Thus, Sir, it muſt appear, that even if we had no Inclination to inquire into the Conduct of paſt Affairs, nor to adviſe about the Conduct of future, yet ſtill we ought to examine the Papers mentioned; and as this cannot be done without referring them to a Select Committee, I ſhall therefore be for agreeing to the Motion.'

Sir Will. Yonge.

Sir *William Yonge* * ſpoke next:

Mr *Speaker*,

'That this Houſe has a Right to refuſe, as well as to give its Conſent, to every Meaſure propoſed to us by the Crown, or recommended by the other Houſe, is what no Man will deny; but that for this Reaſon we ought to pry into ſuch Secrets as relate to foreign Affairs, cannot be admitted, becauſe it would be attended with infinite Prejudice to the Publick. As our Buſineſs relates chiefly to domeſtick Affairs, we ought to keep within that Province, unleſs his Majeſty communicates to us ſome foreign Treaty, Expedition, or Tranſaction, in order to have our Approbation, or Aſſiſtance; and then we ought to content ourſelves with ſuch Lights as his Majeſty may be pleaſed to furniſh us with; for in all ſuch Caſes his Majeſty will communicate the neceſſary Papers, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the publick Safety. From them we ought to judge, for we can judge from none other; and as the Crown muſt be ſuppoſed to know

* Secretary at War.

know more of foreign Affairs than have been, or can be communicated to us; we ought to have a Biaſs in Favour of that which appears to be the Opinion of the Crown.

'This, Sir, may perhaps, by ſome Gentlemen be called a ſlaviſh Doctrine; but it is ſuch as will be followed by all who have a greater Inclination to ſerve their Country in Parliament, than to find fault with the Conduct of their Sovereign or the Conduct of Miniſters, call it which you will, for I do not know how to diſtinguiſh, unleſs it be, that we ought to impute to our Sovereign every Thing we think right, and to his Miniſters every Thing we think wrong. With regard to domeſtick Affairs, we have a much greater Latitude; becauſe we may more freely call for all Papers relating to any ſuch Affair, and have greater Reaſon to ſuſpect, that Miniſters will, in Affairs of this Kind, give ſuch Advice as may moſt conduce to their own private Advantage. But it cannot be ſaid, that the Papers propoſed to be referred to a Select Committee, have the leaſt Relation to any Affair of this Kind. If we ſhould be deſired to grant Money for the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*, it will then be Time enough to conſider whether we ought to do ſo. For determining this Queſtion, I think we have no Occaſion to examine any Papers of State, our common News Papers muſt convince us, that we ought to comply with ſuch a Demand; and as to the *Quantum* of that Grant, we muſt be convinced, that ſhe ſtands in Need of more than this Nation can afford to give.

'Sir, we can have no Occaſion to refer the Papers mentioned in this Motion to a Secret Committee, unleſs we have a Mind to make that Committee a Committee of Inquiry, and to enable them to inquire into the Conduct of all our Publick Affairs both foreign and domeſtick, for many Years paſt. This I believe to be the real Intention of the Motion, and for this Reaſon I cannot agree to it; becauſe the eſtabliſhing of ſuch a Committee at ſuch a critical Conjuncture, would be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to *Europe* in general, as well as to this Nation in particular. By this the whole Frame of our Government would be altered, and would continue ſo, during the Continuance of that Committee. It would be an eſtabliſhing *Imperium in Imperio*, or rather a Government ſet up by this Houſe, diſtinct from, and ſuperior to our conſtitutional Government; for this Committee muſt either conſiſt of ſuch as are Friends to the King's Miniſters, or ſuch as are their declared Enemies. If of the former, it would give no Satisfaction to the People, and if of the latter, they would probably in a ſhort Time get the entire Management of

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this Houſe, and take upon them to accuſe and impriſon every Miniſter at their own Will and Pleaſure.

'In ſhort, Sir, I ſhould expect to ſee the Scene of 1641 acted over again. To ſee all his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters impriſoned or forced into Exile, and every new Officer he ſhould name without their Direction, with all thoſe that appear'd as Friends to the Crown, declared Delinquents. What this Confuſion might end in, God only knows; but in ſuch Circumſtances, I am certain, we could neither proſecute the War againſt *Spain* with Vigour, nor aſſiſt in reſtoring the Ballance of Power in *Europe*. Nay, we could not even defend ourſelves: Our Plantations, with our Poſſeſſions in the *Mediterranean*, would become a Prey to the *Spaniards*, and the Nation itſelf would, at laſt, become a Province to the *French*, who might ſend the Pretender to us for a Vice-Roy.

'In the Year 1715, Sir, we had no fatal Conſequences to fear from the Secret Committee then appointed. The Nation was not engaged in any War, nor was the Ballance of Power in Danger. The Committee was not to inquire into the Conduct of the then Adminiſtration: They were to inquire into the Conduct of a Set of Miniſters, who had moſt juſtly been diſmiſſed by his late Majeſty, with the Contempt they deſerved. When the Propoſition was made for appointing a Secret Committee, it was evident from the Complexion of the Houſe, that it would conſiſt of ſuch as were Friends to the then Adminiſtration; conſequently there was no Confuſion in our Government to be apprehended; for as we were then ſituated, I do not think the Rebellion was a fatal Conſequence, ſince the Diſaffected thereby furniſh'd the Government with an Opportunity to cruſh them. If they had not declared themſelves, they would have had a great Influence upon all future Elections, and by being joined by diſcontented Whigs, might, before this Time, have got a Jacobite Parliament, which would have brought our preſent Eſtabliſhment into greater Danger than it could be by an open Rebellion.

'Gentlemen muſt thus ſee, Sir, that there is a very great Difference between our preſent Circumſtances, and thoſe of 1715; and ſurely no Man will ſay, there is now the ſame Neceſſity for an Inquiry. I am one of thoſe who think there is not the leaſt Occaſion for it, and I am convinced there are many ſuch in the Nation. Suſpicions have been moſt artfully propagated againſt our preſent Adminiſtration, as there will be againſt all; and if I thought they could be removed by an impartial Inquiry, I ſhould be for it; but, I am ſure, they cannot. Thoſe Suſpicions are entertained by none but the Diſaffected and Diſobliged, and nothing.

thing, I know, will ſatisfy the former but a Sacrifice of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; and the latter nothing but a Sacrifice of our preſent Miniſters, whether they deſerve it or no. A Juſtification of their Conduct, which would be the Conſequence of an impartial Inquiry, would be ſo far from allaying the Heats and Animoſities without Doors, that it would increaſe them, and would be made a Handle for raiſing Suſpicions againſt the Honour of this Houſe, as well as againſt the Conduct of our Miniſters; and this, I hope, will prevail with the Houſe to put a Negative upon this Motion.' An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Lord *Perceval* ſpoke next in Favour of the Motion: Lord Perceval.

Sir,

'As this is the firſt Time I have had the Honour of offering my Sentiments, I hope to meet with the Indulgence of the Houſe; and I do aſſure you, Sir, however great I may find it, it ſhall not induce me to be often troubleſome.

'I have the greater Reaſon to intreat this Favour, as I had not received the leaſt previous Intimation, upon what Point the Debate of this Day was like to have turned. But I have endeavour'd to ſupply this Want of Information, by a diligent Attention to what has been urged on both Sides the Queſtion; and the State of the Caſe before us appears to me in this Light, That Gentlemen on the one Side ſuſpect the Conduct of the Adminiſtration, and deſire the Aſſiſtance of this Houſe to clear up thoſe Suſpicions; while on the other Side, the Gentlemen in the Adminiſtration, knowing themſelves ſuſpected, labour all they can to prevent the Houſe from affording that Aſſiſtance.

'Now, Sir, as I ſtand in this Houſe by the Favour of my Conſtituents *, as independent as any Man can be, and as God has placed me in a Condition of Life to maintain that Independence, I have nothing to induce me to be partial in this Queſtion. I am governed by no Views of Party: I am influenced by no Prejudice.

'On the one Hand, thoſe who ſuſpect the Conduct of the Miniſtry, are not only warranted by the Conſtitution to entertain Suſpicions of this Kind, with regard to any Adminiſtration, but urged by the univerſal Voice of the whole Nation to diſtruſt the Conduct of the preſent. They are farther warranted by the viſible Decay of Trade, by the Diſtreſs of all our foreign Affairs, and by the ill Succeſs of a War, in which we have been above two Years engaged, with great Superiority of Force againſt a contemptible Enemy: A War in which we have hitherto reaped neither Honour nor Advantage, and in which, from the Manner of

* Member for Weſtminſter. [See before, p. 63.]

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

of its Management, we have no Proſpect of acquiring either, tho' none was ever ſupplied with greater Liberality by the Nation. Thus the Gentlemen on one Side of the Queſtion ſeem to act no other Part than what is fair and juſt, eſſential to the Honour of this Houſe, and to the Intereſts and Expectations of their Country.

'Give me Leave to review the Conduct of the Gentlemen who are thus unhappily ſuſpected. —— Theſe urge even theſe Suſpicions as an Argument to excite their Friends to ſupport them, as in a Caſe of great Extremity; It is their great Endeavour, to be left in the State of being ſtill ſuſpected. —— Is it poſſible that any Man conſident in his own Integrity, innocent of what is imputed to him, ſhould exert himſelf in ſuch a Manner, to prevent your receiving Informations, which might tend to ſet his Character in its true Light. No, Sir, this Conduct is by no Means conſiſtent with this favourable Suppoſition. Miniſters, how great ſoever they may be, know the Importance of a good Reputation: Therefore it is impoſſible for any Man in his Conſcience not to be convinced, from this uncommon Struggle, that the Papers now contended for, contain ſomewhat that will fix either Guilt or Error upon thoſe who have engroſſed the Direction of the publick Affairs; and in either Caſe, it is our Duty to inquire, that we may be able to do Juſtice to our Country, or, at leaſt, to prevent future Miſchief.

'The Neceſſity, therefore, of ſome Inquiry being apparent, as well from the Nature of the Thing, as from the Conduct of thoſe who endeavour to prevent it, I ſhall take no farther Time to enforce that Point; but I muſt beg Leave to Anſwer the Objections, made to the Manner of Inquiry now propoſed.'

'One Hon. Member has told you, that twenty one Perſons cannot be found among the Members of this Houſe, proper to be intruſted with ſo great a Power; and yet, it ſeems, that one Man may be found proper to be intruſted, for twenty Years together, with the whole Revenues, the ſole Direction of all Affairs both abroad and at home, the ſole Power of this Government without Controul. The ſame Gentleman has told us, that the Commons cannot delegate ſuch a Power to a Committee. Upon other Occaſions I have alſo heard that Hon. Gentleman aſſert, that this was not a proper Buſineſs for the Houſe, who were too numerous to be truſted with thoſe important Secrets, which muſt, in Conſequence, be laid before them. If, therefore, neither the Houſe ought, nor a Committee can peruſe the Papers, neceſſary for an Examination into the Meaſures of a Miniſter, the Reſult is plainly this, that Miniſters muſt be left to act in what Man-

ner

ner they think fit, without any Apprehenſion of being called to Account.'

'Another Gentleman has ſaid, that the Authority of ſuch a Committee would be greater than any miniſterial Authority ever known in this or any other Reign. I am very much ſurpriſed, that this Gentleman ſhould ſo ſoon forget the many Inſtances of like Nature, already urged in this Debate; but I am more ſurpriſed, that he ſhould not remember that famous Committee, conſiſting of the ſame Number, and inveſted with the ſame Powers, appointed by this Houſe at the Beginning of the Reign of the late King. Surely that Hon. Gentleman, whoſe Friends ſeem to think him the Object of this Debate, will not forget it; for if I am not miſtaken, he was himſelf Chairman * of it.'

'Gentlemen ſeem not to reflect to whom they ſpeak, when they advance ſuch Doctrines. Sir, I am confident that the very youngeſt and moſt unexperienced Member of this Houſe knows, that no Committee of any Kind has Power farther than to prepare Matter for the Houſe: That no Act of a Committee is of any Force, till confirmed and ratified by the Houſe: That its Powers are derived from the Houſe, and muſt revert to the Houſe again; and God forbid! Sir, that the Time ſhould be now come, when they ſhall not be found greater than any miniſterial Authority known in this Kingdom.'

'Men of Senſe, Sir, will not be frightned at theſe Phantoms. Our Conſtitution knows far greater Powers: The Charter of King *John* directs, in Caſes of Exigency, not that twenty one Perſons ſhall be appointed to inſpect the publick Papers, and to report to this Houſe the Matter which they ſhall diſcover therein, but preſcribes, that *five and Twenty* Perſons may be appointed to take the Regency into their own Hands, and to exerciſe the higheſt Functions of this Government, in which the whole Nation is required to maintain them, till the publick Grievances ſhall be totally redreſſed. This is a Power which was not only preſcribed, but often exerciſed in the Reigns of King *John*, King *Henry* the Third, King *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second. This is, indeed, a Power of a very high Nature, and which I ſhould be very ſorry to ſee exerted again in this Country; but, perhaps, a proper Uſe of that moderate Power which we now contend for, may be the only Means to prevent the Neceſſity of having Recourſe to the other hereafter.'

'Sir, I am ſenſible I have troubled you too long, but when I found a Motion that is ſo reaſonable, ſo violently oppoſed

* See the Names of that Committee, of which Sir R. Walpole was Chairman, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Anno 1716, P. 19.

An. 15 Geo. II. 1741.

posed; and as I see a great Necessity for the Inquiry itself, and nothing new or dangerous in the Manner of that proposed, I shall heartily give my Affirmative to the Question."

The Motion for a Select Committee overrul'd.

There was, upon this Occasion, the fullest House known for many Years; for, the Debate being over, and the Question put upon Mr *Pulteney*'s Motion, it passed in the Negative by 253 against 250.

Memorials, Letters, &c. to and from the K. of Prussia address'd for.

Then it was resolved to address his Majesty for Copies of all Memorials, Representations, Declarations, and Letters, sent to his Majesty, or his Ministers, by the King of *Prussia* *, or his Ministers; or by his Majesty, or his Ministers, to the King of *Prussia* or his Ministers; or such Letters as have been sent from hence to his Majesty's Minister at the Court of *Prussia*; with the respective Answers, relating to the State of the War in the Empire, and the Support and Interests of the House of *Austria*, since the Death of the late Emperor.

Address for a State of the Land Forces in the West Indies, and Lists of the Officers at Gibraltar and Minorca.

Jan. 22. Resolved, That an Address be presented to his Majesty for the last Returns of the State of the Forces under Major General *Wentworth*, with Copies of all Orders for reforming or compleating the same, and for sending any Supply of Forces to him since the first of *May*: Also for a List of the Officers of the Regiments in *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*: Likewise a List of the Officers belonging to the Establishment of *Gibraltar*, distinguishing which are upon the Place, which absent, and how long absent.

The same Day Mr *Blackerby*, Mr *Howard*, and Mr *Lediard*, having confessed at the Bar, that they sent for, on the eighth of *May* last, a Body of armed Soldiers, headed by Officers, in a military Manner, who did take Possession of the Church-Yard of St *Paul*, *Covent Garden*, near the Place where the Poll for the Election for the City of *Westminster* was taken, before the said Election was ended, and having acknowledged their Offence, were ordered to attend the House the next Day, to be reprimanded by Mr *Speaker*, which they did accordingly, and Mr *Speaker* reprimanded them as follows:

Messrs. Blackerby, Howard, and Lediard reprimanded by Mr Speaker.

Mr Blackerby, *Mr* Howard, *Mr* Lediard.

YOU *having, at the Bar of this House, Yesterday, confessed, that you did send for, and cause to come, on* Friday *the Eighth Day of* May *last, a Body of armed Soldiers*

* A Motion to the same Effect had been made the 18th of Dec. but it then passed in the Negative by a Majority of 24; [See p. 62] And the Reason of its being now agreed to without Opposition, was supposed to be owing to the above Motion having been carried, by a Majority only of Three, in so full a House.

ers, headed by Officers, in a Military Manner, who did take Poſſeſſion of the Church Yard of St Paul, Covent Garden, *near the Place where the Poll for the Election of Citizens to ſerve in this preſent Parliament for the City of* Weſtminſter, *was taken, before the ſaid Election was ended; and you having acknowledged your Offence therein, the Houſe did order you to attend this Morning, to be brought to the Bar, to be reprimanded on your Knees by me for the ſaid Offence.* An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

I cannot better deſcribe to you the Nature of this Offence you have been guilty of, than in the Words of the Reſolution this Houſe came to, upon their Examination into that Matter, which are,

'That the Preſence of a regular Body of armed Soldiers, at an Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, is an high Infringement of the Liberties of the Subject, a manifeſt Violation of the Freedom of Elections, and an open Defiance of the Laws and Conſtitution of this Kingdom.'

And it is impoſſible, if you well conſider the Terms of this Reſolution, but that you muſt have in your Breaſts the deepeſt Sorrow and Remorſe for this raſh Act of yours; which, if it had not been animadverted upon, might have given the moſt dangerous Wound to the Conſtitution of this Free Country, that perhaps it had ever felt. —— *This Country, Free, becauſe this Houſe is ſo; which this Houſe can never be, but from the Freedom of Elections to it: And amidſt the too many Ways for violating that, none can be more pernicious, becauſe none more quick, deciſive and permanent, than what you might unhappily have ſet a Precedent for, and which might have grown to an Extremity, under the ſpecious and ready Pretences of Fears and Neceſſity, that ſuperſede all Law; a Precedent, that would have received an Authority from the Place it began in—The Seat of the Government and Legiſlature of this Kingdom.*

Neceſſity, which is to take Place of Law, muſt be left to the Circumſtances of every particular Caſe. The Act muſt be preſumed to be wrong, inquired into as ſuch, and excuſed only by the cleareſt Proofs, that the Neceſſity of it was real.

What you have done, is againſt one of the moſt eſſential Parts of the Law of the Kingdom. Has any real Neceſſity been ſhown for it? There might be Fears, there might be ſome Danger; but did you try the Strength of the Law to diſpel thoſe Fears, and remove that Danger? Did you make Uſe of thoſe Powers the Law has inveſted you with, as Civil Magiſtrates, for the Preſervation of the publick Peace? No—you ſuggeſted all that; and wantonly, I hope inadvertently, reported

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

ſorted to that Force, the moſt unnatural of all others, in all Reſpects, to that Cauſe and Buſineſs you were then attending, and for the Freedom of which, every Briton *ought to be ready, almoſt to ſuffer any Thing —— More might be ſaid——But you have acknowledged your Offence, and have asked Pardon for it. This has diſpoſed the Houſe to Lenity: Uſe it not to leſſen the Senſe of your Crime; but to raiſe in your Hearts that Senſe of Gratitude you owe to the Houſe, for that gentle Treatment you have met with on this Occaſion: In Expectation of which you are diſcharged, paying your Fees.*

Who has the Thanks of the Houſe thereupon.

Then it was reſolved that the Thanks of the Houſe be given to Mr *Speaker* for the ſaid Speech, and that he be deſired to print the ſame.

State of the Britiſh Priſoners in the Spaniſh Ports.

Ordered Copies of the Returns, from Perſons empowered to pay his Majeſty's Bounty to the *Britiſh* Subjects, Priſoners in the Ports of *Spain* in *Europe* and *Africa*, diſtinguiſhing the Number of Men paid each Month, and what Ships or Veſſels they belonged to when taken by the *Spaniards* reſpectively, to be laid before the Houſe.

The High Bailiff of Weſtminſter diſcharged.

Jan. 25. *John Lever*, High Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*, was brought to the Bar, received a Reprimand from Mr *Speaker*, and was ordered to be diſcharged, paying his Fees.

Account of the Diſpoſal of Money for Greenwich Hoſpital, and alſo for the Navy.

Ordered that a State of the yearly Revenue and Expence of *Greenwich* Hoſpital; Alſo an Account, ſhewing how the Monies granted laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for the ſaid Hoſpital, have been diſpoſed of, and what Money hath been received by the Treaſurer thereof, from *Chriſtmaſs* 1740, to *Chriſtmas* 1741, and how applied, be laid before the Houſe.

Alſo that the Treaſurer of the Navy do lay before the Houſe an Account of what Money hath been ordered by the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and received by him for any Services of the Navy, from the 31ſt of *December* 1740, to the 31ſt of *December* 1741, and how applied.

Petitions for Milborn Port, and for Peebles withdrawn.

The ſame Day *Michael Harvey*, *William Thompſon*, and *William Sclater*, Eſqrs. withdrew their Petitions, complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Milborn-Port*: [*See p.* 8] As did alſo the Hon. *James Carmichael*, and *John M'Kye*, Eſqrs. for the Burghs of *Peebles*, *&c.* [*See p.* 51] and Mr *Carmichael*'s Name was ordered to be raſed out of the double Return.

King's Anſwer to the Addreſs for Letters, &c. to and from the Court of Pruſſia.

Mr *Comptroller* reported to the Houſe, that their Addreſs of *Thurſday* laſt, [*See p.* 104] had been preſented to his Majeſty, and that his Majeſty had commanded him to acquaint the Houſe, 'That the Subject Matter of this Addreſs being 'of the greateſt Importance, his Majeſty, who is always 'deſirous

'desirous of granting the Requests of his faithful Com- An. 15. Geo. II.
'mons, will take it into his most serious Consideration, and 1741.
'has directed all the Transactions, to which it relates, to
'be carefully examined, in order to see how far the same
'may be complied with, without Prejudice to the Publick,
'and consistently with the Confidence reposed in him by
'other Princes.'

Then it was resolved that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, for Copies of all Memorials, Representations, Declarations, and Letters, *&c.* sent to his Majesty, or his Ministers, by the States General, or their Ministers, or by his Majesty's Ministers to the States General; also Copies of all Letters from either of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State to his Majesty's Minister at the *Hague*, as far as they relate to Conferences with, and Communication to or from the Assembly of the States General, with the Answers thereunto, relating to the State of the War in the Empire, and the Support and Interests of the House of *Austria*, since the Death of the late Emperor, to be laid before the House. Address for Memorials, Letters, &c. to and from the States General, relating to the Austrian Interests.

Jan. 26. A Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common Council assembled, was presented to the House and read, complaining of the ill Conduct of the War with *Spain*, *&c.* which was referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of the Merchants of *London*, *Biddeford*, *Southampton*, *Liverpool*, *Lancaster*, *Bristol*, *Exeter*, *Glasgow*, *Poole*, and *Barnstable*, presented before to the House, had been referred. Petition from the City of London, relating to the War with Spain.

Then the House proceeded to the hearing the Petition of *John Hylton*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Carlisle* *; and the Counsel for the Petitioner having proposed to produce Evidence, to prove that the Petitioner was elected by a Majority of legal Votes, the sitting Member, Mr *Stanwix*, declared in his Place, (no Counsel appearing for him) that he was satisfied the Petitioner had a Majority of legal Votes, and that he himself had no Right to sit in the House; whereupon it was resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* that *John Hylton*, Esq; was duly elected. Proceedings on the Petition for Carlisle.

Ordered a new Writ for a Burgess for *Milborn-Port*, in the Room of *Thomas Medlycott*, † Esq; who, since his Election, had accepted the Office of one of the Commissioners for licensing Hawkers and Pedlars. A new Writ for Milborn-Port.

* The Mayor withdrew before one Third of the Voters had polled, and the Poll was continued by the Justices of the Peace. [See p. 4.]

† Michael Harvey, Esq; who had petition'd, was elected in his Place without Opposition.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty for the Regulations and Inſtructions relating to his Majeſty's Service at Sea, eſtabliſhed in Council: Alſo that a Liſt of the General Officers, with an Account how many are now employed, and where preſent: Likewiſe of the Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, ſecond Lieutenants, Cornets, and Enſigns on the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment, and on the Eſtabliſhment for *Gibraltar*, *Minorca*, and the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America*: And alſo of the Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Cornets, and Enſigns on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment; with the Dates of all their reſpective Commiſſions as ſuch, and the Dates of their firſt Commiſſions in the Army, might be laid before the Houſe.

Accounts relating to the Sea and Land Service addreſſed for.

Mr *Corbet*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe the ſeveral Accounts ordered and addreſſed for on the 21ſt. [*See p.* 69.]

Several Accounts, Letters, &c. preſented.

Mr *Comptroller* preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs of the 21ſt Inſt. ſeveral Letters and other Papers, which were ordered to lie upon the Table, to be peruſed by the Members.

Sheriff of Berwickſhire diſcharg'd.

Jan. 27. *David Home*, Sheriff-Depute of *Berwickſhire*, [*See p.* 66.] having, at the Bar, received a Reprimand from Mr *Speaker*, was ordered to be diſcharged, paying his Fees.

Mr *Corbett*, from the Treaſurer of the Navy, preſented to the Houſe the Account ordered on the 25th.

Petition for Dunbar, &c. withdrawn.

Mr *Fall*, and Sir *Hew Dalrymple* return'd in the double Return for the Burghs of *Dunbar*, *&c.* and the other Petitioners, withdrew their ſaid Petitions, and the Clerk of the Crown took off the File the Indenture, by which Mr *Fall*‡ was returned.

Mr *Corbett*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe the Book and Accounts addreſſed for on the 26th, which were referred to the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the Petition of the Merchants and Traders of the City of *London*, *&c.* was referred.

A Petition of the Merchants of *Whitehaven* was alſo referred to the ſaid Committee.

Bill paſſed for preſerving the publick Roads.

An ingroſſed Bill to repeal ſo much of an Act paſſed laſt Seſſion, *For the Preſervation of the publick Roads*, *&c.* as obliges Perſons, not travelling for Hire, to make uſe of Waggons with Wheels bound with Streaks or Tyre of a certain Breadth, or the ſaid Streaks to be faſtened with Nails of a certain Size, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and carry'd up to the Lords.

Mr

‡ He was, a few Days after, appointed Receiver of the Epiſcopal Rents in Scotland.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Several Accounts presented.

Mr *Secretary* at War presented to the House, a Copy of the last Return from Major General *Wentworth*, and several other Papers, Lists, *&c.* pursuant to their Address of the 22d. [*See p.* 104]

Address relating to the Officers at Minorca.

Resolved to address his Majesty for a List of the Officers belonging to the Establishment of *Minorca*, distinguishing which are on the Place, and which absent.

The Order of the Day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the Petition of the subscribing Merchants and Traders of the City of *London*, *&c.* it was ordered, that the Accounts addressed for on the 20th, and presented on the 27th, be referred to the said Committee.

Proceedings of the Grand Committee in the Merchants Petition, which is opened to the Committee by Mr Glover.

Then the House resolved itself into the said Committee, of which the Lord Mayor ‖ of *London* was Chairman; and, Mr *Glover* *, an eminent Merchant, open'd to the Committee the Reasons of their Petition, which he declared to be produced, not by a Spirit of Discontent, or by the Rage of Faction, but by an Apprehension that they had long been denied that Regard which they might justly claim in common with their Fellow Subjects, and that Protection, which is the End of every Government.

The several Facts asserted in the Petition were proved by Papers and Witnesses, and after six Days spent in Examinations, Mr *Glover* proceeded to sum up the Evidence, and to shew from collective Attestations, that the Merchants had been exposed to the Insults and Rapine of the *Spaniards*, not by Inattention or Accident, but by one uniform and continued Design.

'A List of 337 Ships taken was proved authentick by the Officers of Insurance, and by the Commanders of the Vessels. Captain *White* saw 173 Vessels brought into St *Sebastians* Port in 18 Months, and one private Insurer paid 22,000 *l.* for Prizes taken by the *Spaniards*.

He alledged, 'That the List of 1146 Ships, taken by the *French*, and laid before the Parliament in 1707, could not be produced as an Apology for the late Captures; because these were taken by whole Fleets, or by the Ships of War of an Enemy, equal in Naval Power to ourselves; because our whole Trade was equally exposed; and because *France* and *Spain* were then united

He insisted, 'That our present Losses are brought upon us by single Privateers, and by little more Power than that of two Towns, St *Sebastians* and *Bilboa*.

'That

‖ Sir Robert Godfrey.

* Author of a celebrated Poem to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton, prefix'd to Dr Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac's Philosophy; and of another intitled, Leonidas.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'That the Traders of *Bilboa* never equipped any Privateers againſt their Correſpondents of *England* before, but continued in Friendſhip with them, even when they were not at Peace; nor could any Reaſon be aſſigned for their Change of Conduct, but that the Proſpect of uncommon Profit from the uncommon Negligence of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, was too powerful for Kindneſs and Reſpect.

'That the exchanging Priſoners had been ſo long delayed, that Multitudes have languiſh'd and periſh'd in Captivity; and ſome who have upon the Proſpect of Exchange obtain'd their Liberty, had been oblig'd to preſerve their Honour or indemnify their Sureties, by returning to their Enemies.

'That theſe Delays were wholly to be imputed to the *Engliſh* Adminiſtration, it being proved, that the Intendant of the Marine in *Biſcay*, had always had the Power of exchanging Priſoners; that he had omitted no Meaſures to facilitate the Exchange, 'till he was diſcouraged by a Breach of Faith on our Part, and that almoſt all the *Engliſh* Captives were within the Limits of his Juriſdiction.

'That the *Spaniards*, taken in the *Stamboline*, were detained for nine Months after the *Engliſh*, whom they conſidered as equivalent, had been ſet at Liberty.

'That Captain *Maxey* ſollicited the Admiralty and Secretary's Office eight Months, without obtaining the Diſcharge of three *Spaniſh* Priſoners, in Return for himſelf and two others, and that it was not granted him 'till the very Day, on which the Merchants preſented their Petition, it appearing that the Affair muſt come before the Parliament.

'That two Commanders of Merchants Ships were diſcharged by the Intendant, and only two Fiſhermen demanded in Exchange. Mr *Da Coſta* undertook to ſolicit their Releaſe, and the Lords of the Regency immediately ordered that they ſhould be diſcharg'd. Soon after the Commiſſary of the *Spaniſh* Priſoners propoſed to him to forge a new Order from the Admiralty, and inſert another Name, which he refuſed, and was in a few Hours told that the Order was countermanded, but could not find, upon Inquiry, that the Countermand was iſſued, either by the Regency, or the Admiralty, or Secretary's Office. The Commiſſary viſited him again, and offered him Fifty Pounds to comply with his former Propoſal, and again met with a Refuſal; a ſecond Order for their Diſcharge was obtained, which was likewiſe countermanded.

'That ſcarcely any Ship of War has been ever ſeen on the Cruize.

'That no Ship was ſtation'd off Cape *Clare* in *Ireland*, a very important Poſt, till eight Months, nor any Ship ordered to cruize before St *Sebaſtians*, 'till nine Months after the Declara-

Declaration of the War: That Veſſels ſtationed for impreſſing, in Places where no Privateer was ever heard of, are ſet down as Cruizers: That the mighty Fleet ſent out in *November*, under the Command of two Admirals, a Fleet which filled the World with Expectations, and ſeemed deſigned to decide the Fate of Nations, was in this Liſt declared to have been fitted out againſt *Spaniſh* Privateers.

'That the *Portugal* Fleet was detained near twelve Months by evident Miſconduct, in which Time the *French* introduced their Woollen Manufactures; the *Dutch* ſent two Men of War to carry Gold from *Liſbon*; and an *Engliſh* Packet with 15000 l. in Gold Coin being taken, and the reſt in Danger, the *French* have ſet up a Packet between *Liſbon* and *Havre de Grace* to ſhare in this Gold Traffick.

'That one Commander took 27 Ships under his Convoy from *Liſbon*, but brought none into *England*; and that a Maſter of a Ship introduced by ſeveral Merchants, with his Complaint of being deſerted by his Convoy, was refuſed to be heard.

'That the Commander of the *Tartar* ſuffered the *Spaniards* to ſeize three Ships out of four under his Convoy; and when the *Phœnix*, which was to protect the Trade of *North Carolina*, was known by the Admiralty to want Repairs, they ordered the other Ship off the ſame Station, and ſo left the Colony intirely naked.

'That the Abuſe of the Practice of impreſſing was ſuch as could not be recollected without Horror.

'That when the Miſconduct of Officers has been complained of, no Anſwer had been returned, but, *What would you have done with this Captain, would you have him turn'd out, and the Maſter of a Merchantman put in his Room?*

'That when the Coaſt has been repreſented defenceleſs, no Guard has been ordered; when the Law has been openly and contemptuouſly violated, no Redreſs has been obtained; when the Deſtruction of our Trade was mentioned, they were told by one of the Commiſſioners, *It is your own War, and you muſt take it for your Pains.*

'He concluded with addreſſing himſelf to the Committee in the following Terms: 'To whom then could we appeal for Relief, but to you, the Redreſſors of Grievances, and Guardians of the Publick? Could we have Recourſe to thoſe, who had treated our Misfortunes with Indifference and Scorn, and who had openly declar'd themſelves to be a Board of Execution only, and not of Order? Upon your Protection the *Britiſh* Trade throws itſelf this Day, the Sailor, the Merchant, and the Manufacturer are all ſoliciting your Juſtice, imploring your powerful Interpoſition to ſhield them from the Malice of their Enemies

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Enemies at Home, and from the Artifice of their foreign Rivals, who are watching to take Advantage of their unredreſſed Misfortunes: Thouſands of his Majeſty's moſt uſeful Subjects, with equal Anxiety and Submiſſion, are humbly and earneſtly entreating, that you will not ſuffer them to ſink utterly in Ruin, nor gratify the pernicious Views of thoſe who envy them Abroad, and of thoſe who hate them at Home; that you will take their Cauſe into Conſideration, that you will provide for their future Security by a Law, that you will humble and puniſh their Oppreſſors, that you will reſtore Diſcipline, infuſe new Spirit and Vigour into the Adminiſtration of the Navy, and, by your Wiſdom and Juſtice render the very Thought of injuring the *Britiſh* Trade again a Terror to all ſucceeding Times. But the Ways and Means of accompliſhing theſe great Ends are, with all Humility, ſubmitted to the Wiſdom of this Houſe.'

The Malt-Bill paſs'd.

Jan 28. An Ingroſſed Bill for granting to his Majeſty certain Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords.

Several Accounts from the Admiralty preſented, and others ordered.

Mr *Corbett*, from the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Order of the 21ſt Inſtant, a Liſt of the Names of the Merchant Ships, &c. [*See p.* 69.] Then it was ordered that an Account of what *Spaniſh* Priſoners have been releaſed ſince the Commencement of the preſent War with *Spain*, by what Orders, and on what Conditions: Alſo of the Number of Men, who have been put ſick on Shore, from his Majeſty's Ships, into the Hoſpitals of this Kingdom, from the 1ſt of *January* 1740, to the 31ſt of *December* 1741: Likewiſe of the Number of Men borne and muſter'd, from the 25th of *March* 1739, to the 31ſt of *December* 1741, on Board any of his Majeſty's Ships in Commiſſion during that Period: And an Account of the Numbers of Men, which have been diſcharged dead from on Board any of his Majeſty's Ships, or put ſick on Shore, from the 25th of *March* 1739, to the 31ſt of *December* 1741, be laid before the Houſe.

Proceedings on the Chipenham Election.

Then the Houſe proceeded to the hearing the Petition of *Alexander Hume*, and *John Frederick*, Eſqrs. complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Chippenham*; and, after hearing Counſel, and Examination of divers Witneſſes, a Motion was made, and the Queſtion put, That in the laſt Determination of this Houſe, of the Right of Election of Members to ſerve for the Borough of *Chippenham*, made the 9th of *April*, 1624, which is, 'That the new Charter alters not the Cuſtom; and that the Burgeſſes and Freemen, 'more than Twelve, have Voice in the Election,' the Words *Burgeſſes and Freemen*, mentioned in the ſaid Reſolution,

lution, mean only such Burgesses and Freemen, as are Inhabitants Householders of the antient Houses, called Free or Burgage-Houses, within the said Borough; it passed in the Negative, by 237 against 236.

Jan. 29. Mr *Corbett*, from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, presented to the House, pursuant to their Address of the 21st, Copies of all Memorials, Letters and other Papers, relating to a Cartel for Exchange of Prisoners with *Spain*, &c. [*See p.* 69] which were referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of the Merchants of *London*, &c. were referred.

Memorials, Letters, &c. from the Admiralty, and other Papers relating to the War, referr'd to the Grand Committee on the Merchants Petition.

The Order of the Day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of the Petition of the Merchants of *London*, &c. It was ordered that the several Accounts presented to the House the 12th of *Jan.* 1740. And also that the Copies of all Applications made to the Secretaries of State, and Commissioners of the Admiralty for Cruizers, &c. presented to the House, pursuant to their Address of the 26th of *November*, 1740: Likewise that the several Papers presented to the House, pursuant to their Address of the 21st Inst. be referred to the said Committee.

Feb. 1. Mr *Bowen*, from the Treasury, at the Bar presented to the House, an Account shewing how the Money given for the Year 1741 hath been disposed of, until the 29th of *January* 1741-2, with the Deficiency thereupon.

Mr *Hills* one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded Seamen, at the Bar presented to the House an Account shewing what *Spanish* Prisoners have been released, since the Commencement of the War, which was referred to the Committee of the whole House on the Merchants Petition.

Mr *Philipson*, from the Commissioners of the Navy, presented to the House an Account of the Number of Seamen employed in the Royal Navy, from the 31st of *December* 1740 to the 31st of *December* 1741: And also of the Number of Ships of War as they stood at *Christmas* 1741, which were referred to the said Committee.

Mr *Corbett* presented to the House, pursuant to their Order of the 21st Instant, a List of the Names of the Merchant Ships, and their Masters, that had negligently delay'd Convoys, &c [*See p* 69] together with Copies of 61 Letters and other Papers; all which were referred to the Committee of the whole House on the Merchants Petitions.

Mr *Comptroller* presented to the House, pursuant to their Address to his Majesty, Copies of several Letters and Papers, all which were referred to the said Committee.

Feb. 2 Mr *Corbett* from the Commissioners of the Admiralty,

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

miralty, preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs of the 29th *ult.* Copies of all Applications, *&c.* to their Lordſhips, for Cruizers and Convoys, together with what has been done thereupon reſpectively, which were ordered to lie on the Table.

Then the Houſe proceeded to the farther Hearing of the Petition of *Alexander Hume* and *Thomas Frederick*, Eſquires, for *Chippenham*: And the Counſel for the Petitioners deſired to know what Affirmative Conſtruction the Houſe would make of the Words *Burgeſſes and Freemen*, mentioned in the laſt Determination of the Houſe concerning the Right of electing Burgeſſes to ſerve for the ſaid Borough; the Houſe having determined, that the ſaid Words do not mean only ſuch Burgeſſes and Freemen, as are Inhabitants Houſholders of the ancient Houſes, called Free or Burgage Houſes, within the ſaid Borough. The Counſel on both Sides being withdrawn, it was reſolved, by a Majority of 241 Voices againſt 225, That the Counſel be called in, and directed to proceed according to the laſt Determination of the Houſe, of the Right of Election of Members to ſerve for the ſaid Borough, made the 9th of *April* 1624, and according to what the Houſe did reſolve, on the 28th *ult* concerning the ſaid Determination. Then after a farther Hearing of Counſel, the Houſe was informed, that the Petitioners deſired to give the Houſe no farther Trouble. Hereupon it was ſeverally reſolv'd, that Sir *Edmund Thomas*, Bart. and *Edward Baynton Rolt*, Eſq; were duly elected for the ſaid Borough of *Chippenham**.

Chippenham Election determined.

Feb. 3 *Thomas Hales* and *Thomas Trefuſis*, Eſqrs, withdrew their Petition, complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Grampound*.

Petition for Grampound withdrawn.

Ordered, That an Account, ſhewing, what Times any of his Majeſty's Ships of War in Commiſſion have been in the Ports or Harbours of this Kingdom, ſince the 1ſt of *October* 1730, diſtinguiſhing, how long they continued there in ſuch Ports or Harbours, and the Number of Men borne and muſtered on each Ship every Month reſpectively.

Account of Ships in Commiſſion order'd.

Reſolved, That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to give Direction, that there may be laid before this Houſe, Copies of the Commiſſions of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of *Minorca* †, and of Fort *St Philip*, together with the Inſtructions to each of them: Alſo a Copy of the Powers

* The Chippenham Election being thus carried in Favour of the ſitting Members, it was reported that Sir Robert Walpole publickly declared he would never enter the Houſe of Commons more.

† See the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords upon that Affair, with the Proteſt relating thereto, in TIMBERLAND's Hiſtory, Vol. VIII. p. 80.

ers, with which the commanding Officer of the Troops in *Minorca* is intruſted, in the Abſence of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Governor of Fort *St Philip*; And alſo an Account ſhewing, how long each Regiment in *Minorca* has been in that Iſland; and that a Copy of any Application for the Relief of any of the ſaid Regiments, be alſo laid before the Houſe.

State of the Forces in Minorca ordered to be laid before the Houſe.

The ſame Day the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to an Act, *For continuing the Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder,* &c. Alſo to an Act, *For repealing ſo much of an Act paſſed laſt Seſſion, intituled, an Act for the Preſervation of the publick Roads in that Part of* Great Britain *called* England, *as obliges Perſons not travelling for Hire, to make uſe of Waggons and Wheels bound with Streaks, or Tyre of a certain Breadth, or the ſaid Streaks to be faſtened with Nails of a certain Size,* and to two private Bills.

Royal Aſſent given to ſeveral Bills.

After which the Lord Chancellor ſignified his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that both Houſes of Parliament ſhould adjourn themſelves until the 18th of *February*.

The Parliament adjourn'd.

The ſame Evening the Right Hon. Sir *Robert Walpole* reſign'd his Place of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor and Under Treaſurer of the Exchequer, which he had held ever ſince *April* 4, 1721; in the former of which he ſucceeded the *Earl* of *Sunderland*, and in the latter Mr *Aiſlabie* *.

Sir R. Walpole reſigns his Places,

Three Days after his Majeſty was pleaſed to create him Earl of *Orford*, Viſcount *Walpole*, and Baron of *Houghton*. The Right Hon. *Spencer*, Earl of *Wilmington* was appointed Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; made Chancellor and Under Treaſurer of the Exchequer, and one of the Lords of the Treaſury, together with the Hon. *George Compton*, Eſq; Sir *John Ruſhout*, Bart. and *Phillips Gibbon*, Eſq; in the Room of *Giles Earle*, *George Treby* and *Thomas Clutterbuck*, Eſqrs, and Lord *Sundon*.

And is created an Earl.

Upon the Removal of Sir *Robert Walpole*, and the Alterations in the Miniſtry, there were publick Rejoicings in *London* and *Weſtminſter*.——But of the Advantages to the Nation by the Change, our Poſterity will be the beſt Judges.—— Freſh Inſtructions likewiſe were ſent to the Members by their reſpective Conſtituents, *viz.* the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Oxford*, *Aberdeen*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Dumfries*, *Lanerk*, *Hereford*, *Flint*, *Devon*, *Denbigh*, *Montgomery*, *Glouceſter*, *Cromartie*, *Edinburgh*, *Angueſey*, *Kincardine* and *Cheſter*, the Cities of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *York*, *Briſtol*, *Canterbury*, *Bath*, *Edinburgh*, *Lichfield*, *Coventry*, *Cheſter*, *Hereford*,

Inſtructions ſent to the ſeveral Members upon the Alterations in the Miniſtry.

* See Chandler's Hiſtory of the Commons, Anno 1721, p. 242.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

and *Peterborough*; the Boroughs of *Biſhop's-Caſtle*, *Aberdeen*, *Preſton*, *Monmouth*, *Tewkeſbury*, *Newcaſtle under Lyne*, *Honiton*, *Dumfries*, *Annan*, *Stirling*, *Caermarthen*, *Minehead*, *Reading*, *Flint* and *Marlborough*.

As thoſe from the County of *Devon* comprehend every Article inſiſted on by the reſt, We ſhall give them as a Specimen of the whole.

To Sir William Courtenay, *Bart. and* Theophilus Forteſcue, *Eſq; Repreſentatives in Parliament for the County of* Devon.

'WE the High Sheriff and Grand Jury return you 'Thanks for your faithful Services, and for your 'having ſo heartily contributed to the now pleaſing Pro'ſpect of Affairs.

'Perſevere in your Integrity, and let the Conſtitution in 'Church and State be inviolably preſerved.

'Reſtore Triennial Parliaments, the beſt Security of *Bri'tiſh* Liberty; uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to limit the 'Number of Placemen in, and exclude Penſioners from the 'Houſe of Commons.

'Be it your particular Care to procure a proper Law for 'the Security and Encouragement of the Woollen Manu'facture; the Decay of which is ſo ſenſibly felt in this 'County.

'Let numerous ſtanding Armies in Time of Peace be 'aboliſh'd; in Time of War be made uſeful.

'Strictly inquire into the Conduct of thoſe who have in'ſulted the Merchants, ſacrificed the Trade, and proſtituted 'the Honour of *Great Britain*, that their Puniſhment, upon 'due Conviction, may be as exemplary as their Crimes are 'notorious.'

On the 18th the Houſe being met purſuant to their Adjournment, a new Writ was ordered for electing a Baron for *Rye*, in the Room of *Phillips Gibbon*, Eſq; For the City of *Worceſter*, in the Room of *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; For a Burgeſs for *Eveſham*, in the Room of Sir *John Ruſhout*, Bart. And another for *Northampton*, in the Room of the Hon. *George Compton*, Eſq; Likewiſe for *King's Lynn*, in the Room of the Earl of *Orford* *.

New Writs order'd in Room of Members preferr'd.

Colonel *Bladen* preſented to the Houſe a Report from the Commiſſioners of Trade, in purſuance of the Addreſs of the Houſe of the 5th of *March* laſt, to direct them, during the Receſs, to prepare a Scheme for the regiſtring the

Report relating to the Woollen Manufactures;

* Edward Bacon, Eſq; was elected in his Place, and all the new Commiſſioners of the Treaſury were re-choſe.

the Wool of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, which was ordered to lye on the Table.

Mr *Corbet*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs of the 23d, Copies of all Complaints made to the ſaid Commiſſioners, relating to the Commanders of his Majeſty's Ships, &c.

Alſo Accounts from the Admiralty;

Ordered, That an Account be laid before the Houſe, ſhewing how the Money granted laſt Seſſion towards repairing *Weſtminſter* Abbey †, has been diſpoſed of.

And likewiſe relating to Weſtminſter Abbey, preſented to the Houſe.

Feb. 19. A Petition of the Gentlemen, principal Traders, and Inhabitants of the Town of *Cullompton*, in the County of *Devon*, complaining of the great Decay of the Woollen Manufactures, was ordered to be referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Petition relating to Wool exported.

Then received ſeveral Eſtimates relating to the Land Forces, which were referred to the Committee of Supply; and the Order of the Day being read for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into the ſaid Committee, Mr *Philips* ‡ ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following Effect:

Debate on the Supply.

Mr Philips.

Sir,

'I never trouble you long, Sir, on any Occaſion; I ſhall be very ſhort upon this. I ſuppoſe, it is underſtood, if we go now into a Committee of Supply, it is in order to vote an Army; and I beg Leave to ſubmit it to Gentlemens Judgments, whether Matters are yet ripe for ſuch a Vote. It was the Cuſtom of our wiſe Anceſtors firſt to redreſs Grievances, and then to grant Supplies; and if their Example had been followed in ſucceeding Parliaments, we ſhould not have heard of the Complaints that are now before us from our Merchants: Let us therefore now revive the long depreſſed Spirit of true *Engliſhmen*, and not be blindly led to make Grants before we make Inquiries.

'The Hon. Gentleman who moved you Yeſterday to go into a Committee of Supply *, was pleaſed to ſay, 'The Buſineſs of the Nation had been long poſtpon'd:' I beg Leave to aſk that Honourable Gentleman, does he think the great Buſineſs of the Nation is to grant Supplies only? Surely, Sir, I hope we are met here for other Purpoſes too: The granting Supplies, tho' neceſſary, is always laying a Burthen upon the Nation: The redreſſing Grievances is always ſalutary and pleaſing. Shall we grant Men and Money, at a Time Complaints are made of Miſapplications of Men and Money, without firſt inquiring into the Grounds of thoſe Com-

† See a Debate on this Subject in Chandler's Hiſtory, Anno 1737. p. 86.

‡ In the Third Volume of TIMBERLAND'S Hiſtory of the Houſe of Lords is an Account of the ſeveral Alterations in the Engliſh Peerage, during the Reign of King George I. compiled by this Gentleman.

* The Hon. Henry Pelham.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Complaints? Shall we precipitately grant Supplies, without firſt conſidering our Ability to grant them, how they are to be applied, and who is to apply them?

'The King calls to us for Advice, the Miniſtry call to us for Men and Money: Who are we firſt to anſwer? Why does the King call to us for Advice? That we may conſider the State of Affairs, and know what Men and what Money to grant. Shall we then implicitely grant Men and Money, without firſt conſidering what Men and what Money it will be proper and neceſſary to grant? Is this Parliamentary? Can we judge of that Neceſſity, till we conſider the State of the Nation, and the Situation we are in with Regard to Foreign Affairs? Surely no. I am as much for granting the neceſſary Supplies of the Government as any Gentleman in this Houſe; but I cannot anſwer it to my Conſtituents to vote for them, till I am thoroughly ſatisfy'd of the Neceſſity of them, and that they will be better applied than the 5,267,000 *l.* granted laſt Year.

'I hope therefore, Sir, we ſhall defer the Supply till we have been in a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the State of the Nation, which was a Meaſure propoſed by an Honourable Gentleman over-againſt me, very early in the Seſſion *, and will, I hope, be puſhed.

Sir *William Yonge* ſpoke next.

Sir Will. Yonge.

Sir

'We have heard ſo often, and upon ſo many Occaſions, of the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, that I muſt begin with wiſhing, we would in this Age obſerve the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, in all our Proceedings in this Houſe. They never oppoſed a juſt and wiſe Government in any of its Meaſures, nor did they ever talk of redreſſing Grievances, but when ſome ſuch really exiſted. When this happened to be the Caſe, they did not leave People in the Dark, or the Government to gueſs what they meant: They explained particularly every Grievance they thought the People laboured under, and they propoſed what they thought the moſt proper and ſpeedy Remedies. Under a wiſe Government, this could never interfere with the granting of the neceſſary Supplies, becauſe ſuch a Government will certainly, if they can, redreſs every Grievance, as ſoon as they are properly informed of it; and if they cannot without a new Law, they will as certainly concur in the paſſing of a proper Law for that Purpoſe. The Redreſs of Grievances therefore never could, nor ever was with our Anceſtors a Cauſe for poſtponing the neceſſary Supplies, but under an unjuſt or unwiſe Government, that would neither redreſs, nor concur in redreſſing thoſe

* Mr Pulteney.

thoſe Grievances, which were particularly explain'd, and declar'd to be ſuch by a Majority of the Repreſentatives of the People. Nay, our Anceſtors were upon this Head ſo moderate, that after they had particularly ſet forth the Grievances of the People, and had remonſtrated againſt them in the ſtrongeſt Terms, they ſeldom or never, in the ſame Seſſion, refuſed granting the Supplies neceſſary upon that Occaſion: After they had done their Duty in laying before the Government the Grievances of the People, they truſted to the Government for redreſſing them, at leaſt till next Seſſion; and then indeed, if they found the Government had made no Step towards that End, they had good Reaſon in the next Seſſion to inſiſt upon an immediate Redreſs of thoſe Grievances they had before complained of, previous to their granting any Supplies. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'This, Sir, was the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, the uniform Cuſtom of our Anceſtors, I believe, from the firſt Original of our Conſtitution, quite down to the Revolution. From that Time indeed we have had, and now in particular we have a Party amongſt us, who talk every Seſſion of Grievances, and of redreſſing Grievances before granting Supplies, without ever ſo much as once explaining to us any one Grievance they deſire to be redreſſed. For my Part, I do not know any one Grievance the People are now expoſed to; for I am ſure no honeſt and loyal Subject will ever look upon thoſe Taxes as a Grievance, which are neceſſary for the Security of our Government, or for paying off the Intereſt and Principal of thoſe Debts which were contracted for defending us againſt Popery and arbitrary Power. Thoſe Taxes, indeed, afford a Handle which the Diſaffected have always endeavoured to make uſe of, for rendering the People diſcontented. They dare not avow, that the only Grievance they feel, is the Continuance of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; but they exclaim againſt thoſe publick Burdens, which have been made neceſſary by their Deſigns to ſubvert our Conſtitution, and to which moſt of them owe the Religion they profeſs, and all of them the Security they now enjoy, as to their Lives, their Liberties, and their Properties.

'I am far from ſuppoſing, Sir, that any Gentleman in this Houſe, is to be ranked among this Sort of People: The Oaths we have taken make ſuch a Suppoſition impoſſible, or at leaſt very uncharitable; but I am afraid, many Gentlemen, both within Doors and without, thro' not attending to the Dangers our Government has frequently, and from Time to Time, been expoſed to, have allowed themſelves to be miſled by the ſpecious Arguments, cunningly

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

inſinuated by this Sort of People. They repreſent all the Dangers our Government has been lately expoſed to as imaginary: They, indeed, have Reaſon to do ſo; becauſe thoſe Dangers have been all owing to their Machinations, either abroad or at home; and from this falſe Gloſs they put upon thoſe Dangers, they conclude, that our Miniſters have ſuggeſted them with no other View, than to put the Publick to an extraordinary Expence, that they might have an Opportunity to enrich themſelves out of the Spoils of the People. This is ſpecious, but not true; yet falſe as it is, it has, I fear, impoſed upon many well meaning Men without Doors, and not a few within. The ſame Sort of People repreſent the Power of the Crown as exceſſive, and by much too great to be conſiſtent with the Liberties of a free People; tho', in reality, it is no greater than is abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving us againſt the rebellious or ſeditious Practices of thoſe, who, ſhould they ſucceed in their Deſigns, would neither leave the Face of Liberty, nor the Face of true Religion amongſt us. This, I know, has likewiſe impoſed upon many well-meaning Gentlemen, and has made them look upon ſome Parts of our preſent Conſtitution as Grievances, which are abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving us againſt the greateſt of all Grievances, and that which would be the Source of every other Grievance a free People can apprehend, I mean, the Overthrow of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment.

'I hope, Gentlemen will conſider of theſe Things, when they hear Grievances thus generally talk'd of in this Houſe, before they reſolve to poſtpone Supplies till we have redreſſed Grievances which nobody knows of. I know of nothing that has as yet been declared a Grievance by a Majority of this Houſe. Surely, before we can redreſs any Grievance, we muſt know what it is we are to redreſs, we muſt reſolve that it is a Grievance which ought to be redreſſed. But our preſent Grievances, it ſeems, are of a very extraordinary Nature: They are ſuch as cannot be diſcovered or explained, till we have reſolved ourſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider of the State of the Nation. This, Sir, is really ſomething like a Lady in the Vapours: She is in a very bad State of Health: She fancies herſelf oppreſſed with ſeveral Diſtempers; but ſhe cannot tell what they are, till ſhe has had a Conſultation of Phyſicians, to find them out, and explain them. The Conſequence generally is, that theſe Phyſicians, in order to make themſelves her neceſſary and expenſive Attendants, ſuggeſt to her Fancy Diſeaſes ſhe never felt, and make her ſwallow Pills and Bolus's till they throw her into a real Diſtemper.

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' I wiſh, Sir, this may not be our Caſe : I wiſh this may not be the Conſequence of our reſolving ourſelves into ſuch a Committee ; however, I ſhall not determine myſelf to be againſt it, till I hear what Reaſons may be offered for our going into that Committee ; but ſince it has been ſo long delayed, I am ſurpriſed to hear Gentlemen pretend, that our not having been in ſuch a Committee is a Reaſon for our poſtponing the Supplies ; eſpecially now that it is ſo late in the Year as well as in the Seaſon. If they think our going into ſuch a Committee neceſſary, why did not they move it ſooner ? Could they expect that ſuch a Motion would be made by thoſe who do not think any ſuch Motion neceſſary ? From ſuch a Behaviour one would really ſuſpect, that they delayed making this Motion, on purpoſe to have a Pretence for poſtponing the Supplies. I hope this is not the Caſe : I am perſuaded it is not. They could not hope for Succeſs in any ſuch Project ; for, in my Opinion, no Man who conſiders the Danger *Europe* as well as this Nation is in at preſent, will upon any Conſideration poſtpone the granting of thoſe Supplies, which are neceſſary, not only for the Support of our Government, but for enabling his Majeſty to take ſpeedy and effectual Meaſures for preſerving a Balance of Power in *Europe*. An. 15 Geo. II. 1741

' When I reflect, Sir, upon the dangerous, I may ſay deſperate Situation, the Balance of Power is now in, and the conſequential Danger this Nation muſt of courſe be in : When I reflect upon the precarious Situation our Trade and Navigation both in the *Mediterranean* and *American* Seas, nay, I may ſay in every Part of the World, muſt be reduced to, unleſs we can force *Spain* to give up that unjuſt Pretence for ſearching and ſeizing our Ships, even in Time of Peace, on Account of contraband Goods : When I reflect upon the wiſe Meaſures his Majeſty has already taken, or is now purſuing, for redeeming *Europe*, as well as this Nation, from ſuch a dangerous Situation : I ſay, when I reflect upon theſe Things, I cannot but be aſtoniſhed, that any Gentleman ſhould propoſe the poſtponing of the neceſſary Supplies, till we have redreſſed Grievances, which are ſo little felt, that they have not as yet been diſcovered, or at leaſt have not as yet been declared to be ſuch by any Reſolution of either Houſe of Parliament.

' Let us conſider, Sir, the formidable Confederacy againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the preſent forlorn Condition of that Houſe. The Queen of *Hungary* has ſhewn a moſt ſurprizing Spirit in her Diſtreſs : Her Subjects have done Wonders in her and their own Defence ; but the Confederacy is ſo powerful, that ſhe cannot reſiſt it another Campaign ; nor can we by ourſelves alone give her ſuch Aſſiſtance as will

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be effectual. Some of the Princes in the Confederacy muſt be drawn off, and a new Confederacy formed for her Support. Neither of theſe can be done without Money, nor can it be done at all, if it is not ſpeedily done. Now, Sir, ſuppoſe *France* ſhould ſucceed in all her ambitious Projects both in *Germany* and *Italy*: Suppoſe ſhe ſhould eſtabliſh her Vice-Emperor upon the Imperial Throne, reduce the Queen of *Hungary* to her Terms, and eſtabliſh her Son-in-Law, Don *Philip* of *Spain*, in a new erected Kingdom in *Italy*, what are we then to expect, Sir? Can we expect a happy Iſſue of our War with *Spain*? Muſt we not ſubmit to any Terms *France* ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe? If we do not, ſhe will, by her Orders, or her Influence, bring all *Europe* upon our Backs; and after the braveſt, the moſt obſtinate Defence we can make, we muſt at laſt ſubmit to what Terms our Enemies ſhall pleaſe to propoſe. The Freedom of our Trade and Navigation would certainly be the firſt Sacrifice to this fatal Event; and our Independency, our Religion, our Liberties and Properties would as certainly be the laſt; for as to our Lives, it would then be the Intereſt of *France*, tho' not our own, to preſerve them as much, as it is the Intereſt of a Maſter to preſerve the Lives of his Slaves. Theſe are Events which I think of with Horror, and therefore I cannot agree to poſtpone any Thing that may prevent them. I hope the Houſe will be of my Opinion, and, conſequently, refuſe to poſtpone any longer granting the neceſſary Supplies, for the ſake of redreſſing Grievances, which are neither felt by the People, declared by this Houſe, nor explained or particularly ſet forth by thoſe that talk of them.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne* ſpoke to the following Effect.

Sir,

'I ſhall readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that our Anceſtors never oppoſed, or, at leaſt, that they never ought to have oppoſed a juſt and wiſe Government in any of its Meaſures, nor ought they to have talked of redreſſing Grievances but when ſome ſuch really exiſted; but I ſhould be glad, that Gentleman, or any Gentleman, would ſhew me a Government, that did not aſſume to itſelf the great Character of being juſt and wiſe, or that would admit any Thing to be a Grievance which they had no Inclination to redreſs. *Pius*, *Felix*, *Inclytus*, were Characters aſſumed by the moſt cruel, the moſt brutiſh of the *Roman* Tyrants, as well as the moſt juſt and glorious of their Emperors; and thoſe great Characters were more profuſely beſtowed by the ſlaviſh *Roman* Senate upon the former, than ever they were upon the latter. In this Houſe, Sir, we ought never to talk of the Government, becauſe it

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is the King's; but we may talk of the Adminiſtration, we may cenſure it, without any Incroachment upon our Conſtitution. It is often our Duty to do ſo, and I will ſay, that no Adminiſtration had ever leſs Title to be called juſt and wiſe, than that which this Nation has been under for twenty Years paſt; ſo that the Behaviour of our Anceſtors under a juſt and wiſe Adminiſtration, can be no Rule for our Conduct at preſent, nor any Argument againſt what my Hon. Friend has propoſed.

'We ought upon this Occaſion to conſider, what was the Conduct of our Anceſtors, when real Grievances not only exiſted, but were generally and loudly complained of by the People, which is our Caſe at preſent. In all ſuch Caſes, we ſhall find it to have been the conſtant Practice of our Anceſtors to begin with an Inquiry into our Grievances, and to inſiſt upon their being redreſſed, or upon having proper Bills paſs'd for that Purpoſe, before they granted any Supplies; and this they have done even when the Nation was in the utmoſt foreign Danger. The memorable Inſtance in the Reign of *Richard* the IId never can, never ought to be forgot by a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons. The *French* had then prepared for a moſt formidable Invaſion upon *England*: They had a great Army aſſembled: They had Tranſports ready for that Army: They had a naval Force which we could not, which we did not, pretend to oppoſe at Sea; and all this within a Day's Sail of the Mouth of the River *Thames*. In this Condition we were, when the Parliament aſſembled, which that King had called for granting him the Supplies neceſſary for maintaining the Army he had prepared, and that Army was then, for want of Money, living at free Quarters round the City of *London*. In ſuch a dangerous, in ſuch a terrible Situation, what did the Parliament do? Did they grant the neceſſary Supplies? No, Sir. The firſt Thing they did was to preſent an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to remove the Lord High Treaſurer, and the Lord High Chancellor, from his Councils and Preſence; and that all thoſe through whole Hands the publick Money had paſſed, might be called to a ſtrict Account. That King, by the Advice of theſe guilty Counſellors, returned a moſt haughty Anſwer, and order'd them, in an imperious Stile, to grant the Supplies he demanded; but this had a quite contrary Effect: It made the other Houſe join with this in a Meſſage to the King, that they would proceed to no Buſineſs, till his Miniſters were puniſhed according to their Deſerts. The King was at laſt forced to comply: The Miniſters were removed and puniſhed; and the two Houſes joined in appointing fourteen Commiſſioners to examine the publick Accounts, and to take Care of the

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

publick Affairs, in the Name and with the Conſent of the King.

'I ſhall mention another Inſtance of a much freſher Date. Before the * Revolution it had been found by Experience, that the long Continuance of one and the ſame Parliament was a Grievance of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution. At the Time of the Revolution ſufficient Care was not taken to remove this Grievance; and, therefore, the Parliament very ſoon reſolved to ſupply that Defect. So early as in the Year † 1692, the famous Triennial Bill was brought in, and paſſed both Houſes, but K. *William*, tho' he came here to ſecure and eſtabliſh our Liberties, was ſo ill adviſed as to refuſe it the Royal Aſſent. This made the Commons reſolve, as ſoon as they met in *November* 1694, to have this Bill paſſed both Houſes, and aſſented to by the King, before they granted any Supplies; and, accordingly, the very firſt Thing they did, was to order a Bill to be brought ‡ in *For the frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments*, which was accordingly brought in the 22d of that Month, and received the Royal Aſſent the 22d of the next. We all know, Sir, what a dangerous Situation *Europe* in general, as well as this Nation in particular, was in at that Time. We were engaged in a heavy War, upon the Succeſs of which the Liberties of *Europe* depended: We had a very numerous diſaffected Party at home, who were continually forming Plots, and encouraging the *French* to invade us; ſo that our Religion, Liberties, and Independency, in a great Meaſure, depended upon the Parliament's granting the neceſſary Supplies for carrying on the War; yet in theſe Circumſtances this Houſe inſiſted upon the Triennial Bill's being previouſly paſſed into a Law; and it was lucky they did ſo, for if they had not taken that Opportunity, when the *Dutch* were in ſo much Danger, we ſhould probably have had no ſuch Bill during that Reign, nor perhaps, to this very Day. It would have been lucky for the Nation, had the Parliament at that Time inſiſted as ſtrenuouſly upon the other Bill, which had been refuſed the Royal Aſſent in the preceding Seſſion, I mean the Bill *Touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament*; for tho' the Neceſſity of ſome

* One of the Compliments paid to King Charles II. not long after his Reſtoration, was the Repeal of the Triennial Act, which was introduced with a moſt Courtly Preamble, as appears in TIMBERLAND's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 67.

† See CHANDLER's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Commons, Anno 1692, and 1694, in which an exact Account is given of this whole Affair, with the King's Reaſons for his firſt Refuſal.

‡ This Bill was brought in by Robert Harley, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Oxford.

ſome ſuch Bill for ſecuring the Independency of Parliament is now too apparent; yet, I am afraid, it is out of our Power to make uſe of the ſame Method for obtaining it.

'Thus, Sir, if we follow the Steps of our Anceſtors, no Danger, no Inconvenience, will ever be thought a prevailing Argument for our granting all the neceſſary Supplies before ſeeing any one publick Grievance redreſſed. I was ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear the Hon. Gentleman ſay, that the Party who talk of redreſſing Grievances before granting Supplies, have never yet explained any one Grievance they deſire to be redreſſed. The bad Conduct of our Miniſters, and their Profuſion of publick Money, have been often ſet in a clear Light in this Houſe, and are loudly complained of by all impartial and independent Men without Doors: The Septennial Act has been demonſtrated * to be a Grievance of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution: The allowing of ſuch a Number of Placemen, or any private Penſioners, to have Seats in this Houſe, has been demonſtrated to be a Grievance of the ſame Nature; and I could mention ſeveral other Grievances that have been fully and particularly explained, and have been exclaimed againſt not only by a great Party in this Houſe, but by the whole Nation without Doors. I ſhall grant, that many of them have not as yet been declared to be Grievances by a Majority of the People's Repreſentatives in Parliament, but they have been declared to be ſuch by the general Voice of the Nation; and the Reaſon why the People's Repreſentatives do not ſeem to be of the ſame Opinion with the People, is of all others the Grievance moſt ſenſibly felt, and moſt loudly complained of.

'The Reaſon of this moſt ſurpriſing Difference in Opinion is generally ſuppoſed, Sir, to proceed from the Prevalence of Corruption, both at Elections and in Parliament. The Majority in Parliament has for a great many Years, been ſuppoſed to be biaſſed in their Opinions, or directed in their Declarations, by the Poſts, Penſions, or Bribes, they poſſeſſed, received, or expected; and this is look'd upon by the whole Nation as the greateſt Grievance, and as the Source of all our other Grievances: Nay, it has been often declared to be ſo by a Majority of this Houſe. Penſion and Place-Bills have often paſſed through this Houſe, and, conſequently, we muſt allow, that Corruption has been declared to be a Grievance by a Majority of the People's Repreſentatives in Parliament; and that it is a Grievance that has been felt and ought to be removed, or, at leaſt, that it is a Grievance which may be felt and ought to be prevented. As this Houſe, or at leaſt the Majority of us, are as independent

* See the Debate on a Motion for repealing it, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Anno 1734.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

pendent, and as little liable to Corruption, as any former Houſe ever was, I hope, we ſhall be of the ſame Opinion; but as moſt of thoſe Bills have been rejected by the other Houſe, or by the Crown, we may from Experience be convinced, that we ſhall never be able to get any proper and effectual Law paſſed for preventing Corruption, unleſs we very ſpeedily take the ſame Method that was taken in 1694 for obtaining the Triennial Bill. I ſay very ſpeedily, Sir, for Corruption is of ſuch a dangerous Nature, that like Fire, if we allow it to get to a Head, it will be impoſſible to extinguiſh it, till it has reduced to Aſhes the beautiful Fabrick of our Conſtitution.

'The Hon. Gentleman may not, perhaps, know any Grievance the People think themſelves ſubject to, becauſe he has never, I believe, kept Company with thoſe that had Reaſon to complain: He may not, perhaps, be ſenſible of the Burdens the People feel themſelves loaded with, becauſe he has always had a great deal more from the Publick, than he was obliged to pay to the publick Charge. There are many other Gentlemen, and not a few in this Houſe, in the ſame Caſe with him. I ſhall not attempt to derogate from the Merit of ſuch Gentlemens Services to the Publick, but I can aſſure them, that the People generally think, not only that we have by far too many ſuch Servants, but that moſt of them have much greater Stipends than they deſerve. This is what the People look upon as a Grievance. They do not find Fault with the Taxes neceſſary for the Security of our Government, or for paying off the Intereſt and Principal of our Debts; but they think, that a great Part of the Taxes they pay, has been miſapplied, by maintaining a great Number of unneceſſary Officers, and paying a great Number of extravagant Salaries; that many of thoſe Officers have purloined, and applied to their own Uſe, large Sums of the publick Money that paſſed through their Hands: The People cannot help thinking ſo, when they ſee a publick Officer grown immenſely rich, notwithſtanding his being known to have come into that Office as poor as a Rat, and to have ſpent yearly much more than his Salary, extravagant as it was, could afford. This is what the People complain of: This is what they think the Parliament ought to inquire into, before they grant any more Supplies; a great Part of which may probably, without ſuch Inquiry, be diſpoſed of in the ſame fraudulent Manner.

'The People likewiſe complain, Sir, of our maintaining numerous Armies, fitting out formidable Squadrons, paying foreign Subſidies, and keeping foreign Troops in our Pay, none of which were neceſſary for the Support of our Government, however neceſſary they might be for the Support of

our

our Adminiſtration. The People know how uſeful the Diſpoſal of Commiſſions in our Army, and Navy, may be to a Miniſter at an Election or in Parliament; and they know what Purloinings may be ſecretly made from a foreign Subſidy, or from the Pay of foreign Troops; but they know nothing of the Dangers that have made thoſe Expences neceſſary, or that were prevented by putting the Nation to ſuch an extraordinary Charge. For theſe twenty Years paſt, has it been ſo much as pretended, much leſs proved, that there was ever any Machination or Plot contrived or ſet on Foot by the Diſaffected, or that we have been threatned with any Invaſion? For I hope, it will not now be affirmed, that there was any Ground for thoſe Apprehenſions we were terrified with, in order to make us ſwallow that bitter Pill, the Treaty of *Hanover*. When Gentlemen talk of the Plots and Machinations of the Diſaffected, and of the Dangers we have from thence been expoſed to, they do not conſider, that they furniſh us with one of the ſtrongeſt Reaſons for going upon an Inquiry into our late Conduct, before we proceed to any other Buſineſs; for as the Nation has upon that Account been every Year put to an extraordinary Charge, during the long Courſe of our late Miniſter's Adminiſtration, and as no Proofs have ever yet been offered for ſhewing that we were in any Danger; as Time, the Diſcoverer of all Things, has never yet found out any Thing of this Kind, we are under an indiſpenſable Duty to inquire into it; for if it ſhould appear that there never was any ſuch Danger, we muſt then conclude that our late Miniſter and his Accomplices were in a Plot againſt our Conſtitution; and that they made uſe of thoſe imaginary Dangers as a Pretence for getting Money, to enable them to carry on their corrupt Practices againſt our Conſtitution.

'I hope, Sir, I have ſhewn that our Grievances are not ſuch as cannot be diſcovered or explained till we have reſolved ourſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the State of the Nation. They are ſuch as are well known: They are ſuch as have been, and are now ſeverely felt by all thoſe who have no Share in being the Cauſe of them. Our Diſtemper is therefore very far from being imaginary: It may properly enough be compared to that which is got by a Commerce with Proſtitutes, which, if not ſpeedily prevented by an effectual Remedy, either deſtroys the Patient, or very much weakens his Conſtitution. I wiſh this may not already be our Caſe. I am ſure it will very ſoon be ſo, if we do not take Care to render it almoſt impoſſible for any Proſtitute to have a Seat in this Houſe; and this cannot, I think, be done, unleſs we reſolve to defer granting all the neceſſary Supplies, till we ſee proper Bills for this Pur-

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Purpoſe not only brought in, but approved of by every Branch of our Legiſlature.

'As ſome farther Demands may probably be made upon us at the preſent Conjuncture, this may, perhaps, be a Reaſon with ſome Gentlemen for not deferring the Supply neceſſary for maintaining our Army. They may, perhaps, think that we ſhall hereafter have an Opportunity to inſiſt upon a Redreſs of our Grievances, before we grant all the Supplies which our preſent Circumſtances may render neceſſary; but beſides its being a bad Precedent, I do not really ſee, Sir, how we can determine what Number of Troops may be neceſſary for the Service of the enſuing Year, till we have conſidered the State of the Nation in a Grand Committee. The Affairs of *Europe* are, we know, in a very confuſed and dangerous Situation: We likewiſe know, that we ſtand engaged as Guarantees of the Pragmatick Sanction; but all the Powers now confederated againſt the Queen of *Hungary*, except the Duke of *Bavaria* alone, are engaged to guaranty that Settlement as well as we, and if we do not perform that Engagement, we cannot be accuſed of any Breach of Faith, becauſe the Breach of Faith committed by the other Parties concerned, has made the Performance on our Part impoſſible, at leaſt that Sort of Performance which conſiſts in ſending Troops to her Aſſiſtance. We may ſend her Money, and this Method of aſſiſting her will, perhaps, be the beſt for her, and, I am ſure, the moſt convenient for us. If this ſhould be reſolved on, and this, I think, is the only Thing that can be reſolved on, unleſs we have an Aſſurance of being join'd by ſome of the moſt conſiderable Powers upon the Continent, we ought to diſband a great Many of the Troops we have now on Foot; for ſurely our War with *Spain* does not require our keeping up ſuch a numerous Land-Army as we have at preſent, eſpecially if no better Uſe ſhould be made of it in Time to come, than has been in Time paſt. Therefore, till we conſider the State of the Nation: Till we know what may be expected from the *Dutch*, and other Powers of *Europe*, equally, if not more concerned than we are, for preſerving entire the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, it is impoſſible for us to determine what Number of Troops ought to be kept up for the enſuing Year: And our determining this Queſtion, before we are duly prepared for that Purpoſe, will have a very bad Effect upon the Minds of the People, becauſe it will make them imagine, that this Parliament is to give Credit to, and to act upon the bare Aſſertions of Miniſters, as implicitly as ſome late Parliaments have done, which would make them deſpair of ever meeting with any Juſtice or Relief from Parliament; and no one can tell what fatal Effects the Deſpair of a brave People may produce.

'I

' I am very much ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear Gentlemen aſk, Why did you not go ſooner into a Committee upon the State of the Nation? Why was it not moved for by thoſe who think it neceſſary for us to go into ſuch a Committee? Does not every one know how much our Time was taken up with Elections of very great Importance, till the very Day before our laſt Adjournment? If no ſuch Adjournment, which was no Way expected, had happened, the Queſtion would probably have been moved, and we ſhould have been in a Committee upon that Affair before this Time. Therefore, thoſe who think it proper we ſhould conſider the State of the Nation, before we determine what ſtanding Army is neceſſary to keep up for the Service of the Nation, are not to be blamed for not having made any ſuch Motion, but thoſe only who were the Adviſers of that Adjournment; nor can I ſee any Reaſon why ſuch a Motion might not be made by ſome of thoſe who are our Miniſters, as well as by thoſe who are not; for, in my Opinion, if we had a due Regard to the Dignity of our Proceedings, we ought, in every Seſſion, to take the State of the Nation into our Conſideration, before we grant any Supply, or, at leaſt, before we make any particular Grants for that Purpoſe. According to our late Cuſtom, the Miniſters tell us what Number of Men they think neceſſary for the Land Service, and they give us an Eſtimate of the Charge: Upon this we go into the Committee of Supply; and there we agree to the Number, without inquiring whether ſo great a Number be neceſſary or no; we approve of the Eſtimate, many of us, I believe, without looking upon it, and we grant the Sum Total at the End of it. Is this conſiſtent with the Dignity of Parliament? Does it not look like putting an implicit Faith in the Wiſdom and Integrity of our Miniſters, who, I am ſure, very ſeldom deſerve ſo much Confidence? Is it not giving away the Money of our Conſtituents without knowing why or wherefore, tho' one of the chief Ends of ſending us hither, is to take Care, that no more of their Money ſhall be granted for the publick Service, or any Branch of the publick Service, than is made appear to be abſolutely neceſſary.

' I therefore think, that in Regard to the Dignity of our own Proceedings, and to that Character we ought to keep up among the People, the Cuſtom ſhould be revived and eſtabliſhed, of taking the State of the Nation into our Conſideration every Seſſion of Parliament, before granting any particular Sums for the Supply; and I can ſee no Danger in putting off providing for our Army, for a Week or ten Days, that we may in the mean Time take the State of the Nation into our Conſideration. I ſhall readily concur with

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the Hon. Gentleman in admitting, that the Nation is in a moſt dangerous State; I think, it is in a moſt terrible Situation, with regard to Affairs both foreign and domeſtick. In the laſt two heavy Wars we ſpent above a Hundred Millions Sterling, we contracted above Fifty Millions of Debt, we loaded our People and our Trade with many heavy Taxes, in order to eſtabliſh a Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe*, by which the Balance of Power might be preſerved; and now after a Peace of thirty Years, with no one Interruption but what we brought upon ourſelves, I may ſay, out of mere Wantonneſs, we find the Nation loaded with very near the ſame Debt, our People ſtill groaning under the ſame Taxes, our Trade ruined by that Debt and thoſe Taxes, and the Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe* turned topſy-turvy; ſo that unleſs God Almighty interpoſes by ſome extraordinary Inſtance of his Providence, we muſt ſubmit to ſee our moſt inveterate Enemy lording it over the Continent of *Europe*, and at laſt over ourſelves: or we muſt engage in a new War as heavy, as dangerous, and perhaps, as tedious as the laſt; and when we ſeriouſly reflect, we have the Mortification to find, that all this has been chiefly owing to our own Conduct. This is, indeed, a moſt melancholy, a moſt dreadful Situation: We have been brought into it by our Parliament's taking every Thing upon Truſt from our Miniſters; therefore, I hope, we ſhall do ſo no more. I hope we ſhall now conſider firſt the State of the Nation; becauſe from thence alone we can determine what Number of Troops ought to be kept up for the enſuing Year; for if there is no Appearance of our being able to form a proper Confederacy upon the Continent, we ought to diſband a great Part of our Troops we have now on foot, in order to be able to encreaſe our Naval Force; becauſe it is upon that alone, after the Balance of Power upon the Continent is deſtroyed, that we muſt depend for the Continuance of our future Independency.'

This Debate being over, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Grand Committee on the Supply, and came to the following Reſolutions; *viz.* That a Number of Land Forces, for Guards, Garriſons, &c. (including 2323 Invalids) amounting to 35,554 effective Men, Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included, be employed for the Year 1742: And that 1,004,947 *l.* 10 *d.* be granted for defraying the Charge thereof: That 11,550 Marines, Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included, employed for the Year 1741, be continued for 1742; That 206,253 *l.* 15 *s.* be granted for defraying the Charge thereof; And that 53,995 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* be granted for

Reſolutions of the Grand Committee relating to the Army.

for maintaining a Regiment of Foot raiſed in *America*, for the Service of the *Weſt Indies*, for 1742. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

The ſame Day Major-General *Anſtruther* * withdrew his Petition for *Anſtruther-Weſter*, *&c.* As did alſo *Alexander Udney*, Eſq; for the Burghs of *Aberdeen*, *&c.* Petitions for Anſtruther and Aberdeen withdrawn.

Feb. 22. Mr *Philipſon*, from the Commiſſioners of the Navy, preſented to the Houſe the Account of the Number of Seamen, purſuant to their Order of the 28th *ult.* which was ordered to lie on the Table.

Ordered an Account of all Woollen Goods, exported from *Great Britain*, and to and from what Ports, from *Chriſtmas* 1725, to *Chriſtmas* 1741, diſtinguiſhing each Year, with the Value thereof: And an Account of all Wool and Woollen-Yarn imported from *Ireland* into *Great Britain*, from *Chriſtmas* 1729, to *Chriſtmas* 1741 diſtinguiſhing each Year, to be laid before the Houſe. Several Accounts ordered, and Petitions preſented, relating to the Woollen-Trade.

A Petition of the Mayor, *&c.* of *Taunton*: Alſo of the Maſter-Clothiers, *&c.* of *Shepton-Mallet*, in the County of *Somerſet*, and of the Lord Mayor, *&c.* of the City of *York*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, were referred to the Committee of the whole Houſe.

Then Mr *Phillips* ſtood up, and moved that the Serjeant at Arms ſhould go into the Court of Requeſts, *&c.* and ſummon the Members to attend, which was ordered accordingly; and he being return'd, Mr *Scrope* reported from the Committee on the Supply the foregoing Reſolutions.

Hereupon Mr *Phillips* ſpoke to the following Effect:

Mr Speaker,

'I do not riſe, Sir, to oppoſe any of the Reſolutions that have been now read to you, but only to take Notice, that when ſome of thoſe Reſolutions were agreed to in the Committee, I mean particularly thoſe relating to the Marines, and the Regiment in *America*, the Committee was in ſo great a Confuſion and Diſorder, that it was impoſſible for any Gentleman who was not cloſe to the Table, to know what was doing. It is greatly for your Honour, Sir, that you never ſuffer any Queſtion to be put, without keeping the Houſe to the ſtricteſt Attention; and, I hope, that for the future, before Queſtions of this great Importance are put in the Committee, the Chairman will take Care to preſerve the ſame Attention, that every Gentleman may have an Opportunity of giving his Diſſent, as well as his Aſſent, and that nothing may be obtained by Surprize. Mr Phillips's Speech on the Reſolutions relating to the Army, being reported.

* Lieutenant Governor of Minorca.——See his Examination before the Houſe of Lords, relating to the State of that Iſland, in Tindal's Hiſtory, Vol. VIII, p. 69.

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'Now I am up, Sir, give me Leave to take Notice, that the Troops voted in the Committee, which are now to be agreed to by the Houſe, amount in the whole to 50,867 Men, which is 815 more than were voted laſt Year; and thoſe are excluſive of the Troops in the *Plantations*, *Minorca*, and *Gibraltar*, which are likewiſe on the *Engliſh* Eſtabliſhment. You have thirteen Regiments, and fourteen Companies of Invalids there, which amount to above 11,709 Men; ſo that in the Whole you have in the *Britiſh* Pay, beſides Foreigners, above 62,500 Landmen and 40,000 Seamen, which coſt the Nation above 3,611,000 *l. per Annum*; and theſe are excluſive of Half-pay Officers: A large Number of Forces indeed, too great, I fear, for this Nation long to ſupport; therefore, I hope, Sir, I truſt from what the Hon. Gentleman over the Way ſaid in the Committee,* (and I repoſe great Confidence in what he does ſay) that theſe Troops will not only be kept up, but that they will be employed; and the Moment the Neceſſity of keeping them up ceaſes, that the Troops ſhall alſo ceaſe, I mean all thoſe that are not neceſſary for Guards and Garriſons at home. If this is done, the Nation will be convinced there is an Alteration of Meaſures as well as Men, and that the Troops were not kept up to awe the People into a ſlaviſh Dependence on Men in Power at home, but to retrieve the almoſt loſt Honour and Reputation of the Nation abroad; that they were not kept up to make fine Shews in Camps, and at Reviews, but to do the Nation real Service; that they were not kept up to influence Elections in *England*, but to reſtore the Balance of Power in *Europe*. Theſe Conſiderations will make every Man chearfully contribute his Proportion to the Expence of them.

'Give me Leave to ſay a Word more: When theſe Supplies are granted, I hope, we ſhall all join Hand in Hand to make Inquiries, to redreſs Grievances, and to paſs ſuch wholeſome Bills as may effectually put it out of the Power of any Miniſtry to miſlead the King, to corrupt the Parliament, or to enſlave the People. If theſe Meaſures are taken, and, I hope, theſe Meaſures will be taken, *England* will again rear its Head, the mutual Confidence that ought to ſubſiſt between the King and his Subjects will be reſtored, and the Spirits of the People, which have been long depreſſed with the Weight of heavy Taxes, without any Proſpect of Relief, will be revived, Trade and Manufactures will flouriſh, and we ſhall, indeed, be a new People. The Proſpect of theſe Things, Sir, is greatly pleaſing, and the more ſo, when we conſider, that they are in our Power! Let us then

* Mr Pulteney.

then chearfully ſet about this great Work, and *England* will date the *Æra* of its Happineſs from the glorious Seſſion of 1741.'

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Then the ſaid Reſolutions were agreed to by the Houſe, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in for puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion, *&c.* and that Sir *William Yonge* *, and Mr *Monſon* † do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Mutiny Bill order'd in.

Feb. 23. A Petition of the Mayor, *&c.* of *Barnſtaple*: And alſo of the Freeholders and Manufacturers, *&c.* of *Nottingham*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, was referred to the Committee of the whole Houſe.

Petitions relating to the Woollen Manufacture.

Mr *Scrope* reported from the Committee of the whole Houſe on the Supply, their Reſolution, which was agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That towards raiſing the Supply, there be iſſued 1,000,000 *l.* out of the Sinking Fund; and a Bill was ordered in accordingly.

A Million voted out of the Sinking Fund.

Then the Houſe proceeded to the further hearing the Merits of the *Denbighſhire* Election; and the Counſel on both Sides being withdrawn, *William Myddelton*, Eſq; High Sheriff of the ſaid County at the laſt Election was called in, and heard; and being withdrawn, it was reſolved, that the Majority of the Voters upon the Poll was for the Petitioner, Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, Bart. and was ſo declared by the High Sheriff at the Cloſe of the Poll, and no Alteration was made in the ſaid Poll, untill after the High Sheriff had made the Return: Alſo that *John Myddelton*, Eſq; was not duly returned, and that Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, Bart. ought to have been return'd a Knight of the Shire for the ſaid County; and the Clerk of the Crown was ordered to amend the ſaid Return. Then it was farther reſolved, that *William Myddelton*, Eſq; High Sheriff of the County of *Denbigh* at the laſt Election for a Knight of the Shire, having taken upon himſelf to return *John Myddelton*, Eſq; contrary to the Majority of Votes received by him upon the Poll, and to his own Declaration of the Numbers at the Cloſe of the Poll, without any publick ſubſequent Examination into the Rights of the Voters previous to ſuch Return, and having afterwards preſumed to alter the ſaid Poll, in order to give Colour to ſuch Return, has acted partially, arbitrarily, and illegally, in Defiance of the Laws, in manifeſt Violation of the Rights of the Freeholders of the ſaid County, and in Breach of the Privilege of the Houſe; and that he be for his ſaid Offence, committed Priſoner to *Newgate*. The Houſe alſo voted an Addreſs to his

The Denbighſhire Election determined; And the High Sheriff committed to Newgate.

* Secretary at War.

† Deputy Pay-maſter of the Forces.

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ſpective Captains of his Majeſty's Ships, who ſhall have Occaſion to put into the Port of *Liſbon*, dated the 28th of *March* 1741, to be laid before the Houſe.

Penſion-Bill read.

Mr *Carew* preſented to the Houſe the Penſion-Bill, [*See p.* 135] which was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Election for Dornock, &c. declar'd void.

Then the Houſe proceeded to the Hearing the Petition for an undue Election and Return for the Diſtrict of Burghs of *Dornock*, *Kirkwall*, *&c.* And the Counſel on both Sides being withdrawn, the ſaid Election was declar'd void.

Accounts from the Admiralty.

March 2. Mr *Corbett*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented Copies of the three Orders, directed to be laid before the Houſe Yeſterday. And alſo an Eſtimate of the Debt of the Navy, as it ſtood on the 31ſt of *December* 1741, which were referred to the Committee of the whole Houſe, on the Merchants Petition.

Bill paſs'd for granting One Million out of the Sinking Fund.

Then the ingroſſed Bill for granting to his Majeſty 1,000,000 *l.* out of the Sinking Fund, towards the Supply for the Year 1742, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Francis Fane*.

March 3. Ordered a new Writ for the Burghs of *Dornock* *, *Kirkwall*, *Tain*, *&c.*

Petition of ſeveral Wine-Merchants trading to Spain.

A Petition of ſeveral Merchants, was preſented to the Houſe, ſetting forth, that the Petitioners were conſiderable Traders to *Spain*, when in Amity with this Kingdom; and that the Houſe having, on the 5th of *February* 1739, paſſed a Bill, *for prohibiting Commerce with* Spain, which was to commence from the 24th of *June* 1740, the Petitioners apprehended, they might with Safety order any Merchandize from thence, that could be brought into the Kingdom before the ſaid 24th of *June*; and that in Conſequence of the Orders given by the Petitioners, at different Times, to their reſpective Correſpondents in *Spain*, (many of which were executed before the Declaration of War againſt that Kingdom, and the lateſt of them were ſent from hence on or before the 14th *February* 1739) ſundry Wines were bought in *Spain* for the Petitioners Account, of which there now remain unimported in the whole 1386 Tons, which were immediately paid for according to the Courſe of that Trade, great Part whereof was actually ſhipped, and the reſt ready to be ſhipped, and would have arrived in this Kingdom long before the ſaid 24th of *June*, according to the uſual Time of performing ſuch Voyages; and that the Bill was under the Conſideration of a Committee of the Houſe of Lords on the 26th of *February*; and the Time of the Commencement thereof was then altered from the 24th of

* Robert Craigie, Eſq; his Majeſty's Advocate for Scotland was elected.

of *June* to the 1ſt of *May*; whereupon the Petitioners did, by next Poſt, ſend Orders to *Spain*, to ſtop the farther Shipping of the ſaid Wines; and that the Amendments made by the Lords being ſent to this Houſe, and taken into Conſideration on the 25th of *March*, ſome Amendments were made to them, and Conferences with the Lords were had thereupon, which rendered it uncertain what Day would be agreed upon for the Commencement of the ſaid Act, until the 24th of *April*, when the firſt of *June* was the Day fixed; but it was then too late for the Petitioners to give Orders for importing the ſaid Wines by the 1ſt of *June*, as ſuch Orders could not, according to the uſual Courſe of the Poſt, reach their Correſpondents in *Spain* till the middle of *May*; and that the Petitioners have given Orders to their ſeveral Correſpondents in *Spain*, to export the ſaid Wines from thence to neutral Ports; and as the King of *Spain* or his Subjects, cannot receive any Benefit or Advantage from the Importation thereof, and in regard the Loſs, which will otherwiſe be very great, muſt fall wholly on his Majeſty's Subjects, and the Duties payable for the ſame muſt be intirely loſt, unleſs the ſaid Wines are brought into this Kingdom, (which cannot be effected without the Aid of Parliament) praying the Houſe to take the Caſe of the Petitioners into Conſideration. Hereupon it was ordered that the ſaid Petition be referred to the Conſideration of a Committee. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

March 4. The Houſe proceeded to the Hearing the Petition of *Algernon* Earl of *Mountrath*, and *George Berkeley*, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Hedon*. And a Copy of the Poll, taken at the laſt Election for the ſaid Borough, being produced; the total Numbers of the Voters for the ſeveral Candidates were read; and a Witneſs was examined to prove, that many of the Electors were bribed, by Agents of the Sitting Members, whoſe Votes being deducted from the Poll, the Counſel inſiſted that the Petitioners had a Majority of legal Votes. And they being withdrawn, the Houſe was informed, by a Member, that Mr *Cbute*, one of the Sitting Members, being ſick, had authorized him to acquaint the Houſe, that he deſires not to give them any Trouble. And Mr *Robinſon*, the other Sitting Member, being abſent; it was reſolved, *Nem. Con.* that the Earl of *Mountrath*, and Mr *Berkeley*, were duly elected for the ſaid Borough. Determination of the Election for Hedon.

Sir *Robert Godſchall* reported from the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Petition of the Merchants; the Reſolutions of the ſaid

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Committee, which were agreed to by the Houſe, as follow, *viz.*

Reſolutions of the Grand Committee on the Merchants Petition, which are order'd to be laid before the King.

Reſolved, I. That notwithſtanding the repeated Applications of the Merchants, for Cruizers to be properly ſtationed for the Protection of the Trade of this Nation, from the Privateers of the Enemy, the due and neceſſary Care has not been taken to keep a proper Number of his Majeſty's Ships employed in that Service, more eſpecially in and near the Channel and Soundings; for Want of which, many Ships have been taken by the Enemy, ſome of them of conſiderable Value, to the great Loſs of many of his Majeſty's Subjects, the great Advantage and Encouragement of the Enemy, and the Diſhonour of this Nation.

II. That the Detention of the Fleet of Merchant Ships bound to *Portugal*, for near twelve Months, by the Refuſal of Protections for ſome Time, and the Delay of Convoy afterwards, gave our Rivals in Trade an Opportunity of introducing new Species of their Woollen Manufactures into *Portugal*, to the great Detriment of this Kingdom: It was alſo ordered, *Nem. Con.* That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better protecting and ſecuring the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom in Times of War, and that Sir *Robert Godſchall* and Sir *John Barnard* do prepare and bring in the ſame.

A Bill order'd for the Security of Trade in Time of War.

Then it was farther ordered, That the above Reſolutions be laid before the King, by ſuch Members as are of the Privy Council.

March 8. A Petition of the Clothiers of *Froome*, and alſo of *Wellington* in *Somerſetſhire*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen-Trade, was referr'd to the Committee.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

Mr *Comptroller* reported to the Houſe his Majeſty's Anſwer to the Reſolutions of the Houſe of the 4th Inſtant, *That he will always have Regard to what is repreſented to him by the Houſe of Commons.*

Bill order'd for Relief of inſolvent Debtors.

Ordered in a Bill for Relief of inſolvent Debtors; and that Mr *Cornewall*, the Lord *Gage*, Mr *Foley*, Mr *Thomas Foley*, jun. Mr *Hopton*, and Mr *Wynford* do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Mutiny Bill paſs'd.

The Bill for puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion, *&c.* was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Mawſon* *.

Petitions relating to running of Wool.

March 9. A Petition of ſeveral Clothiers in *Devonſhire* was preſented to the Houſe, complaining of the Practice of running Wool to *France*, which was referred to the Committee of the whole Houſe.

The

* Deputy Paymaſter of the Army.

Then Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee on the Supply the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe : An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

I. That 127,703 *l.* 6 *s.* 11 *d.* be granted to his Majeſty, for the Office of Ordnance for Land Service for 1742. Reſolutions on the Supply.

II. That 82,728 *l.* 9 *s.* 1 *d.* be granted, for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the ſaid Office not provided for by Parliament.

III. That 58,737 *l.* 11 *s.* 2 *d.* ¾, be granted, for making good the Deficiency of the General Fund for the Year, ended at *Michaelmas* 1741.

IV. That 4048 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.* be granted, to re-place to the Sinking Fund the like Sum paid out of the ſame, to make good the Deficiency of the Additional Stamp-Duties at *Chriſtmas* 1740.

V. That 10,000 *l.* be granted, to re-place to the Sinking Fund the like Sum paid out of the ſame to the Governor and Company of the Bank of *England*, for half a Year's Intereſt, due the 8th of *March* 1740, on the principal Sum of 500,000 *l.* by them lent on Credit of the Salt Duties towards the Supply of the Year 1735.

VI. That 263,731 *l.* 17 *s.* 7 *d.* be granted, to make good the Deficiency of the Grants for the Year 1741.

Then the Serjeant at Arms having in the uſual Manner ſummoned the Members to attend, a Motion was made by Lord *Limerick*, that a Committee be appointed to enquire into the Conduct of our Affairs at home and abroad, during the laſt twenty Years; whereupon a great Debate enſued: His Lordſhip ſupported his Motion to the following Effect. Debate on the Lord Limerick's Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Affairs for the laſt 20 Years.

Sir,

' Among the many important Duties of this Houſe, there is not one, which, when faithfully diſcharged, can contribute more to the Good of our Country, and the Glory and Security of our Sovereign, than that of inquiring ſtrictly and impartially into the Conduct of thoſe who are intruſted by the King with the executive Part of our Government. In all Countries, Sir, the real Intereſt of the King, and that of the People, depend ſo much upon one another, and are ſo inſeparably connected, that no King, even the moſt arbitrary, would ever neglect, or act in Oppoſition to the Intereſt or Happineſs of his People, if he were well adviſed, and well ſerved by his Miniſters; but as the private Views of Miniſters are generally inconſiſtent with the true Intereſt of the People, they often by Flattery, or ſome other Means, prevail upon their Maſter to act in direct Oppoſition to his own Intereſt, as well as that of his People; or they encourage his Indolence, or divert his Attention, that they may

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

the more freely oppreſs thoſe whom he is, both in Intereſt and Duty, obliged to protect. As Kings are generally beſet by their Miniſters, the Misfortune is, that the King ſeldom hears of the Grievances or Complaints of the People, till by an Inſurrection he is tumbled headlong from his Throne, or forced to ſecure it by the Maſſacre of great Numbers of his Subjects; but by our happy Conſtitution, the Sovereign of theſe Kingdoms is ſecure againſt this Misfortune, becauſe by Means of this Houſe, while it remains independent of Miniſters, the King muſt hear of, and may in Time redreſs the Grievances of his People; and if any of his Miniſters have been guilty of Miſconduct, it will be diſcovered by a fair and an open Inquiry.

'Thus, Sir, it muſt appear, that in Duty to our King as well as our Country, we ought to enquire often into the Conduct of his Miniſters. This is our Duty at all Times, but it becomes more indiſpenſably ſo, when the People appear generally diſſatisfied with the Adminiſtration, and call aloud for an Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs. From this Introduction, Sir, it may be preſumed, that I am to conclude what I have to ſay, with a Motion for an Inquiry; but to ſhew, that this Inquiry ought to go as far back as I deſign it ſhould, I muſt beg Leave to make a few Remarks upon the Conduct of our Miniſters for twenty Years paſt; and in order to obviate the common Objection, that our Meaſures have been all approved of by Parliament, I ſhall begin with obſerving, that it is, and may be juſtly ſuſpected, that during the Time I have mentioned, our Miniſters have taken moſt unjuſtifiable Methods for gaining a corrupt Influence, both at Elections and in Parliament. While our Conſtitution ſubſiſts in its full Force, it is certain, that the Parliament, or at leaſt this Houſe of Parliament, will always be of the ſame Complexion with the Generality of the People. It is from this Houſe his Majeſty is to know the Sentiments as well as the Complaints of his People; therefore, when Meaſures generally diſliked by the People, meet with an Approbation from this Houſe, it may be juſtly ſuſpected, that ſome illegal Methods have been taken for obtaining that Approbation; and if upon a new Election a Miniſter, who by his Crimes or Imprudence has rendered himſelf generally obnoxious to the People, ſhould nevertheleſs get a Majority of his Friends, or rather Creatures, returned as Members of this Houſe, we muſt ſuppoſe, that ſome illegal Methods were taken for obtaining thoſe Returns.

'This Conſideration alone, Sir, without any other Proofs, is ſufficient to convince every Impartial Man, that for twenty Years

Years paſt an illegal Influence has prevailed both in Parliament and at Elections; for during that whole Time we have been governed by a Miniſter, who as ſoon as he got into the Adminiſtration, rendered himſelf unpopular, and who has every Year, ſince that Time, increaſed that Unpopularity, by purſuing Meaſures both at home and abroad, which were inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution, or with the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation. It is very well known, Sir, what a Ferment was raiſed in the Nation by the Execution of the *South-Sea* Scheme in the Year 1720;* It is known, that the Ferment then raiſed was far from being allayed by the Meaſures taken, the Year following, for puniſhing the Guilty and reſtoring publick Credit. The Diſcontents were ſo great, that from his late Majeſty's own Authority, in his Speech at the Beginning of the next Parliament, I can ſay, they gave Hopes to the Diſaffected amongſt us, and encouraged them to enter into a Conſpiracy for overturning our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment. The Nation being in theſe Circumſtances, one would have expected, from the Nature of our Conſtitution, that the new Parliament, which was ſummoned in the Year 1722, would generally have conſiſted of ſuch as were no Friends to the Adminiſtration; but when the Parliament aſſembled, this Houſe ſoon appeared to be of a miniſterial, inſtead of being of a popular Complexion; from whence one muſt naturally, and, I think, neceſſarily conclude, that our Miniſters had found Means to corrupt a Majority of our Elections; and this Concluſion is very much ſtrengthened by the large Sums granted for paying off the Debts of the Civil Liſt before, and ſoon after the cheuſing of that Parliament; for in the Year 1720, the Sum ‖ of 300,000 *l.* was paid for this Purpoſe by the two Inſurance Companies; in the Year 1721, 500,000 *l.* more was granted by Parliament † for the ſame Purpoſe, and in the Year 1725, ‡ another Sum of 500,000 *l.*

Beſides theſe large Sums, Sir, which were granted openly and expreſsly for paying off the Debts and Incumbrances of the Civil Liſt; by a Clauſe artfully ſlipt into an Act of Parliament in the Year 1721, an annual Sum of above 36,000 *l.* was added to the Civil Liſt; by ordering, that the old Penſions and Annuities charg'd upon the hereditary Revenues ſhould, for the future, be paid without being deemed to be Part of the 700,000 *l.* ſettled upon his late Majeſty for his Life; and in the Year 1725, the Sum of 101,800 *l.* was taken from the Sinking Fund, to compleat his late Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenue to 700,000 *l. per Ann.* and ſoon after

Aa. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

* See CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Geo. I. p. 223. —— ‖ Ibid. p. 215. —— † Ibid. p. 257. —— ‡ Ibid. p. 340.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

after 42,200 *l.* was taken from the Poſt-Office Revenue.

' Thus, Sir, it appears, that in the laſt ſeven Years of his late Majeſty's Reign, there was no leſs than 1,444,000 *l.* extraordinary Grants made to the Civil Liſt, beſides its being freed from the Payment of 36,000 *l.* yearly, which it was before charged with; and it is very remarkable, that in the Year 1720, the ſame Miniſter, who has ever ſince, I may ſay, preſided in our Councils, forſook being a Country-Gentleman *, as he had before profeſſed himſelf, and again begun to be a Miniſter of State. This, I ſay, very much ſtrengthens the Concluſion, that in the Year 1722, when a new Parliament was choſen, the Miniſter had found Means to corrupt a Majority of our Elections; and this will anſwer for that Parliament's having made ſuch extraordinary additional Grants to the Civil Liſt, without having ever ſo much as once enquired, in a proper Manner, into the Produce of the Civil Liſt Revenue, or into the Management of thoſe Revenues: It will likewiſe anſwer for that Parliament's having approved of the Treaty of *Hanover*, without appointing a Secret Committee to inquire into the Truth of the improbable Facts pretended as the Cauſe of that Treaty; and it will anſwer for the Miniſter's aſking from, and that Parliament's granting, an Addition of 120,000 *l. per Ann.* to the Civil Liſt, during his preſent Majeſty's Life.

' I come now, Sir, to the ſecond Parliament which was choſen under the ſame Miniſter's Influence. By the Conduct of our Miniſter, and the Compliance of the laſt Parliament, it may be ſuppoſed, the Diſcontents of the People were no Way allayed: It is certain they were rather increaſed, when a new Parliament came neceſſarily to be choſen in the Year 1727. His preſent Majeſty's happy and peaceable Acceſſion to the Throne had, 'tis true, given great Joy to every good Subject; but that Joy had no Sort of Relation to the Miniſters of the former Reign: On the contrary, it was very much increaſed by its being generally preſumed, that the Miniſters, or at leaſt the chief Miniſter of the former Reign, would be diſmiſſed and called to a ſtrict Account; therefore it was to be expected, that the People would chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives as were well affected to his Majeſty, but it was not to be expected, if they were left to a free and uncorrupted Choice, that they would generally chuſe ſuch as were known to be attached to the former Adminiſtration. Yet, nevertheleſs, it ſoon appeared, that ſuch Men were generally choſen, which of itſelf is a ſtrong Argument againſt this Parliament's being freely choſen, and this Argument receives additional Strength from the memorable extraordinary

* See CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Anno 3. Geo. I. 1717. p. 120.

nary Grant of 115,000 *l.** which was made to the Civil Liſt, at the Begining of his preſent Majeſty's Reign. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'The very ſame Adminiſtration being continued by his preſent Majeſty (for the few new Members added have always been look'd on as Cyphers) and this new Parliament being likewiſe of a miniſterial, inſtead of being of a popular Complexion, the Civil Liſt, by this Means, got ſome new Acquiſitions, during this Parliament; the vaſt Expences the Nation was put to in paying foreign Troops, for ſecuring us againſt chimerical Dangers, were approved of; and the Treaty of *Seville*, by which a Foundation was laid for ruining the Houſe of *Auſtria*, without gaining any one Advantage to this Nation, met with a parliamentary Approbation; and the Loſſes and Complaints of our Merchants, occaſioned by the *Spaniſh* Depredations, both before and after that Treaty, met with no Regard from Parliament, at leaſt none but what was, I may ſay, dictated by our Miniſters. Thus the Behaviour of this Parliament became, I think, a convincing Proof of the Methods by which it was choſen; and its continual Compliance gave our Miniſter, at laſt, the Courage to bring a Scheme into Parliament, which would at once have abſolutely ruined our Conſtitution, by giving all future Miniſters the Direction of moſt of our Elections. When I ſay this, Sir, I believe, every Gentleman, that hears me will ſuppoſe, I mean the Exciſe-Scheme which owed its Diſappointment, not ſo much to the Virtue of this Houſe, as to ſome noble Lords who not only perſuaded their Friends here to be againſt it, but would probably have prevented its being agreed to in their Houſe, if it had been paſſed in this.

'This moſt wicked and deſperate Scheme, Sir, work'd the Diſcontents of the People almoſt into Madneſs. It raiſed ſuch a Ferment in the Nation, that the Miniſter and his chief Supporters in this Scheme, were burnt in Effigy at many Places in the Kingdom; and as this happened in the Summer 1733, one may eaſily judge, what Temper the People were in, with regard to our Miniſters, the Summer following, when a general Election for a new Parliament came neceſſarily on; for no one can pretend, they had in the mean Time done any one Thing, either at Home or Abroad, for reconciling themſelves to the People, but on the contrary, ſome Officers had been diſmiſſed for no other Reaſon, but their appearing againſt the Exciſe-Scheme; and ſeveral neceſſary and popular Motions had been rejected in the laſt Seſſion of this Parliament by the Influence of our Miniſters.

'In

* See the Account of this Grant, as alſo the Names of the Members who voted for and againſt it, in CHANDLER's Hiſt, Anno 1729.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'In theſe Circumſtances, Sir, can it be imagined, that the People, if left to a free and uncorrupted Choice, would return a Majority of thoſe who were the profeſſed Friends and Supporters of our Miniſter? Yet a Majority of ſuch were returned as Members of this Houſe, and ſome of them were rechoſen at the very Places where they had, but the Year before, been burnt in Effigy. This Parliament accordingly behaved as the former two had done: They agreed to every Thing the Miniſter propoſed: They approved of every Thing he did, Abroad and at Home; and they rejected every Motion, and every Bill, which he but ſeemed to diſlike. They furniſhed Money for Fleets and Armies to aſſiſt the *Emperor*, and they alſo approved of our giving him no Aſſiſtance: They made a conſiderable Addition to the Civil Liſt, under Pretence of its ſuffering by the Gin-Act:* They took no Notice of the deluſive and provoking Treatment our Commiſſaries had met with in *Spain*, becauſe our Miniſter ſeemed reſolved to put up with any Thing rather than enter into a War: And to ſum up all, they approved of the late Convention.

'From hence, Sir, I think, it muſt be preſumed, that this Parliament was choſen by the ſame Sort of Influence the two former had been; and upon the Choice of this Parliament, I muſt make one Obſervation which ought to be taken particular Notice of. Some of the noble Lords who declared themſelves openly againſt the Exciſe-Scheme, and perſuaded their Friends in this Houſe to Vote againſt it; were of the ſixteen Peers for *Scotland*. And it is *very* remarkable, that not one of all thoſe Peers † could get himſelf rechoſen at the next Election, tho' they were of as good Families, and had as good Characters as any Lords in the Kingdom; and every one knows, they were turned out of every Office or Employment they held at the Pleaſure of the Crown.

'Whether any corrupt Practices have been made Uſe of for influencing Gentlemen in their Way of voting, I ſhall not pretend to decide: I hope every Gentleman would diſdain being ſo practiſed upon, and would reſent the Attempt in a Gentleman-like Manner; but from what I have ſaid, I hope, there will appear ſomething *more* than a Preſumption, that ſome ſuch Practices have been made Uſe of at Elections for 20 Years paſt; and when we ſee Gentlemen turn'd out of

* Seventy Thouſand Pounds were granted for that Purpoſe. See CHANDLER's Hiſt. Anno 9. Geo. II. p. 193.

† The Duke of Montroſe, the Marquiſs of Tweedale, the Earls of Rothes, Buchan, Sea's and Marchmont, were left out at the General Election in 1734. See TINDERLAND's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. 4.

of honourable or lucrative Employments, for no other aſ- An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.
ſignable Reaſon, but becauſe of their voting againſt miniſte-
rial Meaſures in Parliament, it muſt be allowed, that with-
out any perſonal Threatenings, or even without a perſonal
Application, it will have ſome Influence upon thoſe whoſe
Subſiſtence chiefly depends on the Employments they poſſeſs
at the Pleaſure of a Prime Miniſter. Therefore, I hope it
will not be made Uſe of as an Objection to the Motion I am
to make, that for theſe laſt twenty Years, Accounts have been
regularly laid before, and all our Meaſures approved of by
Parliament. On the contrary, as there is ſo much Ground
for Suſpicion of corrupt Practices having been made Uſe of,
and as thoſe Practices can be detected by nothing leſs than
the Power and Authority of Parliament, this very Appro-
bation becomes one of the ſtrongeſt Reaſons for a Parliamen-
tary Inquiry.

'After what I have ſaid, Sir, I think it unneceſſary to enter into a particular Examination of the many Steps in the Conduct of our publick Affairs, that have given ſo great Diſguſt to the Nation; and for which no Reaſon could ever yet be aſſign'd that was ſatisfactory, or ſo much as ſeem'd ſatiſfactory to thoſe who neither poſſeſſed nor expected any Place under the Government. Some I have curſorily mentioned, and if, upon this Occaſion, an Attempt ſhould be made to juſtify any of them, I hope, the Arguments made Uſe of for that Purpoſe will be fully anſwered by thoſe whoſe Sentiments are the ſame with mine. An impartial and ſtrict Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs is what the whole Nation expects from this new Parliament; and therefore I ſhall conclude with moving, That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of our Affairs at Home and Abroad, during the laſt Twenty Years.'

His Lordſhip was ſeconded by Sir *John St Aubyn*, to this Effect: Sir John St Aubyn.

Sir,

'The Inquiry moved for by the Noble Lord, is ſo generally and ſo loudly called for by the People without Doors, and it is what we have in former Parliaments been ſo often provoked to by thoſe within, who have had for many Years the Direction of our publick Affairs, that I can ſuggeſt to myſelf but one Reaſon for its being now oppoſed by thoſe very Men, who have formerly thrown out Defiances, and provoked us to inquire into their Conduct. In former Parliaments, when they threw out thoſe Defiances, they were well aſſured of having a great Majority of their Friends in the Houſe, and conſequently of having ſuch Gentlemen nam-

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

ed to be of the Secret Committee, as would follow their Directions in the Inquiry they were to make; and from ſuch an Inquiry they could fear no Danger, even tho' the Evidence of their Guilt had been as clear as the Sun at Noon-Day.

'That this, Sir, would be the Conſequence they knew by Experience, becauſe they had had a Proof of it in the Affair relating to the Frauds of the Cuſtoms, which was brought under the Conſideration of the Houſe by the famous Exciſe-Scheme; for the Reaſon given for putting that inſufferable Yoke upon the Necks of the People was, the many Frauds committed in the Cuſtoms. Theſe Frauds our Miniſters ſaid were entirely owing to the Artifice and Cunning of our Merchants and Shop keepers; and that it was impoſſible to prevent or put a Stop to them, any other Way than by turning all the conſiderable Branches of our Cuſtoms into an Exciſe. On the other Hand, our Merchants inſiſted, that moſt of the Frauds in our Cuſtoms were owing to the Miſconduct, Neglect or Connivance in the Officers, and that they might be almoſt entirely prevented by ſome proper Regulations, and by having a watchful Eye over the Conduct of our Cuſtom-Houſe Officers.

'This, I ſay, Sir, our Merchants inſiſted on. They not only inſiſted upon it, but they went farther: They got their Friends in the Houſe to move for an Inquiry into the Frauds of the Cuſtoms; and our Miniſters having ſet thoſe Frauds in ſuch a hideous Light, could not avoid conſenting to ſuch an Inquiry; but what was the Conſequence? As they had a great Majority in the Houſe, the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, * and a few more of their own particular Friends, were put upon this ſelect Committee of Inquiry. That is to ſay, the Gentlemen who have the Nomination, both of the Commiſſioners and Officers of the Cuſtoms, and are, conſequently, anſwerable for their Conduct, were appointed to inquire into and detect their Miſconduct, without any Indemnification to thoſe Smugglers that ſhould come to give Evidence againſt a Commiſſioner or Officer, or to any inferior Officer that ſhould come to give Evidence againſt his Superior. Upon the Appointment of ſuch a Committee, the Merchants deſpaired of any Succeſs, therefore they reſolved to give themſelves no Trouble; and the Inquiry ended, as every one expected it would, in a Juſtification of all the Commiſſioners and Officers of our Cuſtoms.

'This

* See the Names of the ſaid Committee, every one of whom voted for the Exciſe-Scheme; as alſo of thoſe Members who were propoſed on the other Side, with the Numbers on the Ballot for each, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Anno 6. Geo. II. 1733. p. 375.

'This was a moſt certain Proof to our Miniſters, that they could never be in any Danger from an Inquiry into their Conduct, as long as they had ſo great a Majority in Parliament; and accordingly, from henceforth, they began to be more frequent, and more preſumptuous in throwing out their Defiances than they had ever been before. But the Caſe is now altered: The Majority of this Houſe ſeems to conſiſt of ſuch as will not approve of their Conduct, unleſs they find it merits their Approbation; therefore, if a ſelect Committee of Inquiry be appointed, it will probably conſiſt of ſuch Gentlemen as will make it their Buſineſs to inquire ſtrictly and impartially; and this may, perhaps, be a Reaſon for their endeavouring now to prevent, what they have ſo often provok'd; but if they do, it will be a ſtronger Argument for the Motion, than any I can think of in its Favour, and therefore I ſhall add no more, but conclude with ſeconding what the Noble Lord has propoſed.

An. 15 Geo. II. 1741

Sir *Charles Wager* * oppoſed the Motion.

Sir Cha. Wager.

Mr Speaker,

'The Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has ſuggeſted ſuch a Reaſon for oppoſing this Motion, as, I believe, he thinks, will make Gentlemen aſhamed to oppoſe it; and, indeed, if I were upon this Queſtion to determine myſelf by the Regard I have for the Adminiſtration, and without any Regard to my Country, or to the Dignity of this Houſe, I ſhould be far from oppoſing it: On the contrary, I ſhould, before now, have taken an Opportunity to make ſome ſuch Motion, for the very Reaſon ſuggeſted why ſome Gentlemen ſhould be againſt it: I mean, becauſe I am convinced, that a proper Committee would be appointed, and that that Committee would inquire in the ſtricteſt and moſt impartial Manner. This, I am ſure, is what every one, who has the Honour of being employed by his Majeſty, moſt heartily wiſhes for, and they have all Reaſon to do ſo, becauſe it would put an End to all thoſe Calumnies, which by ſome People, for what Reaſon may be eaſily gueſſed at, have been ſo artfully invented, and ſo induſtriouſly ſpread againſt them.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, if I were to lay aſide all Regard for my Country, as well as the Regard I have for the Dignity of this Houſe, I ſhould moſt heartily concur in any Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs; becauſe I am not only a Friend to thoſe employed in the Adminiſtration, but have the Honour to have ſome ſmall Share in it. But the true Intereſt of my Country, and the real Dignity of this Houſe, ſhall always, with me, outweigh

* Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

every private or perſonal Conſideration; and therefore, let Gentlemen think what they will, I muſt be againſt an Inquiry which I think unneceſſary, or at a Time when I think it would be dangerous; becauſe an unneceſſary Inquiry I take to be inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe, and an Inquiry, at ſuch a critical Conjuncture as the preſent, would certainly be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Nation. A Miniſter may be calumniated, and may have moſt glaring Falſhoods propagated againſt him. Was there ever a Miniſter that had not? But when the Charge againſt him is known to be falſe, would it be conſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe to take up our Time with an Inquiry into his Conduct, merely for the Sake of vindicating his Character? Suppoſe we had Reaſon to think that the Charge againſt him was not altogether groundleſs, would it be prudent or right in us to divert ourſelves with an Inquiry into his Conduct, at a Time when the very Being of the Nation was at Stake, and when the Preſervation of our Country required our cloſeſt Attention?

'Upon both theſe Accounts, Sir, I muſt be againſt the Inquiry propoſed. I do not think there is the leaſt Truth in the Stories that have been propagated, nor the leaſt Foundation for any Charge that has been brought againſt the Adminiſtration in general, or againſt any particular Man concerned in it. They are all, indeed, without any Proof, or they are of ſuch a Nature as I cannot think criminal; becauſe they relate to the Meaſures purſued by the Adminiſtration, all or moſt of which I have, as a Member of this Houſe, approved of, becauſe at the Time they were reſpectively tranſacted I thought them right. And if any of them ſhould now appear to have been wrong, which I am far from being convinced of, I muſt impute the Error to the Weakneſs of human Wiſdom, and not to any criminal Intention in thoſe that adviſed or purſued them.

'This, Sir, is my Way of thinking, and while I think ſo, I muſt look upon an Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs as abſolutely unneceſſary, and conſequently inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe. But ſuppoſe I thought otherwiſe: Suppoſe I thought ſome of our Miniſters had, through Weakneſs or Wickedneſs, miſled the Crown, or that they had been guilty of illegal Practices in the Execution of what was committed to their Care by the Crown, I ſhould be far from thinking the preſent a proper Time for enquiring into and puniſhing their Miſdemeanors; becauſe, however guilty they might be, the Nation could not ſuffer by a Delay of Juſtice, whereas it might ſuffer, perhaps be undone, by calling great Offenders to an Account,

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at a Criſis more important and more dangerous to this Nation, than any our Hiſtory furniſhes us with an Account of. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'The Power of this Houſe is, 'tis true, vaſtly extenſive: I hope, it will always be ſuperior to the Power of any Offender whatſoever; but great as it is, we cannot exert it againſt Offenders in high Stations, without taking up a great deal of our Time, and raiſing a mighty Buſtle in the Nation, the Conſequence of which, with regard to our domeſtick Quiet, no Man can pretend to foreſee or determine. Therefore, however much we may have ſuffered by the wicked Advice or illegal Practices of great Offenders, we ſhould take a proper Time to inquire into and puniſh their Miſdoings; for we ought not certainly to expoſe ourſelves to the Danger of any domeſtick Diſturbance, when we are in the greateſt and moſt imminent foreign Danger, which every Gentleman muſt allow to be our Caſe at preſent.'

Mr *Phillips* ſpoke next to the Effect as follows: Mr Phillips.

Sir,

'I am ſurpriſed to hear the Motion made by the noble Lord oppoſed by any Gentleman in this Houſe: A Motion founded in Juſtice, ſupported by Precedent, and warranted by Neceſſity. Not only Juſtice to the Nation, but Juſtice to thoſe that have been in the Adminiſtration, calls for an Inquiry, that every Man's Actions may ſpeak for him, and that Cenſure may be confined to thoſe only that have deſerved it. Surely no innocent Man can be under any Apprehenſions from the ſtricteſt Examination of his Conduct: Thoſe Fears attend the Guilty only.

'The Hon. Gentleman ſeems to think an Inquiry unneceſſary. I beg Leave to aſk, will any Gentleman in this Houſe undertake to defend the Meaſures that have been purſued for twenty Years paſt? Will any Gentleman ſay, that the wretched Condition we are in, is the Effect of Chance only? Shall there be the leaſt Suſpicion of Miſmanagement, and a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons not inquire into it? How much more at a Time when the Nation is reduced to the laſt Extremity, by corrupt, weak, and puſillanimous Meaſures? Shall the Fatality that has attended every Step of our Conduct for ſo many Years paſt, infect this Houſe alſo, and throw us into a Lethargy? Surely, no. The Voice of the Nation calls for an Inquiry: Our Credit abroad cannot be ſupported without it; and the Reputation of every Man in this Houſe is nearly concerned in it. In vain ſhall we attempt to retrieve our loſt Honour by purſuing new Meaſures, if we do not firſt cenſure and puniſh the Authors of the old: In vain ſhall we attempt to gain Allies, and to convince

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

convince them that we are in earneſt in the Proſecution of the War againſt our Enemies abroad, unleſs we firſt call thoſe to an Account, that have been their ſecret Abettors and Encouragers at home.

'If ever there was a Cauſe for an Inquiry into paſt Tranſactions, it is now. Have not large Sums of Money been raiſed in Times of Peace, and no Debts paid; large Armies raiſed in Times of War, and no Services performed? Have we not negotiated ourſelves out of all our Allies, and all our Credit? Treaty after Treaty, Convention after Convention, and what did theſe all end in but War? How has that War been conducted? Why, ſhamefully, ſcandalouſly, to the Encouragement of the Enemy and the Diſhonour of the Nation: Large Fleets fitted out to fight the Seas only, and return ſhattered and torn, to *Spithead*, while the Enemy were every Day ſeizing our Ships for want of Cruizers and Convoys, and neighbouring Nations taking this Advantage to ſupplant us in Trade. A gallant Admiral was indeed ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, but ſent too late, and not ſupported when there: Another was ſent to the *Mediterranean*, but with what Intent I know not, unleſs it was to cover an Embarkation of *Spaniſh* Troops for *Italy*.

'Shall a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons not inquire into the Cauſes of theſe Things? They muſt: They will, Sir, or forfeit all the Reputation they have hitherto gained. And if Theſe are to be inquired into, what better Method than by a Select Committee to be choſen by Ballot? It is a Parliamentary Method that has been attended with good Conſequences to the Nation, but fatal ones, indeed, to thoſe that have made an Abuſe of Power; and 'tis unaccountable to me, that any others but ſuch, or thoſe that have a Mind to ſcreen them, ſhould make an Oppoſition to it. For my own Part, if it was the Caſe of my Brother, if he was innocent, I ſhould think this the propereſt Method to make that Innocence appear; and if he was guilty, I ſhould think it the greateſt Crime in me, to endeavour to ſcreen him from National Juſtice, therefore, I am moſt heartily for the Queſtion.

Mr Henry Fox.

Mr *Henry Fox* * ſpoke to the following Purpoſe:

Mr Speaker,

'When I conſider the preſent Circumſtances of this Nation and of *Europe*: When I reflect, that we are now engaged in open War with one of the moſt potent Kingdoms in *Europe*, upon the Event of which both our Trade and Navigation depend: When I reflect that *Europe* is now engaged in

* Surveyor-General of his Majeſty's Works.

in a War, upon the Event of which its Liberty depends, and by which it will probably be enſlaved, unleſs we interpoſe with the Utmoſt of our Strength, I cannot but be of Opinion, I think every Man muſt, that Union amongſt ourſelves was never more neceſſary than it is at this important Criſis: And therefore, I am not a little ſurpriſed to hear a Propoſition ſeriouſly made, and vigorouſly ſupported in this Houſe, which muſt neceſſarily not only revive all our former Diviſions, but create new ones amongſt us, and excite more violent Animoſities than any that have appeared in this Kingdom for many Years. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'That this, Sir, would be the Effect of a general Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs for ſo many Years paſt, we muſt ſuppoſe from the Experience of all former Inquiries; and as the Inquiry now propoſed is more general, and comprehends a longer Time, than any ſuch Inquiry ever did, this Effect will not only be the more certain but the more fatal. Nay that this will be the Effect muſt appear from the very Nature of the Charge, upon which the Motion is founded; for the Charge conſiſts chiefly, not in Facts or Practices that muſt be admitted to be Crimes, but in Allegations that the Meaſures we have been purſuing were wrong, notwithſtanding their having been all authoriſed or approved of by Parliament. Muſt not this of Courſe revive all our former Diſputes about the Fitneſs or Unfitneſs of thoſe Meaſures? And when the Condemnation or Acquital of Men in high Stations depends upon the Fate of the Queſtion, muſt not thoſe Diſputes be carried on with greater Animoſity, I may ſay with greater Fury than ever they were before?

'One Part of the Charge, indeed, I ſhall admit to be criminal. To apply the publick Money towards corrupting the Members of this Houſe, or the Voters at any Election, muſt by all Men be allowed to be a Crime; but it is pleaſant to obſerve, how the Advocates for this Motion attempt to prove this Part of their Charge. With regard to the Meaſures that have been appoved of by Parliament, they firſt ſuppoſe that thoſe Meaſures were apparently wrong; and their Inference from thence is, that therefore the Members muſt have been under a corrupt Influence, otherwiſe ſuch Meaſures could not have met with an Approbation in Parliament. Then with regard to Elections, they firſt ſuppoſe that the Majority of the Electors were diſſatisfied with the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration, and would conſequently have ſent up diſſatisfied Repreſentatives, if they had been left to a free and uncorrupted Choice; but as they did not do ſo, therefore the Electors were certainly under a corrupt Influence. This is all the Proof they have hitherto offered, and

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

and will any Gentleman ſay, this Sort of Proof ought to be conſidered by this Houſe as a ſufficient Ground for an Inquiry?

'Queſtions in Politics, Sir, are of ſuch a Nature that they ſeldom or never admit of a Demonſtration; and, conſequently, in Countries where the People are allowed to ſpeak their Minds, they will always be of different Sentiments with regard to theſe ſort of Queſtions. For this Reaſon, Gentlemen ſhould not be ſo uncharitable as to ſuppoſe, that every Man who differs from them in Opinion is corrupt, or that he forms his Judgment from any Thing but the Conviction of his Conſcience; and therefore, a Parliament's having approved of any Meaſure I thought wrong, ſhall never by me be thought a Proof of its being under any Sort of corrupt Influence: Conſequently what they have offered, cannot be admitted as a Proof, even by thoſe who are convinced that the Meaſures purſued by the Adminiſtration were apparently wrong, and much leſs by thoſe who are convinced that thoſe Meaſures were right.

Now, Sir, with regard to Elections: They ſay, our Elections muſt have been under a corrupt Influence, becauſe the Repreſentatives were not of the ſame Complexion with the Majority of their Conſtituents. Here likewiſe the Proof they offer is a downright begging the Queſtion. That there have been, are now, and always will be ſome Men without Doors, as well as within, who diſapprove of the Meaſures purſued by our Government, I do not in the leaſt queſtion; but that a Majority of the better Sort of People are ſo, or have lately been ſo, I cannot admit. Great Endeavours, great Artifice, and great Induſtry, have, I know, been lately uſed to impoſe upon and make them ſo; and thoſe Endeavours may upon ſeveral Occaſions have had ſome Effect upon the giddy Mob; but our Elections, thank God! do not depend upon ſuch People. They are generally governed by Men of Fortune and Underſtanding; and of ſuch our Miniſters, for this twenty Years paſt, have been ſo happy as to have a Majority in their Favour. Therefore, when we talk of People with regard to Elections, we ought to think only of thoſe of the better Sort, without comprehending the Mob or mere Dregs of the People; for an Election may be free and uncorrupted tho' theſe appear againſt it, but would be very far from being free, if the Electors were intimidated and compelled to vote as directed by a tumultuous Mob of low People; and by them only it was, that any Member of this Houſe was burnt in Effigy on Account of the late Exciſe-Scheme; conſequently, tho' that Member was rechoſen at the ſame Place for a new Parliament,

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we are not to conclude, that his Election proceeded from Bribery or Corruption, becauſe, perhaps, no one of thoſe who aſſiſted at burning him in Effigy had any Vote, Intereſt, or Concern in his Election.

'Having thus ſhewn, Sir, that the Charge upon which this Motion is founded, conſiſts of Allegations of Facts which are not admitted to be criminal, or of criminal Facts unſupported by any Proof, I muſt next obſerve, that, I believe, you cannot find upon your Journals a Precedent for entering into a Parliamentary Inquiry, unleſs where Meaſures had been purſued that were admitted by a great Majority of the Houſe, as well as the Nation, to be criminal, or unleſs ſome criminal Practices were alledged that were notoriouſly known to have been committed, or ſuch as the Member who moved for the Inquiry undertook to prove. The general Inquiry that was ſet on Foot in the Year 1715, was founded upon Meaſures that were apparently criminal, and ſuch as were thought to be ſo by a great Majority of that Houſe of Commons. A moſt glorious War had been put an End to by a moſt infamous Peace: Our Allies had been deſerted, if not betrayed: A moſt deſtructive Treaty of Commerce had been concluded with *France*; and when we might have preſcribed Terms to our Enemies, our Miniſters, from ſome ſelfiſh, if not criminal Views of their own, ſubmitted to receive Terms from them. Theſe were ſuch Meaſures as almoſt every Man condemned, except thoſe that were concerned in adviſing them, or carrying them on; and therefore they furniſhed the Parliament with a juſt Foundation for an Inquiry; but of late Years, I am ſure, no ſuch Meaſures have been purſued, nor any Meaſures that can, or, I believe, will be condemned by a great Majority of this Houſe of Commons. Therefore, we can now have no Pretence for ſetting up an Inquiry, unleſs ſome particular criminal Facts ſhould be alledged and offered to be proved; and even in this Caſe, we could have no Pretence for a general Inquiry: We could inquire only into the particular Facts complained of, which would take up much leſs of our Time, and give leſs Diſturbance to the Nation, than a general Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs for twenty Years paſt.

'Such a general Inquiry, with ſuch a long Retroſpect, is without Precedent, and would be a moſt dangerous Precedent. If ſuch an Inquiry ſhould be agreed to, and a Committee appointed for that Purpoſe, it would be of Courſe inſiſted on, that all Papers of State, even thoſe of the moſt ſecret Nature, ſhould be laid before them; and, indeed, they could not make their Inquiry compleat without having all ſuch Papers. Our Committees appointed upon ſuch Occaſi-

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

ons are, I know, called Secret Committees; but how juſtly, Experience may ſhew; for few important Secrets have long remain'd ſo, after being once laid before ſuch a Committee; and the Nature of the Thing ſpeaks itſelf, for when a Secret is committed to a great Number of Perſons, every one of them becomes the leſs careful of concealing it, becauſe when it is diſcovered, it is not eaſy to fix the Diſcovery upon any one of them. Therefore if ſuch a Precedent were once made, we could never hope to keep any Secret, nor would any Foreign State, or any Foreigner of Conſequence, ever enter into any ſecret Tranſaction with our Government; becauſe he could not know, but that the Secret might, twenty Years afterwards, be diſcovered by a Parliamentary Inquiry with a twenty Years Retroſpect.

'But beſides being a dangerous Precedent, Sir, the ſetting up ſuch an Inquiry at this Juncture might, nay, probably would, be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences, both with reſpect to our War againſt *Spain*, and with reſpect to our Negotiations for preſerving a Balance of Power in *Europe*. As we have for ſome Time been carrying on a War againſt *Spain*, it is not to be doubted but our Miniſters have had ſome ſecret Intelligence from thence: Our very News Papers tell us that the Court of *Spain* have diſcovered a Plot for delivering the *Groine* into their Hands; and tho' that Plot has been diſcovered, yet we may from thence preſume, that our Miniſters have ſtill a ſecret Correſpondence in *Spain*: Would it not be of the moſt fatal Conſequence to have that Intelligence, or that Correſpondence diſcovered? And can any one anſwer for its being kept concealed, after being expoſed to a Secret Committee of this Houſe, and all the Secretaries and Clerks that muſt neceſſarily be employed by them. We muſt likewiſe ſuppoſe, that ſeveral Schemes have been laid before our Miniſters for attacking the *Spaniards*, both in *Europe* and *America*, and ſome of thoſe Schemes may probably be ſuch as ought to be carried into Execution; would it be prudent in us, to run the Riſk of having all or any of thoſe Schemes diſcovered to the Enemy? And yet this Riſk we muſt run, if the preſent Motion ſhould be agreed to.

'Then, Sir, with regard to our Negotiations: As the Flames of War have been above a Twelvemonth ſince kindled in *Germany*: As there is a moſt powerful Confederacy formed againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, we muſt ſuppoſe, that our Court have been carrying on Negotiations for drawing ſome of the Powers off from that Confederacy, and for forming a Counter-Confederacy in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*. In all ſuch Caſes, as every Court in *Europe* has its own parti-

particular Views and Intereſts, the Negotiations muſt be of a moſt ſecret Nature: Arguments muſt be made uſe of, and Memorials delivered at one Court, which it would be moſt fatal to have diſcovered to another; and as all thoſe Tranſactions are yet in Embrio, can we deſire, that his Majeſty ſhould lay the Whole before a Committee of this Houſe? Can we ſuppoſe it to be conſiſtent with his Honour to do ſo, when we muſt ſuppoſe, that he has, at leaſt with ſome of thoſe Courts, engaged to keep the Tranſaction ſo ſecret as not to communicate it to any but to ſome of his chief Miniſters of State? An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'Upon the Whole, Sir, I can ſee no Occaſion we have for the Inquiry propoſed; and if I did, I think it impoſſible, in our preſent Circumſtances, to carry it on with Effect. This is my ſincere Opinion; and as I can ſee no Danger or Inconvenience in delaying it for a Year or two, in which Time our own Tranquility, as well as the Tranquility of *Europe*, may, perhaps, be re-eſtabliſhed, and all thoſe grand Affairs which are now in Agitation finally ended, I muſt therefore be againſt the Motion, and I hope the noble Lord, when he conſiders thoſe Things, will agree to have it withdrawn.

Mr *Velters Cornewall* ſpoke next, as follows: Mr Cornewall.

Sir,

'I do not get up, as preſuming to think any Thing that I ſhall offer can inforce a Queſtion of this Importance. But as this Queſtion tends to an Inquiry into thoſe Meaſures, which, in the univerſal Opinion of Mankind, have been thought ſo deſtructive to this Nation, an Opinion which, tho' in my private Sentiments I have ever joined in, yet, as I have never had an Opportunity of giving my publick Teſtimony againſt them, I cannot now refrain from expreſſing my Satisfaction at ſeeing the Time come, when they will be thoroughly ſifted; and it is with Joy I look on myſelf as now going to give a Pledge to the Publick, that I ſhall ever look upon bad Meaſures with equal Deteſtation.

'The People of *England*, reduced almoſt to a State of Deſpondency from the ruinous Conduct hitherto purſued for many Years paſt, have placed their only and laſt Hopes in the Independence, Juſtice, and Firmneſs of this Parliament: It is from this Confidence that every honeſt Man in the Kingdom now chearfully ſubmit to the Burden we are neceſſitated to impoſe on them; as they expect to ſee Freedom and Happineſs ſecured to them at Home, and national Honour retrieved Abroad.— But as theſe Hopes can only be anſwered by an Alteration of thoſe Meaſures that have occaſioned their Diſtreſs and Complaints, how baffled will

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

they think themſelves in their Expectations, ſhould the Motion that has been made to you, be rejected in this Houſe? How ill an Earneſt would it be, that we intended an Alteration of Meaſures, ſhould we decline an Inquiry into thoſe that have been ſo cried out againſt? Could they poſſibly ſuppoſe it to be from any other Motive than an Apprehenſion, leſt we might lay a Foundation for condemning our own future Conduct, by countenancing an Inquiry into that of others, which is paſſed?

'But, Sir, whether the univerſal Complaint of paſt Meaſures be the Effect of Artifice and Miſrepreſentation (as might be pretended) on a weak and deluded People, or ſprings from the real Grievances of an injured and right-diſcerning one, I ſay, whichſoever be the Caſe, ſurely it is a Deference, an Indulgence at leaſt, which in Decency, in Duty, it becomes this Houſe to ſhew the collective Body of the People of *Great Britain*, by giving them that Satisfaction which a thorough Diſquiſition into the Subjects of Complaint, only can, and only ought to give them.

'And therefore, for God's Sake! let every Gentleman reflect on the Conſequences that will attend your Determination in the Affair before you. Is the Screening a few publick Delinquents from Inquiry, to be put in Balance with the giving Repoſe to the diſturbed Minds of the whole People of three Kingdoms?

'Inquiry is the Criterion of publick Virtue: It may, like *Ithuriel*'s Spear, detect a Devil, however diſguiſed in the Shape of an Angel, but can never obſcure the Brightneſs of Truth. If Meaſures have been right, they will ſtand juſtified by it, and the People of *England* will reſt ſatisfied: If they have been iniquitous, the People expect Juſtice on whomſoever the Guilt falls, and whereſoever it may extend itſelf. It is not a narrow perſonal Inquiry that is aimed at, meanly confined to this or that Offender, but an Inquiry into Offences, whereſoever they ſhall be found, that becomes the Dignity of this Houſe.

'I ſhall not take up your Time ſo unneceſſarily, as to enter into a particular Diſquiſition of thoſe Meaſures that call for this Inquiry, which have been ſo often and ſo well expoſed, and which ſpeak more ſtrongly their own Guilt, than the moſt powerful Eloquence can point out. Unexperienced as I am in Matters of a publick Nature, I ſhould think it no difficult Taſk, to run through a Deduction of our publick Miſmanagement, both at Home and Abroad, too groſs not to be the Objects of common Diſcernment, and ſome Inſtances perhaps that have not come within the Notice of the general Complaint. But I ſhould think ſuch a minute

minute Diſcuſſion not only unneceſſary but improper, as this Motion is moſt juſtly founded on the general Face of Things, and not to be diverted by giving room for a Debate on Particulars, the proper Subject of future Conſideration. And, Sir, was it only from what you heard the other Day at your Bar, and the Reſolutions this Houſe came into in Conſequence * of it, the Expediency of the preſent Motion would be ſufficiently inforced. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'We have groaned under an Adminiſtration that have not only taken every Step to deſtroy our own Liberties at Home, but have made us acceſſary in ſubverting, at leaſt indangering all the Liberties of *Europe*; who have made the *Britiſh* Name the Contempt of its Enemies, and loſt the Confidence of thoſe, whom Parity of Intereſt ſhould make us conſider as our Friends: An Adminiſtration whoſe Influence has diffuſed Neglect, Abuſe, and Corruption into every the moſt minute Branch of our domeſtick Oeconomy; for there is hardly an Office in the Kingdom, from the loweſt to the higheſt, that does not call aloud for Parliamentary Inquiry: An Adminiſtration that, when it durſt no longer withſtand the united Voice of a juſtly enraged People, cloſed itſelf, in ſome Part, with the higheſt, the moſt provoking Strains of Inſolence, that ever were dared to be offered to any Nation under the Sun in our Circumſtances, by making the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Inſtruments of the moſt deteſted Meaſures triumph, by their Exaltation over the Injuries and Reſentment of the whole *Britiſh* Nation.

'But, Sir, it is the future good Conſequences that will attend this Inquiry, and the Examples ariſing from it, that prevail with me, over all other Conſiderations: I have no doubt of ſeeing a Reformation of Meaſures for ſome Time: Who, that looks round this Aſſembly, can doubt it, as long as it ſubſiſts thus conſtituted? A wiſe and honeſt Parliament will always make thoſe in the Direction of Affairs ſo too. But all theſe Things have their Periods, whereas Examples are of perpetual Security.

'We are now, Sir, in a Situation, both as to our foreign and domeſtick Affairs, which points out Union as the only Means that can make us a glorious and happy People, and found the Throne of this Royal Family, which every Man of common Senſe and Honeſty muſt wiſh for, on that never to be ſhaken Baſis, the undivided Hearts of the People. And, Thanks be to God! the pleaſing Proſpect already opens itſelf, by the ſubſiding of thoſe unfortunate Diſtinctions that have been artfully fomented, in a general Zeal for promoting the true Intereſt of our King, and the Good of our Country

* See before p. 138.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Country: A Proſpect that muſt give inexpreſſible Joy to all Lovers of both, and Mortification to none but thoſe, who are wicked enough to proſtitute the Name of this Family to ſerve the infamous Views of their own ſelfiſh Policy. National Union can only be brought about by giving national Satisfaction; and I look upon the Step we are now taking as perfectly contributory to that End. True Union can only ſubſiſt amongſt honeſt Men: All other Union is amuſive, and deſtructive of itſelf.

'The Union I am ſpeaking of is indiſſoluble, and ſhould the Dregs of Faction, whom the falſely aſſumed Denomination of a Party only made conſiderable, attempt to interrupt it, they would only diſcover their own Inſignificancy, and add to the Contempt and Deteſtation the Publick had of them.

'As for the Method propoſed by this Motion, it is the only one by which a publick Inquiry can be carried on properly, or with Succeſs. The Impropriety of laying all Papers before the Houſe, has been often allowed on all Hands, and every Man knows how eaſy it is to obſtruct or perplex an Inquiry ſo extended as this is, if carried on before ſo numerous an Aſſembly. But this is ſo obvious to any Man who means getting at Truth, that I need only ſay, that I conſider all Arguments againſt this Method, as Objections raiſed only becauſe it is practicable. For my own Part, as I conſider this Queſtion, as tending to reſtore Satisfaction to the Nation, Credit and Popularity to the Government at Home, and Weight and Dignity to it Abroad; and as it tends to the Honour of this Houſe, I am heartily for it.'

Lord Percival.

Lord *Percival* ſpoke next.

Sir,

'I ſhould act a very inconſiſtent Part, If I did not ſupport the Motion now under your Conſideration, with the ſame Zeal with which I concurred in that made ſome few Days after I had the Honour of taking my Seat in this Houſe. Nothing, Sir, has happened, nothing, Sir, can happen to alter my Opinion in this Reſpect, that the Publick have a Right, that is a Duty incumbent upon us to inquire ſtrictly into the Conduct of the late Adminiſtration.

'It was then my Opinion, that we had Grounds ſufficient to induce us to that Inquiry: The general Voice of the Nation, the almoſt deſperate Condition of our Affairs, both Abroad and at Home, then rendered the Inquiry highly neceſſary: The Preſumption was ſtrong, that the Intereſt of the Nation had been betrayed; and I thought I ſhould have abuſed the Confidence repoſed in me by my Country, if I had

had not endeavoured to diſcover in what Manner, in what Inſtances, and by whom it was betrayed. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'But theſe Reaſons for Inquiry are infinitely ſtronger now than then; we had Reaſon to inquire then from the Suſpicions of the Publick, and from our own Suſpicions. Theſe Reaſons ſtill ſubſiſt; and to theſe are added the Suſpicions of the King himſelf: To theſe are added the viſible Opinion of our Allies Abroad.

'The King has at length diſmiſſed his Miniſter, and he has diſmiſſed him without any Application from this Houſe to that Purpoſe.—He has done it of his own Motion.—His Majeſty has diſmiſſed a Miniſter who had ſerved him many Years, and, as we are well convinced, againſt the Inclination of that Miniſter. Had his Majeſty believed, that he had ſerved him faithfully, who can imagine, that he would have turned him out of his Service? We muſt therefore conclude, that his Majeſty's Opinion has concurred with the Opinion of the Nation, with the Opinion of thoſe in this Houſe, who expreſſed Suſpicions of his Conduct.

'Our Allies abroad have viſibly proved by their late Meaſures, that they entertained the ſame Suſpicions. A general Indolence ſeemed to have ſeized on all the Powers joined in common Intereſt with us: Their Reſolutions were as languid, their Conduct equally tame and deſpicable, in the general Danger of *Europe*, as the Councils of this Nation. We were told, that this Infatuation abroad was the Cauſe of our weak and puſillanimous Meaſures at home. But it is now diſcovered, that our Conduct was not influenced by their Meaſures, but that their Meaſures were influenced by our Conduct. The Moment that this Miniſter was diveſted of his Power, the Charm was at once diſpelled: The *Dutch*, notwithſtanding all the dilatory Forms of that Government, proceeded to a vaſt Augmentation of their Forces. The King of *Sardinia* has determined to take Part in the common Cauſe; and it is apparent, that from the Removal of this Miniſter, the Spirit of the Grand Alliance has happily revived, as much as it was once fatally depreſſed by the Removal of the great Duke of *Marlborough*.

'This happy Event demands our Attention; it has opened a Proſpect of Preſervation to the Balance of Power, of which we had loſt all View before. If we do not ſeize this happy Moment, how can we anſwer for it to ourſelves, to our Country, to Poſterity? But unleſs we engage with Vigour in this Inquiry, how can we hope to avail ourſelves of this Event? Does any Man imagine, that it is a Change of Men that has given this new Life to the Councils of our Allies? No, Sir, it is the Confidence that a Change of Meaſures

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

ſures will be the Conſequence of a Change of Men: And ſuch a Confidence muſt periſh in its very Birth, if an Inquiry into the Errors of the paſt Adminiſtration ſhould be ſtifled in this Houſe.

'Sir, to extricate this Nation, or to extricate *Europe* out of that Labyrinth of Dangers in which we are all involved, it is neceſſary that the preſent Adminiſtration ſhould be ſupported by the Spirit and Inclinations of the People. The Confidence which is neceſſary to give them Weight Abroad, is equally neceſſary to enable to raiſe the vaſt Supplies at Home, which the critical Condition of our Intereſt demands. This Confidence in them can never be attained, but by a vigorous Proſecution of this Inquiry. The Publick have ſome Diſtruſt, that the new Adminiſtration are ſlack and tender in this Reſpect: In my own Breaſt I have none: I am happy in this Change, which has fallen in favour of thoſe for whom I have entertained the higheſt Eſteem, and for ſome of whom I have a ſingular and ſincere Friendſhip. But, Sir, we muſt pay ſome Regard to the Opinions of the Publick, as well as to our own, and they will never be convinced, that the new Miniſters mean well, if this Inquiry ſhould be defeated here: They will interpret the Coldneſs of this Houſe to a Diſpoſition in the Adminiſtration to protect and ſcreen, which muſt in the End produce the worſt Effects, both to the Publick and to them. And therefore, as a Friend to my Country, and as a real Friend to them, I ſhall follow this Inquiry as far I am able to purſue it.

'Sir, I ſhall trouble the Houſe very little farther at this Time, but I muſt obſerve with great Submiſſion, that I think all Arguments that are uſed to prevent, or to delay the preſent Inquiry, are very indecent and diſreſpectful to this Houſe; for they bear this inevitable Conſtruction, that this Houſe is actuated more by Paſſion and Prejudice, than by Impartiality and Juſtice. No Man can have the Confidence to aſſert, no Man can mean, that if the late Miniſter deſerves the Cenſure of Parliament, he ſhould not receive it: They can therefore mean nothing, but that they think him innocent, and think, that if we enter into this Inquiry, this Houſe is determined to pronounce him guilty, whether he be ſo or no.

'In private Life, what Man of common Senſe would diſmiſs a Steward after a Service of twenty Years (during which his Accounts had never been inſpected) without a careful Examination, before he gave him a Diſcharge? The Publick ſtand in the ſame Light with regard to this Miniſter, and the Publick will want common Senſe in this Inſtance, as a private Man would do in the other, if they ſuffer this Mini-

Minister to retire unquestioned, laden with Honours and an immense Wealth, far exceeding what the just and known Profits of his past Employments would have furnished. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Mr *Henry Pelham* spoke to this Effect: Mr H. Pelham.

Sir,

'It would very much shorten our Debates, upon this and every other Occasion, if Gentlemen would consider attentively the Subject of the Debate, and keep close to the Argument, without running out into Harangues or Flowers of Eloquence, which may be made use of upon any other Subject, as well as that which happens then to be under the Consideration of the House. That we have a Right to inquire into the Conduct of our publick Affairs, and that upon certain Occasions we ought to inquire, are Questions that have nothing to do in this Debate, because they are such as no Gentleman will deny. The only Questions now under our Consideration must therefore be, whether we have now any Occasion for making such Inquiry, and if we have, whether we ought now, or in this Session of Parliament, to enter upon that Inquiry. With regard to the first of these two Questions, I hope it will not be said, that we ought every Session of Parliament, or once in every certain Number or Term of Years, to appoint a Secret and Select Committee for inquiring into the Conduct of our publick Affairs from the Time of the last Parliamentary Inquiry. This we can no Way pretend to, either from Custom or Reason; for it is certain, that the Custom has always been, not to set up a Parliamentary Inquiry, unless when great Crimes were known, or strongly suspected to have been committed; or unless when such Measures were pursued as were allowed to have been weak or wicked. This, I say, has always hitherto been the Custom, and Reason must convince us that it is just; and that it would be wrong in us to set up a Parliamentary Inquiry, when there is no well-grounded Suspicion of Misconduct; for as such Inquiries must always be dangerous and troublesome, they ought never to be entered into without an apparent Necessity.

'Taking it therefore for granted, Sir, that no Parliamentary Inquiry ought to be set up, unless when there appears to be a well grounded Suspicion of Misconduct, I shall observe that this Suspicion ought to be such a one as prevails in this House; and if this Observation be just, it must be wrong to talk, upon any such Occasion, of the Voice of the People, or the Voice of the Nation. Sir, the Voice of this House is the Voice of the People, the Voice of the *British* Nation. It must always be understood to be so; for there is no other Way of determining what is the Voice of the Nation. If we

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

were to form a Judgment of this from what we heard without Doors, every Man's Judgment would be according to the Sort of Company he uſually converſed with. In a free Country the Meaſures of the Government in general, and even every particular Meaſure, will be canvaſſed by the People without Doors, and will be condemned by ſome and applauded by others. A Gentleman who keeps Company with the former will from thence judge, that the Voice of the People is againſt the Government; and one who keeps Company with the latter will, for the ſame Reaſon, judge, that the Voice of the People is in Favour of the Government; conſequently one of thoſe Gentlemen would be for an Inquiry, and the other againſt it, for one and the ſame Reaſon; therefore, when ſuch a Queſtion happens to be ſtarted in this Houſe, no Gentleman ought to conſider what is the Voice of the People without Doors, nor ought he to allow what he has heard without Doors, in the leaſt, to enter his Thoughts: If he does, he can hardly avoid being prejudiced by the Company he has kept, and ſuch a Man can never be a good Judge in ſuch a Queſtion.

'What then, Sir, are we to do? How are we to judge upon ſuch Occaſions? The Anſwer is eaſy; Every Gentleman ought to conſider by himſelf the Meaſures purſued by the Government. If a general Inquiry be moved for, he ought to conſider, or, perhaps, reconſider by himſelf, all the Meaſures that have been purſued by the Government during the Time propoſed to be inquired into: If upon ſuch an Examination he finds Reaſon to conclude, that they have been generally wrong, he ought then to agree to the Inquiry propoſed: But if he finds Reaſon to conclude, that they were generally right, he ought to be againſt it: Nay, even when he finds Reaſon to condemn any one or two particular Meaſures, he ought to be againſt a general Inquiry; becauſe after that Queſtion is rejected, he may himſelf propoſe a particular Inquiry into the Affair he finds Reaſon to condemn or at leaſt ſuſpect, and that Queſtion may be agreed to by the Houſe, notwithſtanding our having rejected the former. But in ſuch Caſes I muſt obſerve, that according to the uſual Cuſtom of Parliament, we ought firſt by a proper Queſtion to condemn the Meaſure, before we put any Queſtion for inquiring into the Authors, or the Conduct of the Authors of any particular Meaſure.

'Now, Sir, as the preſent Queſtion is for a general Inquiry, and for a longer Time, I believe, than ever any former Inquiry was propoſed to extend to, it will appear from what I have ſaid, that every particular Gentleman muſt enter into the Examination of all the Meaſures purſued by our Govern-

Government during that long Period; and therefore, I hope, it will not be thought impertinent in me to enter into that Examination, or to endeavour to juſtify our publick Meaſures, eſpecially ſuch of them as have been particularly objected to in this Debate; and here I muſt previouſly obſerve, that in all ſuch Caſes we ought not to form our Judgment from the Light in which any paſt Meaſures now appear to us, but from the Light in which it did probably appear when it was at firſt reſolved on; for conſidering the narrow Limits of human Wiſdom or Knowledge, and the Shortneſs of human Foreſight, future Incidents may often make a publick Meaſure appear to be wrong, tho' according to all human Appearance, it appeared at firſt to be right. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'After having made this previous Obſervation, I muſt ſay, Sir, I am ſurpriſed to hear any Fault now found with the Meaſures that were taken for puniſhing the Guilty, and reſtoring publick Credit, after the violent Shock it received from the wicked Execution of the fatal *South-Sea* Scheme in the Year 1720; becauſe future Incidents have been ſo far from condemning any of thoſe Meaſures, that the immediate Revival of publick Credit, and the flouriſhing State it has been in ever ſince, has fully demonſtrated, that thoſe Meaſures were wiſe as well as juſt. As to the Guilty, they were all puniſhed. They were not, perhaps, puniſhed ſo ſeverely as the Sufferers expected and deſired; for is is natural for Men that have been injured, in the firſt Violence of their Reſentment, to deſire a Puniſhment more ſevere than common Juſtice can admit of: but they were all puniſhed ſo ſeverely, that when the firſt Violence of publick Reſentment was over, the Puniſhment began to be thought too ſevere, and was therefore, by Way of Ridicule, called *Juſtice by the Lump*.

'The next Meaſure of a Domeſtick Nature that ſeems to be objected to, is the Money granted from Time to Time to the Civil Liſt, and the Additions that have been made to that Revenue. If there was any Crime in this, Sir, I muſt really think it lies more properly at our own Door, than at the Door of any Miniſter, or of the Adminiſtration in general; and therefore, before we agree to this Queſtion, we ought, I think, to amend it, by reſolving, That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of our Affairs at Home and Abroad, and into the Conduct of the Houſe of Commons, during the laſt Twenty Years. But as none of thoſe Grants were made, without having proper Eſtimates and Accounts laid before the Houſe, and as from thoſe Eſtimates and Accounts the Neceſſity of thoſe Grants were made appear, we can have no Reaſon to find Fault

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

either with our Miniſters for aſking, or with the Houſe of Commons for granting any of the Sums of Money, or Additions that were made to the Civil Liſt. And, indeed, if we conſider, that there are many accidental Charges which fall upon the Civil Liſt Revenue, and many Articles which riſe higher than that at which they were firſt eſtimated, we cannot be ſurpriſed, that in the late King's Time it became neceſſary, from Time to Time, to grant a Sum for paying off the Debts of the Civil Liſt, or that his preſent Majeſty's Miniſters ſhould deſire to have an Addition made to it at his Acceſſion to the Throne.

'The Exciſe-Scheme is another Affair of a Domeſtick Nature, that ſeems to have been particularly objected to in this Debate. I know, Sir, that great Art and Induſtry was made Uſe of to make People believe, that this Scheme was intended as an Introduction to a general Exciſe, and that it was a Preliminary to a formed Deſign for deſtroying our Conſtitution, and making Slaves of us all. But as I had at that Time, and have had ever ſince, a Friendſhip and Intimacy with thoſe who approved of that Scheme, and introduc'd it into this Houſe, I know the Falſhood of thoſe Inſinuations. However I ſhall not deſire Gentlemen to take my Word for it. I ſhall only deſire Gentlemen to have a little Charity, and to judge of other Men's Actions and Intentions, as they would deſire others to judge of their own. If they do this, they will not aſcribe any Action to a wicked Motive, when an upright one can, with more Probability, be aſſigned; and this is evidently the Caſe with Regard to the Exciſe-Scheme. I hope it will be granted, that to prevent Frauds in the Collection of the publick Taxes, and thereby increaſe the publick Revenue, is as upright, and even as laudable a Deſign as any Man can entertain; and, I believe, it will likewiſe be granted, that the Exciſe Scheme, had it been paſſed into a Law, would have had this Effect; at leaſt it muſt be granted, that it was very reaſonable to preſume it would have had this Effect, from the Experience we had before had of the Effect of raiſing the Duty upon Coffee, Tea and Chocolate, by Way of Exciſe upon the Conſumption, inſtead of raiſing them by the Method of Cuſtoms upon the Importation, and allowing thoſe Cuſtoms to be drawn back upon the Exportation. This then was one Motive for approving of, and introducing the Exciſe-Scheme, which muſt be allowed to have been an upright one; but on the other Hand it is ſaid, that this Scheme would have overturned our Conſtitution, and eſtabliſhed arbitrary Power, by giving Miniſters an uncontroulable Influence at all Elections. That it would have had ſuch an Effect I ſhall very much queſtion;

queſtion; and as our Miniſters had no Experience of this in any parallel Caſe, they could not therefore be ſo certain of this Effect as of the other: Conſequently it is more probable, that their approving of, and introducing that Scheme proceeded from a good Intention, than that it proceeded from a wicked one; and I am ſure it is much more charitable, and more like a Chriſtian, to ſuppoſe it proceeded from the former, than to ſuppoſe it proceeded from the latter. But let their Deſign be what it will, their throwing it up ſo eaſily as they did, was ſome Sort of Atonement, and induced moſt People to pardon the Attempt, which was the true Cauſe of the next general Election's going ſo much in their Favour; and it ought, I think, to be a Reaſon for its being never again mentioned in this Houſe, eſpecially as the Nation no Ways ſuffered by the Attempt. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'Theſe, I think, Sir, are all the Meaſures of a Domeſtick Nature for 20 Years paſt, that have been objected to in this Debate, and if Objections could have been raiſed againſt any other, I believe, they would have been mentioned. Then with regard to Affairs of a Foreign Nature, the Treaty of *Hanover* is, I find, by theſe Gentlemen always made the Burden of their Song, and the original Ground of all their Complaints; and in order to make this Treaty liable to any Objection, they who cannot know, expreſly contradict what his late Majeſty, who could, and certainly did know, affirmed, in his Speech * the next Seſſion of Parliament, declaring expreſly, that the Negociations and Engagements, entered into by ſome Foreign Powers, which ſeemed to have laid the Foundation of new Troubles and Diſturbances in *Europe*, and to threaten his Subjects with the Loſs of the moſt advantageous Branches of their Trade, obliged him, without any Loſs of Time, to conclude that Treaty. It was then well known, what thoſe Engagements were: They, in Part, appeared even from the publick Treaty: The *Spaniards* were reſolved to wreſt *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* from us: The Emperor was reſolved to ſupport his *Oſtend* Company in ſpite of us. For theſe Purpoſes they were to aſſiſt each other; and the King of *Spain*, as a farther Recompence, granted the Emperor's Subjects ſuch Liberties and Privileges in both the Indies, as were inconſiſtent with our Commerce, and with the Treaties ſubſiſting between *Spain* and us. Theſe were their Engagements, and if we did not ſubmit, the Emperor was to attack his Majeſty's Foreign Dominions, whilſt *Spain* was to make a Diverſion by invading theſe Kingdoms in Favour of the Pretender. The Court of *Vienna* went even ſo far as to threaten his late Majeſty with both

* See the Speech at large, and the Emperor's Memorial in CHANDLER's Hiſtory.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

both theſe Attacks, before he entered into that Negociation, which concluded with the Treaty of *Hanover*.

'Theſe are Facts, Sir, which are founded upon the Teſtimony of our late Sovereign; I am ſure, a much ſtronger Teſtimony than the Averment to the contrary of any private Gentleman: And theſe Facts will for ever juſtify the Treaty of *Hanover*, and all the Meaſures we took conſequent to that Treaty, eſpecially when we conſider, that by thoſe Meaſures we not only prevented the Dangers wherewith we were threatened, but obliged the Emperor to give up his *Oſtend* Company, and *Spain* to confirm our Right to *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, and to recede from her Engagements in Favour of the Emperor's Subjects with reſpect to Trade; both which ſhe did by the Treaty of *Seville*; and therefore I am ſurpriſed to hear that Treaty found fault with. We did not, 'tis true, by that Treaty, obtain immediate Satisfaction or Reparation for all the Damage ſhe had done our Trade, becauſe it was impoſſible to compute and aſcertain that Damage; but we obtained a Promiſe for immediate Reparation as to ſome Part, and as to what remained, it was to be ſettled and adjuſted by Commiſſaries mutually to be appointed, who were to finiſh their Commiſſion within the Space of three Years. If *Spain* afterwards refuſed to perform her Engagements, or rather delayed the Performance under frivolous Pretences, for ſhe never expreſsly refuſed, it was what our Miniſters could not foreſee nor provide againſt; for without truſting to ſome Promiſes to be performed *in futuro*, it is impoſſible to negotiate or conclude any Treaty whatſoever.

'But, Sir, with regard to *Spain*'s Performance of theſe Promiſes, and with regard to the Depredations afterwards committed by the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's*, our Miniſters cannot juſtly be accuſed of any Neglect; as may appear from the many Memorials, Letters and Papers relating to thoſe Affairs, which have, from Time to Time, been laid upon our Table. They never ceaſed making Application; the *Spaniſh* Miniſters never ceaſed promiſing. If our Miniſters were ſhy of beginning Hoſtilities, as long as they had any Hopes of obtaining Reparation by fair Means, are they to blame? Are the Miniſters of a trading Nation ever to blame in ſuch a Caſe? Sir, their Shyneſs in this Reſpect, eſpecially with regard to *Spain*, ought to be the Ground of Applauſe rather than Inquiry: And in future Ages, when Time has put an End to Envy, which, thank God! is not ſo long-liv'd as Truth, it will appear to be ſo.

'I now come, Sir, to conſider our Behaviour when the War broke out between *France* and the Emperor in the Year 1735:

1735: In that War we had certainly no Concern or Intereſt, any farther than as it might affect the Balance of Power in *Europe*: and with regard to the Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction, we were ſet free from that Engagement, by the Emperor's having brought the War upon himſelf: We had therefore no Concern, nor any Obligation to enter, either as Principals or Auxiliaries, into that War; but as, by its Event, it might affect the Balance of Power, we were therefore in Prudence obliged to augment our Forces, both by Sea and Land, in order to be ready to put a Stop to the Arms of the victorious Side, in Caſe their Ambition ſhould lead them to puſh their Conqueſts farther than was conſiſtent with the Balance of Power in *Europe*. If we had delayed our Preparations till this Event had actually happened, we ſhould then have been too late: The Vanquiſhed would have been obliged to ſubmit, before we could have come to their Relief. Therefore, I ſtill think, it was the moſt prudent Part we could act, to ſtand neuter at the Beginning of that War, but to prepare for the worſt; and our Allies the *Dutch*, whoſe Wiſdom ſome Gentlemen take all Occaſions to extol, held the very ſame Conduct: Nay, they went farther; they actually agreed to a Treaty of Neutrality, and yet notwithſtanding that Agreement, they augmented their Forces, in order to be ready at all Events. By this Conduct we put ourſelves but to a very ſmall Expence, and yet that Expence had as good an Effect, as if we had put ourſelves to as much greater and brought ourſelves into much greater Danger, by engaging as Parties in the War. The Parliament was therefore in the right to approve of thoſe Meaſures; their having done ſo can be no Argument of their having been choſen or governed by a corrupt Influence; nor can thoſe Meaſures, or the Approbation they then met with, now afford any reaſonable Ground for a Parliamentary Inquiry. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'The only remaining Meaſure that has been objected to in this Debate, and therefore the laſt I ſhall take Notice of, is the Convention with *Spain*, which was founded upon a Maxim I muſt ſtill approve of, becauſe it is ſuch a one, as I hope, will always be held ſacred by thoſe who have the Adminiſtration of our publick Affairs, I mean that of never engaging us in a War, eſpecially with *Spain*, as long as there is the leaſt Reaſon to hope for obtaining Redreſs by peaceable Means. By that Treaty the King of *Spain* acknowledged the Injuries that had been done us, and promiſed to make Satisfaction, by paying a certain Sum here at *London* in the Space of four Months: This was ſuch a Proof of that Court's being in Earneſt, and firmly reſolved to do us Juſtice, that our Miniſters

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Miniſters, upon the Maxim I have mentioned, could not but agree to it; and as we were neither to promiſe nor give up any Thing by that Treaty, they had the more Reaſon to accept what the Court of *Spain* offered. If the Court of *Spain* delayed performing that Engagement, as they had done their former, our agreeing to this Treaty could occaſion no Delay in beginning Hoſtilities, but what would have been otherways occaſioned by the Seaſon of the Year; and their Failing in the Performance of ſuch a ſolemn and explicit Stipulation, would of courſe render them blameable in the Eyes of all *Europe*; which, conſidering the Intricacy of the other Diſputes between the two Nations, was a Point our Miniſters were in the right to aim at, and has, perhaps, been the principal Cauſe of *Spain*'s remaining hitherto unaſſiſted by any Power in *Europe*. This Meaſure, therefore, or the Approbation it met with in Parliament, can as little afford a juſt Cauſe for an Inquiry, as any other that has been mentioned in this Debate; and thence, I hope, it will appear, that we have at preſent no ſolid Ground for an Inquiry, from the ſuppoſed Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of any of our late Meaſures.

'If a Miniſter, or an Adminiſtration, are to be compared to the Steward of an Eſtate, we ſhall from thence find as little Reaſon for an Inquiry; nay, upon this Principle, it would be unjuſt in us to call them now to a general Account. If the Steward of an Eſtate paſſes his Accounts regularly, and delivers up his Vouchers every Year, and accordingly receives an annual Diſcharge or Releaſe, it would be moſt unjuſt in his Lord to expect or deſire, that after twenty Years Service he ſhould be brought to a general Account, as if no ſuch annual Account had ever been delivered or approved of. This is exactly the Caſe of our Adminiſtration; they have regularly every Year delivered in their Accounts; thoſe Accounts have been annually paſſed in Parliament, and every Article approved of; would it not then be unjuſt in us now after twenty Years to tell them, we will now overhale all your Accounts? The Accounts you have delivered in, the Approbation you have met with, the Releaſes you have received, ſhall paſs for nothing: You ſhall now deliver in a general Account from your firſt Entry into our Service: We will examine it ſtrictly, and will admit of no Article but what you can fully prove to have been uſefully laid out or expended for our Service. Such a Proceeding would be ſo unjuſt, that I cannot think, it needs any farther Explanation.

'But now, Sir, with regard to the other Queſtion, Whether it be now a proper Time for us to enter into an Inquiry? Suppoſe we had juſt Ground to ſuſpect the Uprightneſs

neſs or the Wiſdom of our late Meaſures: Suppoſe them to be thought weak or wicked by a great Majority of this Houſe, is this a proper Time for us to employ ourſelves about inquiring into and puniſhing paſt Meaſures? When *Europe* is in ſuch Danger: When we ourſelves are in ſuch Danger, are we to conſider only how we came upon the Brink, inſtead of conſidering how to get off? It was ſaid of the Houſe of Commons that impeached the Earl of *Portland* and Lord *Somers* in the Year 1701, that they proceeded in a Manner * which ſeemed more to affect our Peace at Home, than to prepare for War abroad. I am ſure, this might be more juſtly ſaid of us, ſhould we now reſolve upon an Inquiry into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs. Let us now think how to get rid of the preſent Danger, and of that alone. It deſerves, it requires our Attention. When we have ſecured our own Liberties, and the Liberties of *Europe*, againſt the ambitious Projects of *France*: When we have ſecured the Freedom of our Navigation and Commerce againſt the Inſults and Injuſtice of *Spain*, we ſhall then have an Opportunity, we ſhall then have Leiſure, to inquire into and puniſh all publick Offenders, and we may then do it with Safety. Both theſe deſirable Ends we ſhall, I hope, attain, if we apply to this, and this only: We may, perhaps, be able to acompliſh both before the Beginning of next Seſſion of Parliament; and ſurely no one will ſay, we can ſuffer in the mean Time by the Delay of Juſtice. For this Reaſon, Sir, if I thought we had juſt Cauſe for an Inquiry: If I condemned, in my own Mind, the whole Courſe of our Conduct for the laſt twenty Years, as much as I do really approve it, I ſhould nevertheleſs be againſt our entering into an Inquiry, during this Seſſion of Parliament; and therefore, I muſt give my Negative to the Queſtion.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

To this Mr *William Pitt* reply'd: Mr Will. Pitt.

Sir,

'What the Gentlemen of the other Side mean by Harangues or Flowers of Rhetorick, I ſhall not pretend to gueſs; but if they make uſe of nothing of that Kind, it is no very good Argument for their Sincerity; for a Man who ſpeaks from his Heart, and is ſincerely affected with the Subject he ſpeaks on, as every honeſt Man muſt be when he ſpeaks in the Cauſe of his Country: Such a Man, I ſay, falls naturally into Sentiments and Expreſſions which may be called Flowers of Rhetorick, and therefore deſerves as little to be taxed with Affectation, as the moſt ſtupid Serjeant at Law that ever ſpoke at the Common Pleas Bar for a Half Guinea Fee.

* See the Proceedings againſt thoſe two Lords, as alſo the Lords Orford and Halifax, in Chandler's Hiſtory, Tom. 3. p. 133, 4, 5, &c.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

any Occaſion; but the Misfortune is, that Gentlemen who are in Office, ſeldom converſe with any but ſuch as are in Office, or want to be in Office, and ſuch Men, let them think what they will, will always applaud the Conduct of their Superiors; conſequently, Gentlemen who are in the Adminiſtration, or in any Office under it, can rarely know what is the Voice of the People. The Voice of this Houſe was formerly, I ſhall grant, and always ought to be the Voice of the People: If new Parliaments were more frequent, and few Placemen, and no Penſioners admitted, it would be ſo ſtill; but, if long Parliaments be continued, and a corrupt Influence ſhould prevail, not only at Elections, but in this Houſe, the Voice of this Houſe will generally be very different from, nay often directly contrary to the Voice of the People. However, as this is not, I believe, the Caſe at preſent, I hope, that there is a Majority of us who know what is the Voice of the People; and if it be admitted by all, that the Nation is at preſent in the utmoſt Diſtreſs and Danger, and admitted by a Majority, that the Voice of the People is loud againſt the late Conduct of our Adminiſtration, this Motion muſt be agreed to, becauſe, I have ſhewn, that theſe two Circumſtances, without any particular Charge, have been the Foundation of almoſt all Parliamentary Inquiries.

'I ſhall readily admit, Sir, that we ſhould have very little to do with the Character or Reputation of a Miniſter, if it no way affected his Maſter; but as it does, and always muſt affect our Sovereign, as the People may become diſaffected as well as diſcontented, when they find the King continues obſtinately to employ a Miniſter who, they think, oppreſſes them at Home, and betrays them Abroad, we are therefore, in Duty to our Sovereign, obliged to inquire into the Conduct of a Miniſter, when it becomes generally ſuſpected by the People; in order that we may vindicate his Character, if he appears innocent, as to every Thing laid to his Charge, or that we may get him removed from the Councils of our Sovereign, and condignly puniſhed, if he appears guilty.

'After having ſaid thus much, Sir, I have no great Occaſion to anſwer what has been ſaid, that no Parliamentary Inquiry ought ever to be ſet up, unleſs we are convinced that ſomething has been done amiſs. Sir, the very Name given to this Houſe of Parliament ſhews the contrary. We are called the Grand Inqueſt of the Nation, and as ſuch it is our Duty to inquire into every Step of publick Management, either Abroad or at Home, in order to ſee that nothing has been done amiſs. It is not neceſſary upon every Occaſion

to

to eſtabliſh a Secret Committee: This is never neceſſary, but when the Affairs to be brought before them, or ſome of thoſe Affairs, are ſuppoſed to be of ſuch a Nature as ought to be kept ſecret; but as Experience has ſhewn, that nothing but a ſuperficial Inquiry is ever made by a general Committee, or a Committee of the whole Houſe, I wiſh, that all Eſtimates and Accounts, and many other Affairs, were reſpectively referred to Select Committees. Their Inquiries would be more exact, and the receiving of their Reports would not take up ſo much of our Time as is repreſented; but if it did, as it is our Duty to make ſtrict Inquiries into every Thing relating to the Publick, as we aſſemble here for that Purpoſe, we ought to do our Duty before we break up; and I am ſure, his preſent Majeſty would never put an End to any Seſſion, till both Houſes had fully performed their Duty to their Country. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

It is ſaid, by ſome Gentlemen, that by this Inquiry we ſhall be in Danger of diſcovering the Secrets of our Government to our Enemies. This Argument, Sir, by proving too much proves nothing at all. If it were admitted, it would always have been, and for ever will be, an Argument againſt our inquiring into any Affair in which our Government can be ſuppoſed to have a Concern. Our Inquiries would then be confined to the Conduct of our little Companies, or of Inferior Cuſtom Houſe Officers or Exciſemen; for if we ſhould be ſo bold as to offer to inquire into the Conduct of Commiſſioners or great Companies, it would be ſaid, the Government had a Concern in their Conduct, and the Secrets of Government muſt not be divulged. Every Gentleman muſt ſee, that this would be the Conſequence of admitting ſuch an Argument; but beſides, it is falſe in Fact, and contrary to Experience. We have had many Parliamentary Inquiries into the Conduct of Miniſters of State, and yet I defy any one to ſhew, that any State Affair was thereby diſcovered which ought to have been concealed, or that our publick Affairs, either Abroad or at Home, ever ſuffered by any ſuch Diſcovery. There are Methods, Sir, for preventing Papers of a very ſecret Nature from coming into the Hands of the Servants attending, or even of all the Members of our Secret Committee. If his Majeſty ſhould by Meſſage acquaint us that ſome of the Papers ſealed up and laid before us required the utmoſt Secrecy, we might refer them to our Committee, with an Inſtruction for them to order only two or three of the Number to inſpect ſuch Papers, and to report from them nothing but what they thought might be fitely communicated to their whole Number. By this Method, I hope, the Danger of a Diſcovery would be effectu-

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

effectually removed; therefore this Danger cannot be a good Argument againſt a Parliamentary Inquiry.

"The other Objection, Sir, is really ſurpriſing, becauſe it is founded upon a Circumſtance which, in all former Times, has been admitted as a ſtrong Argument for an immediate Inquiry. The Hon. Gentlemen are ſo ingenuous as to confeſs that our Affairs both Abroad and at Home, are at preſent in the utmoſt Diſtreſs; but ſay they, you ought to free yourſelves from this Diſtreſs, before you inquire how or by what Means you was brought into it. Sir, according to this Way of arguing, a Miniſter that has plundered and betrayed his Country, and fears being called to an Account in Parliament, has nothing to do but to involve his Country into a dangerous War, or ſome other great Diſtreſs, in order to prevent an Inquiry into his Conduct, becauſe he may be dead before that War is at an End, or that Diſtreſs got over. Thus, like the moſt villainous of all Thieves, after he had plundered the Houſe, he has nothing to do but to ſet it in a Flame, that he may eſcape in the Confuſion. It is really aſtoniſhing to hear ſuch an Argument ſeriouſly urged in this Houſe. But ſay theſe Gentlemen, if you found yourſelf upon a Precipice, would you ſtand to inquire how you was led there, before you conſidered how to get off? No, Sir; but if a Guide had led me there, I ſhould very probably be provoked to throw him over, before I thought of any Thing elſe; at leaſt, I am ſure, I ſhould not truſt to the ſame Guide for bringing me off; and this, Sir, is the ſtrongeſt Argument that can be urged for an immediate Inquiry.

"We have been for theſe twenty Years under the Guidance, I may truly ſay, of one Man, one ſingle Miniſter. We now at laſt find ourſelves upon a dangerous Precipice: Ought not we then immediately to inquire, whether we have been led upon this Precipice by his Ignorance or Wickedneſs? And if by either, to take Care not to truſt to his Guidance for leading us off? This is an additional, and a ſtronger Argument for this Inquiry than ever was for any former; for if we do not inquire, we ſhall probably remain under his Guidance; becauſe, tho' he be removed from the Treaſury Board, he is not from the King's Cloſet, nor probably will, unleſs it be by our Advice, or by our ſending him to a Lodging at the other End of the Town, where he cannot do ſo much Harm to his Country. Sir, the Diſtreſs we are in at Home is evidently owing to bad Oeconomy, and to our having been led into many needleſs Expences: The Diſtreſs and the Danger we are in Abroad, are evidently owing to the Miſconduct of our War with *Spain*, and to the little Confidence put in our Counſels by our natural and antient

tient Allies. This is so evident, that I should not have thought it necessary to have entered into any particular Explanation, if an Hon. Gentleman on the other Side had not entered into a particular Justification of most of our late Measures, both Abroad and at Home; but as he has done so, tho' not, in my Opinion, quite to the Purpose of the present Debate, yet, I hope, I shall be excused making some Remarks upon what he has said on that Subject, beginning, as he did, with the Measures taken for punishing the *South-Sea* Directors, and restoring publick Credit, after the terrible Shock it met with in the Year 1720. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'As those Measures, Sir, were among the first Exploits of our late, and I fear still our Prime Minister, at least his first since he came last into the Administration; and as the Committee proposed, if agreed to, will probably consist of one and twenty, I wish the Motion had been for one Year farther back, that the Number of Years might have been equal to the Number of Inquirers, and that it might have comprehended the first of those Measures; for as it stands, it will not comprehend the Methods taken for punishing the Directors, nor the first Regulations made for restoring publick Credit; and with regard to both, some Practices might perhaps be discovered, that would deserve a much severer Punishment than any of those Directors met with. Considering the many Tricks and Frauds made use of by those Directors and their Agents, for drawing People into their Ruin, I am not a little surprised to hear it now said, that their Punishment was ever thought too severe. Justice by the Lump was an Epithet given it, not because it was thought too severe, but because it was a Piece of Cunning made use of for screening the most heinous Offenders, who, if they did not deserve to be hanged, deserved at least to have that total Ruin brought upon them, which they had brought upon many unthinking Men, and therefore they very ill deserved those Allowances that were made them by Parliament.

'Then, Sir, as to the restoring of publick Credit, its speedy Restoration was founded upon the Credit of the Nation, and not upon the Wisdom or Justice of the Measures taken to restore it. Was it a wise Method to remit to the *South-Sea* Company the whole Seven Millions, or thereabout, which they had solemnly engaged to pay to the Publick? It might as well be said, that a private Man's giving away a great Part of his Estate to those that no Way deserved it, would be a wise Method for reviving or establishing his Credit. If those Seven Millions had been distributed among the poorer Sort of Annuitants, it would have been both generous and charitable; but to give it among the Proprietors in

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

in general, was neither generous nor juſt, becauſe moſt of them deſerved no Favour from the Publick. For as the Proceedings of the Directors were authoriſed by General Courts, thoſe who were then the Proprietors were in ſome Meaſure acceſſary to the Frauds of the Directors, and therefore deſerved to have been puniſhed, rather than rewarded, as they really were; becauſe every one of them who continued to hold Stock in that Company got, by the Regulations then made, near 50 *per Cent.* added to his Capital; moſt Part of which aroſe from the high Price the Annuitants were by Act of Parliament obliged to take Stock at, and was therefore a moſt flagrant Piece of Injuſtice done to the Annuitants. But we need not be at a Loſs for the true Cauſe of this Act of Injuſtice, when we conſider, that a certain Gentleman had a great many Friends among the old Stockholders, and few or none among the Annuitants.

'Another Act of Injuſtice which, I believe, we may aſcribe to the ſame Cauſe, relates to thoſe who were engag'd in heavy Contracts for Stock or Subſcriptions, many of whom groan under the Load to this very Day; for after we had by Act of Parliament quite altered the Nature, though not the Name of the Stock they had bought, and made it much leſs valuable, than it was when they engaged to pay a high Price for it, I muſt think, it was an Act of publick Injuſtice, to leave them liable to be proſecuted at Law for the whole Money they had engaged to pay; and I am ſure, it was not a Method for reſtoring private Credit, upon which our Trade and Navigation very much depend. If the ſame Regulation had been made with regard to them, as was made with regard to thoſe who had borrowed Money of the Company, or a Sort of *Uti poſſidetis* enacted, by declaring all ſuch Contracts void, ſo far as related to any future Payments, it would not have been unjuſt, and was extremely neceſſary for quieting the Minds of the People, for preventing their ruining one another at Law, and for reſtoring Credit between Man and Man, which is ſo neceſſary in a trading Country; but there is Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that a certain Gentleman had many Friends among the Sellers in thoſe Contracts, and very few among the Buyers, which was the Reaſon why the latter could obtain little or no Relief or Mercy by any publick Law or Regulation.

'Then, Sir, with regard to the extraordinary Grants made to the Civil Liſt, the very Reaſon given by the Hon. Gentlemen for juſtifying thoſe Grants, is a ſtrong Reaſon for an immediate Inquiry. If there have ariſen any conſiderable Charges upon that Revenue, let us ſee what thoſe Charges were; let us examine whether or no they were neceſſary.

ceſſary. We have the more Reaſon to do this, becauſe the Revenue ſettled upon his late Majeſty's Civil Liſt, was at leaſt as great as was ſettled either upon King *William* or Queen *Anne*, and yet neither of them ever aſked any extraordinary Grant, but on the contrary, the latter gave out of her Civil Liſt Revenue 100,000 *l.* yearly, towards the Support of the War; and yet there was as great Hoſpitality in the Royal Palace during her Time, as there has been ever ſince. Beſides, there is a general Rumour without Doors, that the Civil Liſt is now greatly in Arrear, which, if true, renders an Inquiry abſolutely neceſſary; for it is inconſiſtent with the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of theſe Kingdoms to be in Arrear to its Tradeſmen and Servants; and 'tis the Duty of this Houſe to take Care, that the Revenue we have ſettled for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of our Crown, ſhall not be ſquandered or miſapplied: If former Parliaments have failed in this Reſpect, they muſt be blamed, tho' they cannot be puniſhed; but we ought now to attone for their Neglect, and we may puniſh thoſe, if they can be diſcover'd, who were the Cauſe of it. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'I come now in Courſe to the Exciſe-Scheme, which the Hon. Gentleman ſays, ought to be forgiven, becauſe it was eaſily given up. Sir, it was not eaſily given up. The Promoter of that Scheme did not eaſily give it up; he gave it up with Sorrow, with Tears in his Eyes, when he ſaw, and not till he ſaw it impoſſible to carry it through the Houſe. Did not his Majority decreaſe every Diviſion? It was almoſt certain, that if he had puſhed it any farther, the Majority would have turned againſt him.* His Sorrow ſhewed his Diſappointment; and his Diſappointment ſhewed that his Deſign was higher than of preventing Frauds in the Cuſtoms. He was at that Time ſo ſenſible of the Influence of Exciſe-Laws and Exciſemen with regard to Elections, and of the great Occaſion he would have for that Sort of Influence at the next General Election, which was then approaching, that it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, he had not that Influence in View; and if he had, it was a moſt wicked Attempt againſt our Conſtitution; therefore he deſerved the Treatment he met with from the People. Perhaps there was none but what Gentlemen are pleaſed to call Mob, concerned in burning him in Effigy; but as the Mob conſiſts chiefly of Children, Journeymen and Servants, who ſpeak the Sentiments of their Parents and Maſters, we may thence judge of the Sentiments of the better Sort of People.

* The Majority in favour of the Exciſe-Scheme was 61 upon the firſt Diviſion; On the laſt only 1[5]. —— See CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Anno 1733, P. 353, and 373.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'The Hon. Gentleman ſaid, theſe were all the Meaſures of a domeſtick Nature, that could be found fault with, becauſe none other were mentioned in this Debate. Sir, he has already heard a Reaſon why no other Wrong Meaſures ſhould be particularly mentioned in this Debate: If it were neceſſary, many others might be mentioned. Is not the keeping up of ſo numerous an Army in Time of Peace to be found fault with? Is not the fitting out ſo many expenſive Squadrons for no Purpoſe, to be found fault with? Are not the Encroachments made upon the Sinking Fund, the reviving the Salt-Duty, the rejecting many uſeful Bills and Motions in Parliament, and many other domeſtick Meaſures, to be found fault with? The Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of thoſe Meaſures has been often demonſtrated, their ill Conſequences were at the reſpective Times foretold, and thoſe Conſequences are now become viſible by our preſent Diſtreſs.

'Now, Sir, with regard to the foreign Meaſures, which the Hon. Gentleman has attempted to juſtify. The Treaty of *Hanover* deſerves indeed to be firſt mentioned, becauſe from thence ſprings the Danger, which *Europe* is now expoſed to; and it is impoſſible to aſſign a Reaſon for our entering into that Treaty, without ſuppoſing that we then reſolv'd to be reveng'd on the Emperor for refuſing to grant us ſome Favour in *Germany*. It is in vain now to inſiſt upon the ſecret Engagements entered into by the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, as the Cauſe of that Treaty. Time has fully ſhewn, that there never were any ſuch Engagements; and his late Majeſty's Speech from the Throne cannot here be admitted as any Evidence of the Fact. Every one knows that, in Parliament, the King's Speech is always conſidered as the Speech of the Miniſter; and ſurely a Miniſter is not to be allowed to bring his own Speech as an Evidence of a Fact in his own Juſtification. If it be pretended that his late Majeſty had ſome Sort of Information, that ſuch Engagements had been entered into, that very Pretence furniſhes an unanſwerable Argument for an Inquiry; for as the Information now appears to have been groundleſs, we ought to inquire into it, becauſe, if it appears to be ſuch an Information as ought not to have been believed, that Miniſter ought to be puniſhed who adviſed his late Majeſty to give Credit to it, and to run the Nation into ſuch pernicious Meaſures in Conſequence of it.

'At the Time this Treaty was enter'd into, we wanted nothing from the Emperor upon our own Account. The aboliſhing of the *Oſtend* Company was a Demand we had no Right to make, nor were we in Intereſt much obliged to inſiſt upon it, becauſe that Company would have been more prejudicial to the Intereſt, both of the *French* and *Dutch* *Eaſt-*

East-India Trade, than to ours; and if it had been a Point that concern'd us much, we might probably have gained it, by acceding to the *Vienna* Treaty between the Emperor and *Spain*, or by guarantying the Pragmatick Sanction, which we afterwards did in the moſt abſolute Manner, without any Conſideration at all. We wanted nothing from *Spain* but a Departure from the Pretence ſhe had juſt begun, or, I believe, hardly begun to ſet up in an expreſs Manner, with regard to ſearching and ſeizing our Ships in the *American* Seas; and this we did not obtain, or perhaps did not deſire to obtain by the Treaty of *Seville*. By that Treaty we obtained nothing, but we made another Step towards bringing on that Danger which *Europe* is now involved in, by uniting the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and laying a Foundation for a new Breach between the Courts of *Spain* and *Vienna*.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, our Miniſters appear to have been fond and diligent enough in negociating, and writing Letters and Memorials to the Court of *Spain*; but by all I have looked into, it appears, they never rightly underſtood, or perhaps would not underſtand the Point they were negociating about; and as they ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed, as they ſay, with fair Promiſes, for ten Years together, whilſt in the mean Time our Merchants were plunder'd, and our Trade interrupted, we ought to inquire into this Affair; for if it ſhould appear, that they allowed themſelves to be amuſed with ſuch Anſwers, as no Man of Honour in ſuch Circumſtances would have taken, nor any Man of Common Senſe been amuſed with, they muſt have had ſome ſecret Motive for allowing themſelves to be thus impos'd upon; this ſecret Motive we may perhaps diſcover by an Inquiry, and as it muſt be a wicked one, if it can be diſcovered, they ought to be ſeverely puniſhed.

'But, in Excuſe for their Conduct, it is ſaid, our Miniſters had a laudable Shineſs of involving their Country in a War. Sir, this Shineſs could not proceed from any Regard to their Country: It was involved in a War: *Spain* was carrying on a War againſt our Trade, and that in the moſt inſulting Manner too, during the whole Time of their Negociations. It was this very Shineſs, or at leaſt their making the Court of *Spain* too ſenſible of it, that at laſt made it abſolutely neceſſary for us to begin a War on our Side. If they had at firſt inſiſted properly and peremptorily upon an expheit Anſwer, *Spain* would have expreſsly given up the Pretence ſhe had juſt ſet up; but by the long Experience we allowed her, ſhe found the Fruits of that Pretence ſo plentiful and ſavoury, that ſhe thought them worth riſking a War for; and the Damage we had ſuffered became ſo conſiderable,

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

that it was worth contending for. Beſides, the Court of *Spain* was convinced, that whilſt we were under ſuch an Adminiſtration, nothing could provoke us to begin the War on our Side; or if we did, it would be managed weakly or puſillanimouſly; and have we not ſince found, that they form'd a right Judgment? Nothing, Sir, ever demanded more a Parliamentary Inquiry than our Conduct in this War. The only Branch of it we have inquired into, we have already cenſured and condemned: Is not this a good Reaſon for inquiring into every other Branch? Diſappointment and ill Succeſs have always, till now, occaſioned a Parliamentary Inquiry. Inactivity of itſelf is a ſufficient Cauſe for an Inquiry. We have now all theſe Reaſons concurring. Our Admirals Abroad deſire nothing more; becauſe they are conſcious that our Inactivity and ill Succeſs would appear not to be owing to their Conduct, but to the Conduct of thoſe that ſent them out.

'I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking Notice of the two other Foreign Meaſures mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman. Our Conduct in the Year 1734, with regard to the War between the Emperor and *France*, may be eaſily accounted for, tho' not eaſily excuſed. Ever ſince the laſt Acceſſion of our late Miniſter to Power, we ſeem to have had a Spite againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Our Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction was an Effect of that Spite; becauſe we entered into it, when, as has ſince appeared, we had no Mind to perform our Engagement; and by that ſham Guaranty got the Emperor to admit of the Introduction of the *Spaniſh* Troops into *Italy*, which he would not otherwiſe have done. The Preparations we made in that Year, the Armies we raiſed, and the Fleets we fitted out, were not to guard againſt the Event of the War Abroad, but againſt the Event of the enſuing Election at Home. The new Commiſſions, the Promotions, and the Money laid out on theſe Preparations, were of excellent Uſe at the Time of a General Election, and, in ſome Meaſure attoned for the Loſs of the Exciſe-Scheme; but *France* and her Allies were well convinced, that we would, in no Event, declare againſt them, otherwiſe they would not have dar'd to attack the Emperor at that Time; for *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Germany* and *Britain*, would have been, by much, an over-Match for them. It was not our Preparations that ſet Bounds to the Ambition of *France*, but her getting all ſhe wanted at that Time for herſelf, and all ſhe deſired for her Allies. Her own Prudence directed her, that it was not then a proper Time to puſh her Views farther; becauſe ſhe did not know, but that the Spirit of this Nation might get the better, as it has ſince done with

with regard to *Spain*, of the Spirit of our Adminiſtration? and if this ſhould have happened, the Houſe of *Auſtria* was then in ſuch a Condition, that our Aſſiſtance, even tho' late, would have been of effectual Service. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'I am ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear the Hon. Gentleman now ſay, that we gave up nothing, or got any Thing by our infamous Convention with *Spain*. Did we not give up the Freedom of our Trade and Navigation, by ſubmitting it to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries? Can Freedom be regulated without being confined, and conſequently in ſome Part deſtroyed? Did not we give up *Georgia*, or ſome Part of it, by ſubmitting to have new Limits ſettled by Plenipotentiaries? Did we not give up all the Reparation of Honour we had ſo juſt a Title to inſiſt on? Did we not give up all Reparation of the Damage we had ſuffered, amounting to 5 or 600,000 *l.* for the paltry Sum of 27,000 *l.* For this was all *Spain* promiſed to pay, after deducting the 68,000 *l.* which we, by the Declaration annexed to that Treaty, allowed her to inſiſt on having from our *South-Sea* Company, under the Penalty of ſtripping them of the *Aſſiento* Contract, and all the Privileges they were thereby intitled to. Even this Sum of 27,000 *l.* or more, they had before acknowledged to be due, on Account of Ships they had allowed to have been unjuſtly taken, and had actually ſent Orders for their Reſtitution: So that, by this infamous Treaty, we got nothing, and gave up every Thing; and therefore, in my Opinion, the Honour of this Nation can never be retrieved, unleſs the Adviſers and Authors of it be cenſured and puniſhed, which cannot regularly be done without a Parliamentary Inquiry.

'By theſe, and the like wicked, or weak and puſillanimous Meaſures, we are become the Ridicule of every Court in *Europe*, and have loſt the Confidence of all our antient Allies: By theſe we have encouraged *France* to extend her ambitious Views, and now at laſt to attempt carrying them into Execution. By bad OEconomy and Extravagance in our domeſtick Meaſures, we have brought ourſelves into ſuch Diſtreſs at Home, that we are almoſt utterly incapable of entering into a War: By Weakneſs or Wickedneſs in our foreign Meaſures, we have brought the Affairs of *Europe* into ſuch Diſtreſs, that it is almoſt impoſſible for us to avoid entering into a War. By theſe Means we have been brought upon the dangerous Precipice on which we now find ourſelves; and ſhall we truſt our being led ſafely off to the ſame Guide that has led us on? Sir, it is impoſſible for him to lead us off; it is impoſſible for us to get off, without firſt recovering that Confidence among our antient Allies which this Nation

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

tion formerly uſed to have: This we cannot do as long as they ſuppoſe, that our Counſels are influenced by our late Miniſter; and this they will ſuppoſe, as long as he has Acceſs to the King's Cloſet, and his paſt Conduct remains uninquired into and uncenſured. It is not therefore a Revenge for paſt Sufferings, but a Deſire to prevent future, that makes me ſo ſanguine for this Inquiry. His Puniſhment, let it be never ſo ſevere, will be but a ſmall Atonement to his Country for what is paſt; but his Impunity will be the Source of many future Miſeries to *Europe*, as well as to his native Country. Let us be as merciful as we will, as any Man can reaſonably deſire, when we come to pronounce Sentence; but Sentence we muſt pronounce, and for this Purpoſe we muſt inquire, unleſs we are reſolved to ſacrifice our own Liberties, and the Liberties of *Europe*, to the Preſervation of one guilty Man.'

Then the Queſtion being put upon Lord *Limerick*'s Motion, it paſs'd in the Negative by 244 againſt 242.

Accounts of Wool imported and exported.

March 10. Mr *Oxenford*, from the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, preſented to the Houſe, an Account of all Wool, and Woollen or Bay-Yarn imported from *Ireland* to *England*, from *Chriſtmas* 1729, to *Chriſtmas* 1740: And alſo of the Value of Woollen Manufactures exported from *England*, from *Chriſtmas* 1715, to *Chriſtmas* 1740.

March 11. A Petition of the Mayor, &c. of *Leeds*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, was referred to a Committee.

Petitions relating to the Woollen Trade.

A Petition of ſeveral Clothiers of *Wiltſhire*, repreſenting, That the illicit Liberty taken, of late Years, to ſet up the Trade, without having ſerved a lawful Apprenticeſhip, or having proper Skill in the Manufacture, hath been one great Cauſe of the Decay of the Woollen Trade, was referred to the ſame Committee, as thoſe of *Devonſhire*. [*p.* 138.]

A new Writ for Montgomeryſhire.

Ordered a new Writ for *Montgomeryſhire*, in the Room of Sir *Watkin William Wynn*, Bart. * who made his Election for *Denbighſhire*.

The Penſion-Bill engroſs'd.

Mr *Carew* reported the Penſion Bill, with certain Amendments; and the Queſtion being put that the ſame be recommitted, it paſſed in the Negative; and the Bill, with the Amendments, was ordered to be engroſſed.

Papers relating to Minorca preſented.

Then Sir *William Yonge* preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs, [*See p.* 115] a Copy of the Earl of *Hertford*'s * Commiſſion, as Governor of *Minorca*; Of General *Anſtruther*'s, as Lieutenant-Governor; And alſo of General

* Robert Williams, Eſq; (his Brother) was elected.

† See TIMBERLAND's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Lords, Vol 8. p. 69.

neral *Handasyd's*, as Lieutenant-Governor of *Fort St Philip* in *Minorca*: Likewise a List of the Officers on the Establishment of that Island, distinguishing which are present, and which absent, &c. Also how long each Regiment has been there.

Petitions against Select Vestries;

A Petition of the principal Inhabitants of *St Martin*, *St Anne*, *St James*, *St George's Hanover Square*, and *St Margaret*, *Westminster*, Complaining of the Illegality, Partiality, and Oppression of Select Vestries, was referred to a Committee.

And Butchers, &c. keeping Shops out of Markets.

March 12. A Petition of the Inhabitants of *St Martin*, *St James*, *St Anne Westminster*, *St George Hanover-Square*, *St Paul Covent Garden*, *St Clement Danes*, *St Mary le Strand*, the Precinct of the *Savoy*, *St Mary le Bon*, *St Giles in the Fields*, *St Andrew Holborn*, and *St Paul Shadwell*, complaining of the great Number of Butchers, Poulterers and Fishmongers, who keep Shops in the publick Streets out of the Markets, was referred to a Committee.

A new Writ for Minehead.

Ordered a new Writ for *Minehead*, in the Room of *Francis Whitworth* †, Esq; deceased.

Admiral Haddock's Instructions address'd for.

Resolved that an Address be presented to his Majesty, for Copies of all Orders, Instructions and Letters, from either of the Principal Secretaries of State, or Commissioners of the Admiralty to Rear Admiral *Haddock*, and all Letters from him to them since the 28th of *Jan.* 1738.

March 15. A Petition of the Prisoners of the *Marshalsea*, complaining of their Distress, was ordered to lie upon the Table.

Writs for Portsmouth, and for Surrey.

Ordered a new Writ for *Portsmouth*, in the Room of Admiral *Cavendish* ‖; And another for a Knight of the Shire for *Surrey*, in the Room of Lord *Baltimore*, both made Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Petition relating to Frauds in Gold and Silver Lace;

A Petition of the several Manufacturers of Gold and Silver Wire-Lace and Thread, complaining, *(inter alia)* That great Quantities of Tinsel Co per, &c. brought into this Kingdom (partly manufactur'd) is spun upon Silk, and worked up in Imitation of Gold and Silver-Lace, and comes so near the real, as tends to the great Discouragement of that Trade, was referred to a Committee.

Also for Encouragement of a new Water-Engine.

A Petition of *John Tuite*, the Inventor of a Water Engine, three Feet square, which, with less than one Man's Labour, can, in one Hour, raise 100 Tons of Water to the Height of 25 Feet. &c. was referred to a Committee.

A

† Benjamin Perlam, Esq; was elected.

‖ He was elected without Opposition, but Lord Baltimore was oppos'd; the Poll stood thus,

Lord Baltimore	1716
George Woodroffe, Esq;	1702

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

A Petition of the Clothiers of *Glouceſterſhire*, to the ſame Effect as that of *Wiltſhire*, [*See p.* 182.] was referred to the ſame Committee.

Eſtimates relating to the Army.

Sir *William Yonge* preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs to his Majeſty, Eſtimate of the Charge of his Majeſty's Forces in the Plantations, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar* for 1742: Alſo of the ſeveral Officers appointed for the Expedition in *America*, for 1742: Alſo of the Staff-Officers appointed to attend the Hoſpital for the Service of the ſaid Expedition: Likewiſe, by his Majeſty's Command, an Account of Services incurred *Anno* 1741, not provided for by Parliament.

Petition for encouraging a new Method of Short Hand.

A Petition of *John Byrom*, F. R. S. praying Leave for to bring in a Bill for ſecuring to him the ſole Benefit of teaching and publiſhing his Method of Short Hand for a Term of Years, was referred to a Committee.

Petition from the Truſtees of Georgia;

A Petition of the Truſtees for *Georgia* was preſented to the Houſe, ſetting forth, (*inter alia*) That the Petitioners are unable to carry on the good Purpoſes already begun, in regard to the ſaid Colony, without the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe; and Mr *Sandys* having acquainted the Houſe, that his Majeſty recommended it to the Houſe to do as they think proper; a Motion was made that the ſaid Petition be referred to the Committee of Supply: But it paſſed in the Negative.

And alſo of the African Company.

A Petition of the Royal *African* Company, praying for farther Proviſion, was referred to the ſaid Committee: And it was ordered that the ſaid Company do lay before the Houſe the Eſtabliſhment for their Forts and Settlements, with the Charge for 1741: And an Account how the Money granted laſt Seſſion hath been diſpoſed of; with an Eſtimate of the Charges thereof for the Year 1742.

Then it was ordered that the Petitions for the Borough of *Flint* (which had been referred to the Committee of Elections) be heard at the Bar: And it was alſo reſolved, that the ſaid Committee do not proceed on any Petitions now before them for undue Elections and Returns. Hereupon a Motion was made to adjourn, but it paſſed in the Negative. Then a Motion being made, That no more Petitions for undue Elections be heard at the Bar of the Houſe during this Seſſion, except for the Borough of *Flint* and the Borough of *Boſſiney*, it paſſed in the Affirmative, Yeas 211, Noes 190.

Reſolution againſt hearing any more conteſted Elections.

Mr Francis Fane reported from the Committee on the Supply their Reſolution, which was read, and agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That Four Shillings in the Pound be raiſed in the Year 1742, upon Lands, Penſions, *&c.* in *England*, and a proportionable Ceſs upon *Scotland*: And a Bill was ordered in Purſuance of the ſaid Reſolution.

Four Shillings Land-Tax voted.

Ordered

Ordered a new Writ for *Lewes*, in the Room of *John Trevor*, * Eſq; made one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. Writ for Lewes.

The following is an Account of the ſeveral Years Land-Tax ſince the Revolution, before which Time that Tax was unknown in *England*, *viz.*

Account of the Land-Tax ſince the Revolution.

Years	Tax per Pound.
1688	1
89	2
90	3
91	
92	
93	4
94	
95	
96	
97	3
98	
99	
1700	2
Additional Duty	6
1701	4
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	2
12	
13	
14	
15	
1716	4
17	3
18	
19	
20	
21	2
22	
23	
24	
25	
26	4
27	3
28	
29	2
30	
31	1
32	
33	2
34	
35	
36	
37	
38	
39	4
40	
41	
42	

As *England* and *Wales* ſend 513 Members to Parliament; the following is a Calculation how many Parts in 513 each County paid to the Land-Tax in 1693, which Proportions are at this Time obſerved in aſſeſſing the Land-Tax; how many 513 Parts each paid to the Subſidies in 1697; and

Calculations relating to the Proportion of Members each County ſends to Parliament.

* He was re-elected.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. and how many Members each County ſends to Parliament.

Counties.	Parts of the Land-Tax	Parts of the Subſidy.	Members of Parliament.	Counties.	Parts of the Land-Tax.	Parts of the Subſidy.	Members of Parliament.
Bedfordſhire	7	8	4	Monmouthſhire	3	2	3
Berkſhire	10	8	9	Norfolk	22	20	12
Buckinghamſhire	12	7	14	Northamptonſh.	18	8	9
Cambridgeſhire	9	6	6	* Northumberl.	4	3	8
Cheſhire	7	5	4	Nottinghamſhire	7	4	8
* Cornwall	8	5	44	Oxfordſhire	9	7	9
* Cumberland	1	1	6	Rutlandſhire	1	1	2
Derbyſhire	6	4	4	Salop	7	6	12
* Devonſhire	21	19	26	Somerſetſhire	19	15	18
* Dorſetſhire	9	6	20	*Southamptonſh.	14	11	26
* Durham		4	4	Staffordſhire	7	6	10
Eſſex	24	13	8	Suffolk	20	15	16
Glouceſterſhire	2	8	8	Surrey	18	16	14
Herefordſhire	5	4	8	Suſſex	16	10	28
Hertfordſhire		8	6	Warwickſhire	10	8	6
Huntingdonſhire	4	3	4	* Weſtmorland		1	4
Kent	22	15	18	* Wilts	13	8	34
* Lancaſhire		7	4	Worceſterſhire	9	7	9
Lincolnſhire	9	7	4	* Yorkſhire	24	23	30
Leiceſterſhire	9	11	12	Wales	1	12	24
Middleſex	20	185	8				
All England and Wales					513	513	513

	L.	T.	Subſ.	P.	M.
Note, That the Proportion of the ſix Northern, and five Weſtern Counties, marked thus * are	103	-	88		216
And that Middleſex and Eſſex are	104		198		16

CITIES are included in their reſpective Counties.

Accounts order'd relating to the American Expedition.

March 16. Ordered an Account of the Charge for Tranſport-Service for the Year 1741; and of the Expence of victualling his Majeſty's Land-Forces ſent on the Expeditions to *America*, between the 1ſt of *January* 1740, and the 31ſt of *December* 1741.

Writs for Dartmouth and Brackley.

Ordered out a new Writ for *Clifton Dartmouth Hardnes* *, in the Room of *George Treby*, Eſq; deceaſed; and another for *Brackley*, in the Room of *George Lee*, L. L. D. † made a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.

Royal Aſſent to ſeveral Bills.

The King came to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons attending, his Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to an Act, *For granting a certain Sum out of the Sinking Fund, towards the Supply*

* Lord Archibald Hamilton was elected.

† Chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections. See the Names of the Members who voted for him and Mr Erle, p. 55. Seawallis Shirley, Eſq; was elected in his Place.

Supply for the Year 1742, and to an Act, *For punishing Mutiny and Desertion*, &c. Likewise to ten private Bills

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

The same Day the Commons pass'd the Pension-Bill, on a Division, Ayes 233, Noes 153, which Mr *Carew* was ordered to carry to the Lords, and desire their Concurrence.

Pension-Bill pass'd.

March 17. Mr *Pulteney* presented to the House a Bill to explain and amend the Laws touching the Election of Members; and to restrain the Partiality, and regulate the Conduct of Returning Officers at such Elections; which was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading, and to be printed.

Bill relating to Returning Officers.

Mr *Comptroller* reported to the House his Majesty's Answer to their Address of the 12th Instant, *viz.* 'That he 'will give Directions, that there be laid before the House 'Copies of all the Orders, Instructions, and Letters desired 'by the said Address, that do in any wise relate to the 'Crown of *Spain*, or the Conduct to be held by Rear-Admiral *Haddock*, in respect of that Crown, or the Fleets or 'Ships thereof, either separately or in Conjunction with 'the Fleets or Ships of any other Power.'

King's Answer relating to Admiral Haddock.

A Petition of *German Pole*, Esq; [*See p.* 135.] complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Derby*, was ordered to be heard at the Bar, on the 9th of *April*.

Petition for Derby.

March 18. The House proceeded to the Hearing the Petition of *Thomas Foster* and *Richard Liddel*, Esqrs, complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Bossiney*, [*See p.* 31.] A Witness being examined as to the Right of Election for the said Borough, and as to the Constitution thereof, to prove, that several Persons, who voted for the now Sitting Members, were not legally admitted Free Burgesses of the said Borough, whose Votes being deducted, the Counsel for the Petitioners insisted, that they had a legal Majority; the House was informed by a Member, that he was authorized to declare, that Messrs *Sabine* and *Tower* desired to give the House no further Trouble: Hereupon it was severally resolved, that *John Sabine* and *Christopher Tower*, Esqrs, were not duly elected; and that *Thomas Foster* and *Richard Liddell*, Esqrs, were duly elected for the said Borough: And the Clerk of the Crown amended the Return.

Bossiney Election determin'd a second Time.

Sir *William Yonge* presented to the House (pursuant to Address) a List of the reduced Officers on Half pay. And (by his Majesty's Command) a List of the Widows of reduced Officers on Half pay, with an Estimate of the Charge for 1742.

Estimates relating to Half-Pay.

March 19. Ordered a new Writ for *Leominster* *, in the Room of *John Cafwall*, Esq; deceased.

Writ for Leominster.

* Robert Harley, Esq; who poll'd 220, was elected [See p. 7.] Sir Robert Cornewall poll'd 161.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

March 22. A Bill was ordered to be brought in for ſecuring to *John Byrom* the ſole Right of publiſhing and teaching, for a certain Term of Years, the Art of Short Hand.

Place-Bill paſs'd.

Then the Bill for the better ſecuring the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Sandys*, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Election for Tamworth,

Mr *Hume Campbell* having reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, That *John Player*, Eſq; was not duly elected a Burgeſs for *Tamworth*; and that *Charles Cotes*, Eſq; was duly elected for the ſaid Borough, [*See p.* 10.] the Houſe agreed with the Committee.

Cardiganſhire,

Alſo that *Walter Lloyd*, Eſq; was not duly elected a Knight of the Shire for *Cardiganſhire*; and that *Thomas Powell*, Eſq; was duly elected.

And Flint determined.

Then the Houſe proceeded to the farther Hearing of the Petitions for the Borough of *Flint*, which had been heard in Part on the 17th and 19th Inſtant. And a Member having declar'd, that he was authorized by Sir *George Wynne*, the ſitting Member, to acquaint the Houſe, that they having on the 19th reſolved, * that the Inhabitants of the Boroughs of *Flint*, *Rhydlan*, *Caerwys*, *Caergurley* and *Overton* (including *Kuelton* and *Overton Foreign*) renting Lands or Tenements, for which the Landlords thereof, only, pay Scot and Lot, have not a Right to vote in the Election of a Burgeſs for the Borough of *Flint*) the Sitting Member deſired to give the Houſe no farther Trouble. Hereupon it was reſolved that *Richard Williams*, Eſq; was duly elected.

Mr Webber's Scheme relating to the Woollen Trade, preſented.

March 23. A Petition of *Samuel Webber*, ſetting forth, that he has, at very great Expence contrived a Method to prevent the Exportation of Wool to foreign Parts, and preſented to the Houſe, at the End of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, a Scheme, which he apprehends, would be effectual for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, and may be put in Execution without any Expence to the Publick, and in its Conſequence produce large Sums, towards the leſſening our Taxes, and diſcharging the National Debt; was referred to the Conſideration of the Grand Committee on the Woollen Trade; and it was order'd that he might be heard before the ſaid Committee.

Then the Serjeant at Arms was order'd to go to the Court of Requeſts, and the Places adjacent, and ſummon the Members to attend, which being done, Lord *Limerick* ſtood up and ſpoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

* This Reſolution was carried by a Majority of 195 againſt 99.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Lord Limerick's Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of Robert Earl of Orford, for the laſt Ten Years.

Sir,

' Notwithſtanding the bad Succeſs of my laſt Motion * for inquiring into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs, it ſhall not diſcourage me from offering you another of the ſame Nature; becauſe, I think, our making ſome Sort of Inquiry, during this Seſſion of Parliament, abſolutely neceſſary for quieting the Minds of the People, and for reſtoring, in ſome Degree, the Character and Credit of our Government. What Sort of Company ſome Gentlemen may keep, I do not know; but to me who keep all Sorts of Company, the Diſappointment upon the former Motion's being rejected, appeared evident in the Face of every Man, who had not Reaſon, upon his own Account, or the Account of ſome of his Friends, to dread the Conſequences of that Inquiry. And whatever we may think within Doors, it will be thought without, nay, it is now generally ſaid, that if ſome People were not conſcious of their own Guilt, they would not ſo vigorouſly oppoſe an Inquiry; for an innocent Man, when he finds himſelf accuſed or ſuſpected, will always deſire to be brought to a fair and legal Trial, that he may have an Opportunity to vindicate his Character againſt thoſe Whiſpers that are ſpread about againſt it. This, Sir, is the Language now held without Doors, and the certain Conſequence will be, that if we let this Seſſion paſs over without any Inquiry, it will be ſaid, that a Majority of us have been Partakers in the Guilt, and Partners in the Plunder of our Country.

' From hence, Sir, I muſt hope, that every innocent Man in this Houſe, (and now that one Man is gone from amongſt us, I hope, all of us are ſo,) will be for the Queſtion I am now to propoſe, becauſe I have taken Care to prevent its being liable to the two chief Objections that ſeemed to prevail againſt my laſt Motion. Theſe were, its being too extenſive as to Time, and too extenſive as to Matter. An Inquiry for twenty Years back was thought to be without Precedent, and that it would be ſuch a Precedent as might be of dangerous Conſequence in future Times. This was one of the chief Objections againſt it, and an Objection which, I believe, had Weight with ſome whoſe Concurrence I hope to be favoured with in this Motion. And the other Objection was, its comprehending all our foreign as well as domeſtick Affairs, which muſt of courſe have brought all the Papers relating to our foreign Negotiations before our Committee. To this it was objected, that it would endanger the Diſcovery of ſome of the moſt important Secrets of our Government to our Enemies, which might be of the moſt

* See before, p. 139.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

moſt fatal Conſequence now that we are engaged in one War, and in great Likelihood of being ſoon obliged to engage in another. This likewiſe ſeemed to have Weight, and, I believe, prevailed with ſome Gentlemen to be againſt my former Motion; for which Reaſon I ſhall now only move, That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, during the laſt Ten Years of his being Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.

'Sir, I hope the Time of Inquiry propoſed by this Motion will not be thought too extenſive; for conſidering the chief Crime of a domeſtick Nature, he has been accuſed of, our Inquiry cannot, I think, be confined within narrower Bounds. The Crime I mean, is that of applying not only all the Favours of the Crown, but even the publick Money, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections and in Parliament. This he is generally accuſed of by the Voice of the People without Doors, and, I believe, there is not a Gentleman in this Houſe that has been choſen in Oppoſition to what was called the Court Intereſt, who was not ſenſible of ſome ſuch Practices being carried on againſt him, before and at the Time of his Election. Every Gentleman muſt be ſenſible, that it is very difficult to fix ſuch Practices upon a Miniſter, becauſe they are not only carried on in an hidden Manner, but by Tools and Under-Agents, who do not appear at the Election as Agents for the Miniſter, but as Agents for the Court Candidate; and generally ſpend their Money very freely, tho' it is often known, that neither they nor their Candidate had ever any Money of their own to ſpare. Nay, thoſe Agents are often known to be Treaſury-Agents, tho' in the common Courſe of Juſtice it is impoſſible to prove that they are. It will even be difficult for a Committee of this Houſe, with all the Powers we can give them, to trace this Practice up to its original Source; but, conſidering the general Suſpicion without Doors, and the many ſtrong Reaſons there are for believing that Suſpicion to be well grounded, we ought certainly to aim at it; and if we do, we cannot begin later than the Time when canvaſſing may be ſuppoſed to have begun for the chuſing of the laſt Parliament, which, I reckon, was about ten Years ago; for as that Parliament was choſen in the Summer 1734, we muſt ſuppoſe that the Candidates, eſpecially where there was like to be an Oppoſition, begun to take Meaſures for ſecuring their Intereſt in the Summer 1732, which will juſt come within the Term of ten Years, computing back from this Time.

'For

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'For this Reaſon, I hope this will appear to be the ſhorteſt Time I could move for; and as it is much ſhorter than the Time propoſed by my laſt Motion, I hope, I ſhall have the Concurrence of many Gentlemen who then appeared againſt me; eſpecially as I have likewiſe in this taken Care to obviate the other Objection, of its being too extenſive as to the Matters propoſed to be enquired into; for as this noble Lord had by none of his Offices any Thing to do with foreign Affairs, this Motion cannot be ſaid to relate to, or comprehend any Affairs of that Nature, unleſs it be ſuppoſed, that this Miniſter directed every other Branch of publick Buſineſs, as well as that of the Treaſury, which, I am ſure, none of his Friends will pretend to ſay, becauſe this would be as great a Crime as any he is accuſed of. This Motion cannot therefore be ſuppoſed to relate to any foreign Affair, and, conſequently, an Inquiry into this Nobleman's Conduct, cannot be ſuppoſed to endanger the Diſcovery of any of the Secrets of our Government. Nay, if he, whilſt he was in Office, confined himſelf to the Duty of his Office, our Inquiry, in purſuance of this Motion, can comprehend but one Branch even of our domeſtick Affairs, and that Branch too, which, of all others, has the leaſt to do with our foreign Affairs. An Inquiry into the Conduct of a Secretary of State, a Secretary at War, a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, or even the Lord High Chancellor, might be ſaid to have ſome Relation to foreign Affairs; but I cannot ſuggeſt to myſelf what a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury can have to do with foreign Affairs, or how an Inquiry into his Conduct can have the leaſt Relation to any foreign Affair whatſoever; conſequently, I hope, this Motion will appear to be quite free from that Objection which ſeemed to be urged with ſo much Weight againſt my former; and as ſo much has in this Seſſion been ſaid, upon former Occaſions, about the Neceſſity of an immediate Inquiry, I ſhall add no more, but move to reſolve, That a Committee be appointed, as I have before mentioned.

Sir J. St Aubin.

This Motion being ſeconded by Sir *John St Aubin*, the Hon. *Horatio Walpole* *, *jun.* ſpoke to this Effect:

Mr H. Walpole, jun.

Sir,

'Whatever were the prevailing Objections, or may be thought to have been the prevailing Objections againſt the former Motion, by ſome Gentlemen, that of its being too extenſive, either as to Time or Matter, was far from being the moſt prevailing with me. The Objection which prevailed moſt with me againſt the laſt, and will equally prevail againſt

* Youngeſt Son of the Earl of Oxford.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

againſt this, was, that, I think, we have no Cauſe for an Inquiry, and, if we had, this is not a proper Time for it. The Suſpicions that are entertained, and the Clamours that are made without Doors, are neither the Suſpicions nor the Clamours of ſenſible and diſcerning Men, nor of Men of Fortune and Circumſtances in our Country, unleſs it be ſuch as cover their Diſaffection to the Royal Family under the Cloak of being diſcontented with the Meaſures purſued by the Adminiſtration. They are the Suſpicions and Clamours either of *Jacobites* and Republicans, or of the mere Mob; and, I hope, I ſhall never ſee the Meaſures or Proceedings of this Houſe directed by either of theſe Sorts of Men. If you were to be directed by *Jacobites* and Republicans, you would not only inquire, but hang up every Man that dared to ſerve the Royal Family now upon our Throne, that they might thereby, at laſt, get the Royal Family itſelf baniſhed out of the Kingdom; and, if you were to be directed by the Mob, you would, for their Diverſion, and for no other Cauſe, ſend ſome Miniſter or other every other Year to *Tyburn* or *Tower-Hill*. Such an Execution would be a Holy-day to all the Children, 'Prentices, and Journeymen about *London*; and if they are diverted, they trouble their Heads very little at whoſe Expence, or about the Juſtice of the Sentence.

'The Suſpicions or the Murmurs without Doors are never to be a Rule for our Proceedings, unleſs we are fully convinc'd, that there is ſome very good Ground for thoſe Suſpicions and Murmurs; and this, I think, cannot with Reaſon be ſaid by any Gentleman at preſent. The only Ground of Complaint which the Noble Lord was pleaſed to hint at, was that of applying the publick Money, and all the Favours of the Crown, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections and in Parliament. Sir, with Regard to the Favours of the Crown, I do not ſee how any Miniſter can be made to anſwer for their Diſpoſal, becauſe they are directly diſpoſed of by the King himſelf, who very often diſpoſes of them without ſo much as aſking the Advice of the Miniſter, whoſe proper Department they belong to; and therefore, if any Fault could be ſuppoſed to have been committed in this Reſpect, it would be a Charge againſt the King himſelf; which, I hope, will be allowed to be a Sort of a Charge that cannot be brought by this Houſe, or by either Houſe of Parliament. Perhaps, thoſe Favours have been lately granted generally to thoſe, or the Friends of thoſe, that approved his Majeſty's Meaſures in Parliament. Sir, it is very natural they ſhould be ſo diſpoſed of: They have always been ſo diſpoſed of. His Majeſty, I am very ſure, never propoſes, much

much leſs purſues any Meaſure but what he thinks right; An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.
therefore he muſt ſuppoſe thoſe Gentlemen to be the beſt Friends to their Country, who approve of and ſupport his Meaſures in Parliament; and I hope it will not be imputed to him, or to any of his Miniſters as a Crime, to beſtow the Favours of the Crown upon thoſe they think the beſt Friends to their Country. This, I hope, will anſwer for thoſe Favours of the Crown that are beſtowed upon Members of Parliament; and, if they have any Favours in their Gift, or can obtain any Favours from the Crown for other Perſons, they are, in Gratitude, obliged to diſpoſe of thoſe Favours among thoſe who ſupported their Intereſt at their Election. This has always been the Practice, it always will, it always ought to be the Practice; becauſe, as I have ſaid, it is what Gentlemen are in Gratitude bound to do; and to be grateful will never, I hope, be deem'd criminal.

'If this, Sir, is to be call'd a corrupt Influence, it is impoſſible for us to be without it, as long as the Crown has any Favours to beſtow. It is what every Gentleman practiſes, and ought to practiſe in his private Capacity as well as in his publick. If he has any Favours to beſtow, if he can procure any Favours, as a good Citizen he ought to beſtow them upon, or procure them for thoſe that, in his Opinion, deſerve beſt of their Country, and if he purſues what he thinks the Intereſt of his Country, he muſt think thoſe Men deſerve beſt of their Country who approve of the Meaſures he approves of, and ſupport him in the Purſuit of them. This may, indeed, be a corrupt Influence, with regard to ſome of thoſe upon whom the Favours are beſtowed: They may, perhaps, pretend to approve of, and may ſupport their Patron in the Purſuit of Meaſures which they do not in their Hearts approve of; but, with regard to him, it is no corrupt Influence, as long as he purſues thoſe Meaſures which, he thinks, will contribute moſt to the Security and Happineſs of his Country. In the Perſon who beſtows, the Diſpoſal of Favours can never be ſuppoſed to be with a Deſign to to procure a corrupt Influence; nor can it be imputed to him as a Crime, unleſs he purſues ſuch Meaſures as he knows to be deſtructive to his Country; and as this is a Crime in the Mind only, we can never diſcover it by an Inquiry, nor can it be juſtly puniſhed by any ſublunary Power. It can neither be detected nor puniſhed by any Thing but the Hand of God.

'With regard to the Diſpoſal of publick Money, it is eaſier, indeed, to diſcover a criminal Practice. If that has been diſpoſed of towards bribing Votes, either in Parliament or at Elections, and without a Pretence of any real and honeſt Service perform'd to the Publick, it may be detected, and ought to be puniſhed. But there are two very ſtrong

An. 15 Geo. II. 1741.

Reaſons for making us believe, that no ſuch Practice has lately been made uſe of. Such Practices, as all criminal Practices are, are generally carried on in a hidden Manner; but to iſſue Money from the Treaſury for this Purpoſe, I think impoſſible to be done in a hidden Manner. There are ſo many Commiſſioners, and ſo many Clerks attending that Board, that ſuch a Practice could not long eſcape a Diſcovery; and beſides, there muſt be ſo many Agents employed to carry this Money to the Country, and to diſtribute it in a proper Manner, that no Man of common Senſe would truſt to the Secret's being kept. Some one of thoſe to whom it muſt be communicated, would certainly, either out of Regard to his Country, or in Expectation of a Reward, or from ſome Diſappointment, become an Informer, and a direct Evidence againſt the high Criminal. As no ſuch Thing has happened: As the Noble Lord does not ſo much as pretend, that he has any ſuch Information or Evidence, I muſt ſuppoſe, that no ſuch Crime has been lately committed. Even if there were a general Rumour among Men of Senſe and Diſcretion without Doors, that ſuch a Crime had been frequently committed, I ſhould look upon it as a mere groundleſs Rumour, unleſs ſome Gentleman of Character could ſay, he had direct Evidence to produce.

'Another Argument, Sir, for my thinking the committing of this Crime impoſſible, is the Method introduced by the Revolution, of appropriating all Parliamentary Grants, and the regular Accounts of the Diſpoſal of all publick Monies that have been of late Years laid annually before the Parliament. Theſe Grants are generally ſo far from having any Exceſs or Surplus, that they are often inſufficient for anſwering the Services to which they are appropriated by Parliament; and if ever any Surplus has ariſen, it has always been accounted for, and has been applied by the next ſucceeding Seſſion to the Service of the enſuing Year. From hence, I think it impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that any one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, or all of them together, if they were Confederates in the Crime, could have the Command of any publick Money, which they might apply towards carrying on the Practice complained of. I ſay, Sir, they could have the Command of no publick Money, which they could apply to this Purpoſe, unleſs they took it from the Civil Liſt Revenue; and if we conſider the many Checks the Diſpoſal of that Revenue is liable to, and the great Care his Majeſty takes of that Part of it which is drawn out by ſpecial Warrant, we cannot ſuppoſe that they could apply any Part of that Revenue to the carrying on of ſuch a Practice, eſpecially ſuch large Sums as would be neceſſary for carrying it on with Effect, without

ſuppoſing,

ſuppoſing, which God forbid any one ſhould ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty himſelf was a *Secret Criminal*.

'For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I cannot ſuppoſe we have the leaſt Cauſe or Reaſon for ſetting up ſuch an Inquiry as is propoſed by this Motion; and with all due Regard to this Houſe, I muſt ſay, that if an Inquiry were ſet up, as I hope there never will, without any apparent Cauſe whatever, I ſhould very much ſuſpect, that it proceeded from Malice and Reſentment, in which Caſe I ſhould very little expect, that the Perſon whoſe Conduct was by ſuch Means to be inquired into, ſhould meet with any Candour or fair Treatment. If I judge more favourably of the Cauſe and Character of the Noble Lord, whoſe Conduct is ſo particularly propoſed to be inquired into, than other Gentlemen do, I hope the Connection I have with him, the natural Duty I owe him, will plead my Excuſe. If I thought his Character ſuffered among the valuable and diſcerning Part of Mankind, and ſuch as are true Friends to our happy Conſtitution, and the Royal Family now upon our Throne, as I am fully convinced of his Innocence, the ſame Duty that now prompts me to be the firſt to oppoſe an Inquiry into his Conduct, would, in that Caſe, prompt me to be the firſt to propoſe it, as ſoon as a proper Time preſented for that Purpoſe, which I cannot think the preſent is.

'When the Nation, Sir, is in ſo much Danger, when our beſt and moſt natural Ally upon the Continent is in the moſt imminent Danger of being deſtroyed, or ſo much reduced as never for the future to be able to do us any Service; when we ought to employ all our Time in conſulting and taking proper Meaſures for extricating ourſelves and our Allies from the Danger that now threaten all of us; would it be proper, would it be prudent for us to take up our Time with inquiring into the little Frauds that may have been committed in the Management of our publick Revenue, ſuppoſing we were certain that ſome ſuch had been committed? It would give the Courts Abroad ſuch a mean Opinion of our Prudence, or ſuch a Suſpicion of our Zeal for the preſent Relief of *Europe*, that none of them would treat with us, or enter into any Concert or Negociation with our Sovereign.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, if the Caſe were ſuch as I have juſt mentioned: If from thence I thought myſelf bound in Duty and Affection to the beſt of Parents, as well as out of regard to myſelf, to promote an Inquiry, in order to vindicate a Character in which I glory, and from which I hope to reap Honour as long as I live, I ſhould at the preſent Criſis, and till I ſaw my Country out of Danger, ſuſpend

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

my aiming at that Satisfaction. An Inquiry into any Minister's Conduct always has, and always will increaſe the Violence of thoſe Animoſities, which muſt reign amongſt us as long as we are a free People; for let a Miniſter be never ſo innocent, let the Inquiry be never ſo ſtrict and impartial, let his Juſtification be as clear as the Sun, there will remain ſome cloudy Minds where no Truth can penetrate, and the Animoſity of ſuch will receive freſh Vigour from their Diſappointment. On the other Hand, let a Miniſter be never ſo guilty, let his Sentence be never ſo moderate, there will be ſome, perhaps many, whoſe Friendſhip will obſtruct the Rays of Truth: They will think he has met with Injuſtice, and their Revenge will add Violence to their Animoſity. Is this a proper Time to create ſuch a Diſpute or Diviſion? Our Enemies Abroad would certainly offer Aſſiſtance to the offended Party at Home, and their Diſappointment or Revenge might ſmother thoſe Yearnings which would otherwiſe ariſe in Favour of the Peace and Safety of their Country.

'Thus, Sir, as I think we have at preſent no Cauſe, and as, I think, this would be a very improper Time for ſetting up any Inquiry into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs: As theſe were the two chief Arguments that prevailed with me to be againſt the laſt Motion for an Inquiry; and as both theſe militate as ſtrongly againſt the Inquiry now propoſed, I muſt give my Negative to the Noble Lord's Motion.'

Mr Digby.

This was anſwer'd by the Hon. *Edward Digby*, as follows:

Sir,

'I believe, Sir, every Man preſent in this Houſe, will readily excuſe the young Gentleman who firſt oppoſed this Motion, for giving his Negative to the Queſtion. I believe no one expects his Approbation of ſuch a Queſtion; becauſe, I am convinced, he thinks the noble Lord, whoſe Conduct is now propoſed to be inquired into, was never guilty of any Crime, nor ſuſpected to be ſo by any Gentleman of Fortune and Character in this Kingdom. He may, perhaps, have now and then heard a Huzza upon an unlucky Occaſion among the Mob in the Streets; but ſurely no Gentleman would be ſo unpolite, except in this Place, where we are in Honour obliged to ſpeak our Minds freely, as to inſinuate to the Son the leaſt Suſpicion, that his Father had plunder'd his Country, miſapplied the publick Money, and form'd a Scheme for overturning the happy Conſtitution. I ſhould not have been ſo perſonal, Sir, if I had not thought it abſolutely neceſſary to ſay what was proper for preventing the Hon. Gentleman's ſtrong Aſſertions from having any Weight

in

in this Houſe. He may believe what he aſſerts to be true: I am perſuaded he does; but he cannot be ſuppoſed to know the Fact, therefore his Aſſertion can have no Authority; and, I believe there are many Gentlemen in this Houſe, who are in the ſame Circumſtances with him. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'But, Sir, I would have that Gentleman, and every other Gentleman, to take Care what they ſay, when they inſinuate, that no Gentleman of Senſe and Fortune, unleſs he be a *Jacobite* or Republican, has the leaſt Suſpicion of the noble Lord's Conduct now under our Conſideration. Have not they, upon former Occaſions, heard many Gentlemen in this Houſe, not only declare their having Suſpicions, but give, what I thought, inconteſtable Reaſons for ſhewing, that thoſe Suſpicions are well grounded? I believe, none of thoſe Gentlemen will be directly charged with being a Man of no Fortune or Character, or with being a *Jacobite* or Republican; and they have, upon all Occaſions, ſhewn themſelves to be Men of as good Senſe as thoſe who aſſert the contrary. It would be unlucky for his Majeſty, and his Family, as well as for our preſent happy Conſtitution, if all were *Jacobites* or Republicans that ſuſpect our late Miniſter's Conduct: His Majeſty would find many of them, perhaps a Majority, both in his Army, and among his Servants, who, tho' they diſſemble their Sentiments at preſent, would certainly declare themſelves openly, and take Meaſures accordingly, upon the firſt favourable Opportunity. Thoſe who have a true Regard for the Security of his Majeſty's Government, will be extremely cautious of propagating ſuch Accuſations. It was the Cuſtom of King *Charles* the Firſt's Court, in the Beginning of his Reign, to tax all thoſe who oppoſed their arbitrary Meaſures with being *Puritans*: What was the Conſequence? Moſt of thoſe Men actually became ſo, and thereby made the *Puritans* ſuch a powerful Party in the Kingdom, as at laſt pulled down that unfortunate King from the Throne he ſate on, and, *de fond en comble*, overturned the Conſtitution of our Government.

'As there are certainly great Complaints without Doors, of Miſapplication and Corruption: As this Fact is proved by the Teſtimony of many Gentlemen in the Houſe, who have no Places, Penſions, or Preferments to beſtow, and, conſequently, are better Judges than thoſe that have; if I were a Placeman and a Friend to our late Miniſter, as all, I think, of his Friends are, tho', from the Complaiſance, or, perhaps, Diſſimulation of thoſe I converſed with, I had never heard of there being any ſuch Complaints without Doors, yet from the Teſtimony of ſo many Gentlemen who are the beſt Judges of the People's Sentiments, I ſhould certainly

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

fairly believe the Fact, and as a Friend to the Minister, or to my Country, should join in this Motion, in order to vindicate my Friend if innocent, or expose him to the Justice of the Nation if guilty.

'That all the Titles, Honours, Pensions, Places and other Favours of the Crown, have for twenty Years past been disposed of to none but such as voted in Parliament, or at Elections, according to the Direction of the Minister: That within these ten Years several Persons of high Rank and great Merit have been dismissed from all the Offices they held at the Pleasure of the Crown, for no other known or assignable Reason, but because they opposed the Minister in Parliament: That Officers in the Army and Navy who got themselves Seats in this House, and voted as they were bid, have gain'd Preferments out of their Rank, to the Disappointment of Officers of longer Service and greater Merit in their military Capacity: These Things are known to all Men, both within Doors and without; and are of themselves a strong Presumption, if not a certain Proof, that our Minister had a formed Design to overthrow our Constitution, by establishing a corrupt Influence in Parliament.

'To tell us, that the King disposes of his Favours himself, often without the Advice of the Minister, whose Department they properly belong to, can be of no Weight in this House. By our Constitution the King can do no wrong; but every Minister is answerable to Parliament, if the King by his Advice, does any Thing that is wrong.' As soon as he discovers such illegal Practices, he ought to advise the King against it, and if he finds his Master will not take his Advice, he ought directly to throw up his Imployment, and impeach the Minister who has given such wicked Advice to his Sovereign.

'Sir, it is a new Doctrine in this Nation, and absolutely inconsistent with our Constitution, to tell us, that his Majesty may, and ought, in the Disposal of Offices or Favours, to consider Gentlemens Behaviour in this House. Let his Majesty be never so well convinced of the Wisdom, and Uprightness of his Measures, he ought not to take the least Notice of what is said or done by any particular Man in this House. He is a Traitor to our Constitution that advises his Majesty to do so; and I am sorry the Expression fell from the Hon. Gentleman, because it will be supposed that he is conscious, or has heard of something of this Nature being done. If Reports are carried to his Majesty, with Regard to the Behaviour of any particular Gentleman in this House, or at an Election, he ought to do with them as it is said King *William* did with the Papers of a Plot he had

had diſcovered. By peruſing one of them, he found Reaſon to ſuſpect ſome of his Courtiers had been concerned: Whereupon he threw them all into the Flames, that they might not furniſh him with Suſpicions againſt thoſe he took to be his Friends. The ſame Monarch ſhewed another Inſtance of his Generoſity, and of his Regard for our Conſtitution: A Poſt in the Army having fallen vacant, the Gentleman who had the next Right to it, happened to be a Member of this Houſe, and one that had oppoſed the Court, which few Officers do now a-days: The Miniſters, as uſual, were againſt his Preferment, becauſe he had oppoſed the King's Meaſures in Parliament; but the King told them, the Gentleman had always behaved well as an Officer, and he had nothing to do with his Behaviour in Parliament; ſo gave him the Commiſſion he had by his Rank a Right to. This was acting like the King of a free People, and it might be expected from him, becauſe he was brought up in a Country where the People had ſome Rights and Privileges to pretend to. Every Sovereign of theſe Kingdoms ought to act in the ſame Manner, he muſt act ſo as long as we have an independent Parliament, otherwiſe he will get no Miniſters to ſerve him, if they have a Regard to their own Safety; for tho' by our Conſtitution our King can do no wrong, and therefore we cannot call him to an Account, yet every Miniſter is anſwerable for the King's Behaviour as well as his own, in the Buſineſs belonging to his particular Department, and, conſequently, is for his own Safety obliged to throw up, if the King does any Thing by himſelf, and without or againſt his Advice, which ſeems to be inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

'Suppoſe, Sir, a Miniſter thinks the Meaſures right, and for the Benefit of the Nation: Suppoſe they really are ſo; yet he may be guilty of corrupt Practices in procuring the Approbation of Parliament. If he threatens a Member with the Loſs of his Place, or with a Denial in any reaſonable Suit he is to make to the Crown, as a Conſequence of his oppoſing that Meaſure, or what are called the King's Meaſures in Parliament: If by his Conduct he ſhews, that this will be the Conſequence of oppoſing any Court Candidate at Elections, or any Court Meaſure in Parliament, he is guilty of corrupt Practices; and therefore this Crime is not ſo much a Crime of the Mind as the Hon. Gentleman imagines; for I do not know of our having ever admitted in this Kingdom the Jeſuitical Maxim, That the End juſtifies the Means. But ſuppoſe this Crime to be merely a Crime of the Mind, do not our Common Law Courts often try and puniſh ſuch Crimes? Murder is a malicious killing: Malice is a Crime that

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

that conſiſts in the Mind only; becauſe killing may in itſelf be an innocent, even a meritorious Action, as in the Caſe of Self-defence, or killing a Highwayman or Pyrate; yet our Common-Law Courts often try, convict, and puniſh Men for Murder; and cannot the High Court of Parliament do what is every Day done by a common Judge and Jury?

'Sir, if the young Gentleman had been long in Parliament, he would not have laid ſo much Streſs upon Parliamentary Appropriations, or Accounts deliver'd into Parliament, as he ſeems to do. Every one who knows how ſuperficially our Eſtimates and Accounts have been look'd into by Parliament for many Years paſt, muſt know, that they can be no Reſtraint, or but a very ſlender one, upon a Miniſter's Conduct. A future Service may be over-rated in the Eſtimate, a paſt Service may be over-charged in the Account, without its being taken the leaſt Notice of by Parliament; and therefore a Miniſter may purloin conſiderable Sums from what is appropriated to, and ſuppoſed to have been faithfully laid out in the publick Service, and apply them towards his own Uſe, or, what is worſe, towards corrupting the Voters at Elections or in Parliament. The *Heſſian* * Troops furniſhed us with an Example of the Poſſibility of this Practice: A certain Sum was every Year appropriated by Parliament for that Purpoſe, and Accounts deliver'd in as if it had been annually applied wholly to that Purpoſe: but, by Accident, it afterwards appeared, that a Part of that Money had been applied to another Uſe, I mean the Deficiency of the *French* Subſidy to *Denmark*, which they had engaged to pay in Conſequence of the Treaty of *Hanover*, and which we were ſo generous as to make good, tho' they were certainly more concern'd in Intereſt in the Conſequences of that Treaty than *Great Britain* was, whatever the Electorate of *Hanover* might be.

'This ſhews, that the publick Money may be applied to other Uſes than thoſe to which it is appropriated, when the Miniſter has a Majority of this Houſe at his Beck; for tho' this Diſcovery was made by Accident, it did not occaſion ſo much as a Motion for an Inquiry into the Diſpoſal of the publick Treaſure, nor would any ſuch Motion have now been made, I believe, if the Miniſter's Majority had been as certain in this Parliament as it was in the two laſt; becauſe Gentlemen have been quite tired out with making Motions for the Benefit of their Country, againſt a determined Majority in Parliament. This, Sir, likewiſe ſhews, that the Multitude of Commiſſioners and Officers in the Treaſury, not-

* See the Debate relating to the maintaining them in Britiſh Pay, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Anno 1729, 30, and 31.

notwithſtanding there being too great a Number of both, can no Way endanger the Diſcovery of any ſuch Miſapplication, eſpecially when the firſt Commiſſioner there has the Direction of the Secretary's Office, and every other Office in the Kingdom. The other Commiſſioners, and the Officers, either do not really know how the Money iſſued by them is applied, or elſe they will never make a Diſcovery, as long as they know that their firſt Commiſſioner continues to be the chief Favourite of the Crown. This has been the Touch-ſtone of ſuch Diſcoveries for many Years paſt, and always will be ſo, till we have a Parliament, independent and reſolute enough, to pull a ſuſpected Miniſter even from behind the Throne itſelf. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'Then, Sir, with regard to the Civil Liſt Revenue, conſidering how much of it may be drawn out by his Majeſty's Warrant, and that the Auditors are obliged to admit of ſuch Warrants as ſufficient Vouchers, I am ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid, that a great Part of it may not be applied towards overturning our Conſtitution by corrupt Practices, inſtead of being applied, as it ought, towards ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown. Conſidering the many Pretences of legal Secret-Sevice Money that may be made by Miniſters, the moſt circumſpect Sovereign may be impoſed on; and therefore in Parliament it is no Derogation to the Character of the King to treat his Warrants to the Treaſury as we treat his Speeches to the Parliament. Tho' the Auditors of the Exchequer are obliged, as they ought to be, to admit his Majeſty's Warrants as ſufficient Vouchers; yet in this Houſe we ought to look upon them as the Warrants of his Miniſters, and conſequently, ought to admit of them no farther than they appear reaſonable. But what is of much greater Force in the preſent Queſtion, and I am glad the Hon. Gentleman furniſhed me with an Opportunity to mention it, is this, it is generally reported without Doors, that his Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenue is greatly in Debt, that many of his Servants and Tradeſmen, who ought to be paid quarterly at leaſt, are above a Twelvemonth in Arrear: I have no legal Authority for ſaying ſo, and every one may gueſs at the Reaſon why I have not; but I can affirm, and, I believe, moſt Gentlemen in this Houſe know, that there is ſuch a Report: As this concerns the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, this Report alone obliges us to inquire into it, if we have a Mind to act up to our Character as the Grand Inqueſt of the Nation. Even a common Inqueſt does not wait till Informers come to them: If they have the leaſt Intelligence of any Nuſance or publick Crime, they ſend for ſuch Perſons as they think can give Information: they examine them in the

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

moſt ſolemn Manner, and if from thence the Intelligence they had, appears true or probable, they make a Preſentment, in order for a Proſecution. This Inquiry, even when it goes the length of a Preſentment, is no Proſecution: The Perſons accuſed have ſtill an Opportunity to juſtify themſelves; and ſo they would have in Caſe of a Parliamentary Inquiry, and even a Report againſt them, which ſhould make all Gentlemen the more ready to enter into ſuch Inquiry; becauſe frequent Inquiries of this Kind, would take away all Hopes of Concealment, and no Man could ſuffer without having an Opportunity to juſtify himſelf, if innocent.

'I hope it will now appear, that from the general Report without Doors, and from the Probability as well as Poſſibility of the Fact, we have great Reaſon to ſuſpect, that the Miniſter, whoſe Conduct is now propoſed to be inquired into, has, for ſeveral Years, been carrying on a Deſign to overturn our happy Conſtitution, by illegally applying all the Favours of the Crown, and ſome Part of the publick Money, towards gaining a corrupt Influence in Parliament and at Elections. If this does not furniſh us with a ſufficient Cauſe for ſetting up a Parliamentary Inquiry into his Conduct, nothing ever did, nothing ever can; and as to the preſent Time's being proper for that Purpoſe, I am ſurpriſed to hear our preſent foreign Danger pleaded as a Pretence for delaying that Inquiry, when it is really the ſtrongeſt Reaſon for entering upon it directly. Without ſuch an Inquiry our Government can recover no Confidence with our People at Home, nor conſequently among our antient Allies Abroad; the Recovery of which is abſolutely neceſſary for enabling us to form ſuch a Confederacy as may obviate our foreign Danger. But, ſay Gentlemen, if you enter into ſuch an Inquiry, you'll have no Time to conſider, and take proper Meaſures with regard to Foreign Affairs. Sir, in this Houſe, we have nothing to do with the Direction of foreign Affairs, except when we have ſuch Miniſters as have, by their former Conduct, ſhewn they ought not to be truſted, which cannot be the Caſe of our new Miniſters: On the other hand, thoſe to whom his Majeſty intruſts the Direction of our foreign Affairs, have nothing or very little to do with the Inquiries of this Houſe, unleſs they are reſolved to ſcreen the Guilty, which, I am ſure, none of them will pretend to, or at leaſt openly avow; therefore, theſe two Affairs can neither interfere nor interrupt one another; and, I believe, the Supplies neceſſary for carrying into Execution the foreign Meaſures his Majeſty may reſolve on, will be more readily agreed to in this Houſe, and more chearfully advanced

ced by the People, if it be found, that we are in earneſt, and reſolved to go through with an Inquiry: Whereas, the granting of them will otherwiſe meet with great Obſtructions in this Houſe, and the raiſing of them with great Grumblings among the People; ſo that if we have a Mind to ſave Time with regard to our foreign Affairs, we ought to enter into the Inquiry now propoſed, becauſe, in every other Reſpect, it will make the publick Buſineſs go on without Interruption, either within Doors or without. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'Thus, Sir, every Argument that has been advanced againſt the Motion now before you, appears, upon due Conſideration, to be an Argument in its Favour. This is my Opinion: I hope, I have ſhewn ſufficient Ground for it, and therefore, I ſhall moſt heartily concur with the noble Lord in his Motion.'

Mr *Cooke* ſpoke as follows: Mr Cooke.

Sir,

'As I never had any Share in the Conduct of our publick Affairs, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that I have any Reaſon, upon my own Account, for oppoſing an Inquiry; and as I have but lately come into the World, and cannot pretend to be much acquainted with the Nature of State Affairs, it is with great Diffidence I offer to give my Opinion in a Queſtion of ſuch Importance; eſpecially when I ſee ſo many Gentlemen, whoſe Judgment and Candour I am ſo well convinced of, declare againſt the Opinion I am to give. If I thought there was at preſent any juſt Cauſe for an Inquiry of any Kind, and that the preſent is a proper Time for it, I am ſure no Gentleman could more heartily concur in this Motion than I ſhould; but after all that has been ſaid in this, and former Debates upon the ſame Subject, I muſt freely declare, that, in my Opinion, we have no juſt Cauſe for an Inquiry of any Kind; and, I think, an Inquiry at this critical Time could be attended with no Benefit, and might be the Cauſe of inevitable Ruin to our Country.

'The Suſpicions, Murmurs, or Complaints without Doors, and the Sort of People among whom they prevail, are general Facts which can admit of no Evidence. We might as well pretend to prove, that the Majority of the People are of a brown or a fair Complexion. Such Facts muſt depend upon every particular Gentleman's own Judgment and Knowledge, and can never be urged with any Weight by one Gentleman for convincing another; therefore I cannot think, that thoſe of the People without Doors, can ever properly be made uſe of in this Houſe as an Argument for an Inquiry. We ought upon all Occaſions to enter into the Reaſon of

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Things: If the Conduct of our publick Affairs has been wrong, no Matter whether it is complained of or no, we ought to inquire into it even tho' it had been, and was ſtill approved of by the Generality of People without Doors. The Meaſures of the laſt Adminiſtration of Queen *Anne* were very generally approved of by the People, at leaſt by thoſe we commonly call the Mob: They continued to be ſo even after his late Majeſty's Acceſſion; yet, nevertheleſs, the Parliament not only inquired into thoſe Meaſures, but impeached or attainted moſt of the Chief Miniſters. On the other hand, if we think the Meaſures have been right in the main, we ought not to trouble ourſelves, or diſturb the Nation, with an Inquiry, notwithſtanding any Clamours that may have been raiſed againſt them; and therefore, when an Inquiry is moved for, we ought never to conſider what is ſaid or ſuſpected without Doors, but what appears to us within.

'Gentlemen tell us, they ſuſpect, that for ſeveral Years paſt all the Favours of the Crown, and large Sums of publick Money, have been applied, towards gaining a corrupt Influence in Parliament and at Elections; but they have offered no Proof nor any one Fact as a Foundation for this Suſpicion, except that of his Majeſty's diſplacing two or three Officers in his Army; and even in this Caſe, they do not poſitively aſſert, that thoſe Officers were diſplaced for oppoſing the King's Meaſures in Parliament, or that this was ever given as a Reaſon either by the King or by any of his Miniſters. Sir, would you take from the Crown the Power of preferring or caſhiering Officers in the Army? If you do, I am ſure, you will ſoon have neither Obedience nor Diſcipline in your Army. Nay, ſome General Officer of great Credit in the Army might very probably, in a ſhort Time, ſet up a military Government. I cannot therefore think, that Gentlemen deſign to take from the Crown the abſolute Power of preferring or caſhiering the Officers of our Army; and yet this would be the certain Conſequence of making ſuch a Fact as this the Foundation of a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of any Miniſter.

'I muſt therefore think, that, whatever Gentlemen may in this Caſe ſuſpect, their Suſpicion is without Foundation: and with regard to the Diſpoſal of publick Money, it is ſtill more groundleſs; for here they have not mention'd ſo much as one Fact, no, nor the leaſt particular Circumſtance, whereon ſuch a Suſpicion as they pretend to have, can be founded; and from the Nature of Things it is, in my Opinion, evident, that no ſuch Thing can be practiſed. The Law paſſed but a few Years ago, for preventing Bribery and Corruption

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on * at Elections, has rendered this Practice abſolutely impoſſible, or at leaſt ſo dangerous, that no Miniſter in his Senſes will attempt it. By that Law, every Elector, at every Election, is to ſwear, that he has not received by himſelf or by any Perſon in Truſt for him, directly or indirectly, any Sum or Sums of Money, Office, Place, or Imployment, Gift or Reward, or any Promiſe or Security for any ſuch, in order to give his Vote at that Election; and if he ſwears falſely, he thereby incurrs the Pains and Penalties inflicted by Law in Caſes of wilful and corrupt Perjury. By another Clauſe in the ſame Act, every Elector who ſhall receive or take any Money or other Reward, by Way of Gift, Loan, or other Device, or agree or contract for any Money, Gift, Office, Imployment, or other Reward whatſoever, to give his Vote, or to forbear giving his Vote at any Election; or if any Perſon by himſelf, or any Perſon employed by him, ſhall by any Gift or Reward, or by any Promiſe, Agreement or Security for any Gift or Reward, corrupt, or procure any Perſon to give his Vote, or to forbear to give his Vote at any Election; the Offender, that is to ſay, the Corruptor as well as the Corrupted, ſhall for every Offence forfeit 500 *l.* beſides being for ever after diſabled to hold any Office or Franchiſe. And by a third Clauſe, any Offender againſt that Act, who ſhall, within twelve Months, diſcover and convict any other Offender, is himſelf indemnified and diſcharged from all Penalties and Diſabilities incurred by his Offence againſt that Act.

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'This, Sir, is the Subſtance of that Act: I have not troubled you with having it read, becauſe of its having been ſo lately paſſed; but as Gentlemen ſeem, in theſe our Days, to be full of Suſpicions, if any one ſuſpects that I have not recited faithfully, he may have the Act itſelf read at your Table; and from this Act I muſt deſire Gentlemen to conſider, what a Condition a Miniſter would be in, that ſhould attempt to convert the publick Money, or even the Offices or Imployments in the Diſpoſal of the Crown, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at moſt of our Elections. He muſt for this Purpoſe imploy a great Number of Agents, and Under Agents and all of them muſt be Perſons of low Rank and mean Condition; for conſidering the Penalties, no Man of Character or Fortune would be employed. Thus he muſt perpetually lie at the Mercy of Scoundrels, who might obtain an Indemnity for themſelves, and very probably a high Reward, by informing againſt him. Is this a Condition any Miniſter of common Senſe would chuſe to be in? Would it be poſſible for him to carry on ſuch a Practice for any Number of Years, with-

* See the Debate on this Bill, which was paſſed by a Majority of two Voices only, in Chandler's Hiſtory Anno 1729, P. 49.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. without ſo much as one Information againſt him or any of his Agents?

'Now, Sir, if the Suſpicions, upon which, and upon which alone, this Motion is founded, are themſelves without any Foundation, muſt we not agree, that the Motion itſelf has no real Foundation? and, conſequently, that we have no juſt Cauſe for any ſuch Inquiry as is now propoſed? For as to the Civil Liſt's being under Suſpicion of Debt, we have no Call to inquire into that Affair till an Application be made to us for ſupplying the Deficiency. Contingencies may run the Civil Liſt Revenue behind hand, but if his Majeſty is ſo good as to reſolve to make up the Deficiency by a future Saving, I muſt think, we have nothing to do with it; and if we ſhould inquire into it, I think, his Majeſty would be in the right to inſiſt upon our making the Deficiency good, in order to make us pay for our Officiouſneſs.

'But ſuppoſe we had good Reaſon to ſuſpect Miſconduct or Miſdemeanors in the late Management of our publick Affairs, the preſent would be a very improper Time to inquire into them, becauſe it is impoſſible to inquire into the Conduct of any Miniſter of State, without diſcovering Secrets which our Enemies might make great Uſe of againſt us. Even the noble Lord whoſe Conduct is now propoſed to be inquired into, as one of his Majeſty's Privy Council, muſt have had ſome hand at leaſt in adviſing moſt, if not all our foreign Meaſures, ſo that ſuch a general Inquiry into his Conduct, as is now propoſed, would lead us of courſe into an Inquiry into all our late publick Meaſures both foreign and domeſtick. And moreover, by the very Nature of the Office he was in, he muſt have had the Iſſuing of all Sums applied to ſecret Service, conſequently an Inquiry into his Conduct would neceſſarily lead us into an Inquiry what Sums were iſſued for that Purpoſe, when they were iſſued, and how they were applied; which would certainly diſcover many of the Secrets of our Government, and ſuch as it might be of great Importance to our Enemies to know. For this Reaſon, Sir, I muſt be againſt a general Inquiry into the Conduct of this or any other Miniſter of State, at a Time when we are engaged in one dangerous War, and upon the Verge, perhaps, of engaging in another.

'To theſe Reaſons I muſt add, Sir, that, whatever other Gentlemen may think of the Time propoſed by this Motion to be inquired into, I muſt think, it would be very hard to bring a Miniſter to a general Account for ſo many Years paſt, eſpecially conſidering the many large Sums that muſt have paſſed through his Hands in that Time. As Eſtimates and Accounts of all publick Monies were regularly delivered in-

to Parliament, and thoſe Eſtimates and Accounts as regularly approved of by Parliament, he had Reaſon to look upon that Approbation as an annual Diſcharge; and that therefore he had no Occaſion to be very exact and careful in preſerving the Vouchers, or in making Memorandums of the Uſes to which thoſe large Sums were reſpectively applied; conſequently we muſt ſuppoſe, that many of the Vouchers are now loſt, and that he has forgot many publick Tranſactions which required a large Expence. For this Reaſon, I muſt join with an Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke againſt the laſt Motion of this Nature we had before us, in thinking, that it would be as unjuſt to call this Miniſter to a general Account for ten Years back, as it would be to make a Steward come to a new Account, notwithſtanding his having ſettled his Accounts yearly, and delivered up his Vouchers. This, I think, would in private Life be both unjuſt and oppreſſive, and as I think it would be equally ſo with regard to a Miniſter, therefore I cannot agree to the Motion. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Mr *William Pitt*, ſpoke next. Mr William Pitt.

Sir,

' As the Hon. Gentleman, who ſpoke lately againſt this Motion, has not been long in this Houſe, one ought in Charity to believe, there is ſome Sincerity in the Profeſſions he makes, of his being ready to agree to a Parliamentary Inquiry, when he ſees Cauſe and a convenient Time for it; but if he knew how often thoſe Profeſſions have been made by thoſe who, upon all Occaſions, have oppoſed every Kind of Inquiry, he would ſave himſelf the Trouble of making any ſuch, becauſe they are believed to be ſincere by very few, within Doors or without. He may, 'tis true, have no Occaſion, upon his own Account, to be afraid of an Inquiry of any Sort; but when a Gentleman has contracted a Friendſhip, or any of his near Relations have contracted a Friendſhip for one who may be brought into Danger by an Inquiry, it is very natural to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a Gentleman's Oppoſition to an Inquiry does not proceed entirely from Motives of a publick Nature; and if that Gentleman follows the Advice of ſome of his Friends, I very much queſtion, if he will ever ſee Cauſe, or a convenient Time, for an Inquiry into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs. As a Parliamentary Inquiry muſt always be founded upon Suſpicions, and not upon known Facts, or manifeſt Crimes, it will always be eaſy to find Reaſons or Pretences for averring thoſe Suſpicions to be groundleſs; and upon the Principle that a Parliamentary Inquiry muſt neceſſarily lay open the Secrets of our Government, no Time can ever be proper or convenient

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

convenient for ſuch an Inquiry; becauſe it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe a Time when our Government can have no Secrets of Importance to the Nation.

'This, Sir, would be a moſt convenient Doctrine for Miniſters, becauſe it would put an End to all Parliamentary Inquiries into the Conduct of our publick Affairs; and therefore, when I hear it urged, and ſo much inſiſted on by a certain Set of Gentlemen in this Houſe, I muſt ſuppoſe their Hopes to be very extenſive: I muſt ſuppoſe them to expect, that they and their Poſterity will for ever continue to be Miniſters, which, if poſſible, would be more fatal to it than their having ſo long continued to be ſo. But this Doctrine has been ſo often contradicted by Experience, that I am ſurpriſed to hear Gentlemen inſiſt upon it. Even this very Seſſion has afforded us a convincing Proof, how little Foundation there is for ſaying, that a Parliamentary Inquiry muſt neceſſarily diſcover the Secrets of our Government. Surely, in a War with *Spain*, which muſt be carried on chiefly by Sea, if our Government have any Secrets, the Lords of the Admiralty muſt be intruſted with the moſt important of them; yet we have in this very Seſſion, and without any Secret Committee too, made an Inquiry into the Conduct of the Lords Commiſſioners of our Admiralty: We have not only inquired into their Conduct, but we have cenſured it in ſuch a Manner, as has put an End to the ſame * Commiſſioners being any longer intruſted with the Direction of that Branch of the publick Buſineſs. Has that Inquiry diſcovered any of the Secrets of our Government? On the contrary, the Committee found they had no Occaſion to dive into any of the Secrets of our Government: They found Cauſe enough for Cenſure without it; and none of the Commiſſioners pretended to juſtify their Conduct by Papers, containing Secrets which ought not to be diſcovered.

'This, Sir, is ſo late and ſo ſtrong a Proof of there being no neceſſary Connection between a Parliamentary Inquiry and a Diſcovery of Secrets, which it behoves the Nation to conceal, that, I hope, Gentlemen will no longer inſiſt upon this Danger as an Argument againſt the Inquiry now propoſed, which, of all others, is the leaſt liable to this Objection. The Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury has nothing to do with the Application of Secret-Service Money: He is only to take Care, that it be regularly iſſued from his Office, and that no more ſhall be iſſued upon that Head, than according

* The Reſolutions of the Houſe, on the 4th of March, [p. 138] in Purſuance of the Complaints of the Merchants, it was generally thought gave Occaſion to the paſſing a new Commiſſion for the Admiralty.

according to the then Conjuncture of Affairs may ſeem to be neceſſary; as to the particular Application, it properly belongs to the Secretaries of State, or ſuch other Perſons as his Majeſty ſhall employ; ſo that we cannot ſuppoſe, the Inquiry propoſed will diſcover any Secrets relating to the Application of that Money, unleſs the Noble Lord has acted as Secretary of State, as well as Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, or unleſs a great Part of the Money, drawn out for Secret Services, has been delivered to himſelf, or to Perſons employed by him, and applied by him or them towards gaining a corrupt Influence in Parliament, and at Elections. Both theſe, indeed, he is moſt grievouſly ſuſpected of, and both are Secrets which it very much behoves him to have concealed, but it equally behoves the Nation to have them both revealed. His Country and he are, I ſhall grant, in this Cauſe, equally, tho' oppoſitely, concern'd; for the Safety or Ruin of one or t'other depends upon the Fate of the Queſtion; and, in my Opinion, the violent Oppoſition made to this Motion, adds great Strength to the Suſpicion. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'I ſhall admit, Sir, that the Noble Lord, whoſe Conduct is now propoſed to be inquired into, was one of his Majeſty's moſt Hon. Privy Council, and that conſequently he muſt have had a Share at leaſt in adviſing all the Meaſures we have purſued, both Abroad and at Home; but I cannot admit, that therefore, an Inquiry into his Conduct muſt neceſſarily occaſion a Diſcovery of any Secrets that may be of dangerous Conſequence to the Nation; becauſe we are not to inquire into the Meaſures themſelves, or into the Wiſdom or Uprightneſs of them, and conſequently, can have no Call to look into any of the Government's Secrets relating to them. This has nothing to do with an Inquiry into his Conduct; but there are ſeveral Suſpicions ſpread Abroad relating to his Conduct as a Privy Councellor, which, if true, would be of the laſt Importance to the Nation to have diſcovered. It has been ſtrongly aſſerted, that he was not only a Privy Councellor, but had uſurped the whole and ſole Direction of his Majeſty's Privy Council: It has been aſſerted that he gave the *Spaniſh* Court the firſt Hint of the unjuſt Claim they afterwards ſet up againſt our *South-Sea* Company, which was one of the chief Cauſes of the War between the two Nations: And it has been aſſerted, that this very Miniſter has given Advice to the *French*, what Meaſures to take upon ſeveral Occaſions, in order to bring our Court into their Meaſures; particularly, that he adviſed them to ſend the numerous Army they have this laſt Summer ſent into *Weſtphalia*. What Truth there is in theſe Aſſertions, I ſhall not pretend to anſwer: The Facts are of ſuch a Nature,

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and they muſt have been perpetrated with ſo much Caution and Secrecy, that it will be difficult to bring them to Light, even by a Parliamentary Inquiry; but the very Suſpicion is Ground enough for ſetting up ſuch an Inquiry, and for carrying it on with the utmoſt Strictneſs and Vigour; which leads me to conſider the Cauſe we now have for an Inquiry.

'Upon this Subject, Sir, I muſt ſay, I am a good deal ſurpriſed to hear the Repreſentatives of the People make ſo light of the Sentiments or Suſpicions of the People. That there are Suſpicions and Complaints among the People, and among the Generality of the beſt Sort of People, is, 'tis true, a Fact we cannot eaſily prove againſt one that denies it; no more than we could do, that the Generality of our People are of a fair or a brown Complexion; but if I ſhould ſay that the Majority of our People are Whites, I could not prove what I aſſerted, and yet I ſhould look upon him as a very whimſical, or a very diſingenuous Gentleman, that would deny it, and aſſert that the Majority of our People were Blackamores. Such Facts it is impoſſible to prove any other Way but by the Opinion of thoſe who are the beſt Judges; and ſurely a Country-Gentleman, who lives moſt Part of his Time among the People, and has no Court Favours to beſtow, as a Temptation for thoſe he converſes with to diſguiſe their Sentiments, is a better Judge than one who ſeldom ſtirs out of the Purlieus of a Court, and converſes with none but ſuch as expect Places or Preferments by his Favour. Therefore, if we judge of this Fact according to the only Evidence that can be had, that is, according to the Opinion of thoſe who are the beſt Judges, we muſt conclude, that the Suſpicions and Complaints of the People were never more general than they are againſt the late Conduct of our publick Affairs; and this, by me, ſhall always be deemed a ſufficient Cauſe for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

'Whatever my Opinion of paſt Meaſures may be, I ſhall never be ſo vain, or ſo bigotted to my own Opinion, as without any Inquiry to determine againſt the Majority of my Countrymen. If I found the publick Meaſures generally condemned, let my private Opinion of them be never ſo favourable, I ſhould be for an Inquiry, in order to convince the People of their Error, or at leaſt to furniſh myſelf with the moſt authentick Arguments for the Opinion I have embrac'd. The Deſire of bringing other People into our Sentiments is ſo natural to Mankind, that I ſhall always ſuſpect the Candour of thoſe who, in Politicks or Religion, are againſt a free Inquiry. Beſides, Sir, when the Complaints of the People are general againſt an Adminiſtration, or againſt any particular Miniſter, an Inquiry is a Duty

we

we owe to our Sovereign as well as the People. We meet here to communicate to our Sovereign the Sentiments of his People: We meet here to redreſs the Grievances of the People. By performing our Duty in theſe two Reſpects, we ſhall always be able to eſtabliſh the Throne of our Sovereign in the Hearts of his People, and to prevent the People's being led into Inſurrections or Rebellions by Miſrepreſentations or falſe Surmiſes. When the People complain, they muſt be in the right or in the wrong. If they are in the right, we are in Duty bound to inquire into the Conduct of the Miniſters, and puniſh thoſe who ſhall appear to have been the moſt guilty: If the People are in the wrong, we ought to inquire into the Conduct of our Miniſters, in order to be able to convince the People, that they have been miſled. We ought not therefore, in any Queſtion about an Inquiry, to be governed by our own Sentiments: We muſt be governed by the Sentiments of our Conſtituents, if we are reſolved to perform our Duty, either as true Repreſentatives of the People, or as faithful Meſſengers to our Sovereign. I will agree with the Hon. Gentleman, that if we are convinced, or ſuſpect the publick Meaſures to be wrong, we ought to inquire into them, even tho' they are not much complained of by the People without Doors; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that notwithſtanding the Adminiſtration, or a Miniſter's being complained of by the People in general without Doors, we ought not to inquire into his Conduct, unleſs we are ourſelves convinced that his Meaſures have been wrong. Without an Inquiry we can no more determine this Queſtion, than a Judge can declare a Man innocent of any Crime laid to his Charge without a previous Trial or Inquiſition. Common Fame is a ſufficient Ground for an Inquiſition at Common Law, and, for the ſame Reaſon, the general Voice of the People of *England*, ought always to be look'd on as a ſufficient Ground for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

'But, ſay Gentlemen, what is this Miniſter accuſed of? What Crime is laid to his Charge? For unleſs ſome Misfortune can be ſaid to have happened, or ſome Crime to have been committed, no Inquiry ought to be ſet on foot. Sir, the ill Poſture of our Affairs both abroad and at home: The melancholy Situation we are in: The Diſtreſs we are now reduced to, is of itſelf a ſufficient Cauſe for an Inquiry, even ſuppoſing he were accuſed of no particular Crime or Miſconduct. The Nation lies a bleeding, perhaps expiring: The Balance of Power has received a deadly Blow: Shall we acknowledge this to be the Caſe, and ſhall we not inquire whether it has happened by Miſchance, or by the

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Miſconduct, or perhaps the Malice prepenſe of our Miniſter here at home? Before the Treaty of *Utrecht*, it was the general Opinion, that in a few Years of Peace, we ſhould be able to pay off moſt of our Debts: We have now been very near thirty Years in profound Peace, at leaſt we have never been engaged in any War, but what we unneceſſarily brought upon ourſelves; and yet our Debts are near as great as they were when that Treaty was concluded. Is not this a Misfortune, and ſhall we make no Inquiry how this Misfortune has happened?

'I am ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid, that no Inquiry ought to be ſet on Foot, unleſs ſome publick Crime be known to have been committed. The Suſpicion of any ſuch Crime's having been actually committed, has always been deem'd a ſufficient Reaſon for ſetting up an Inquiry. Is there not a Suſpicion, that the publick Money has been applied towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections? Is it not become a common Expreſſion, to ſay, The Floodgates of the Treaſury are opened againſt a general Election? I ſhall deſire no more than that every Gentleman who is conſcious of this having been done, either for them or againſt them, would give his Vote in Favour of this Motion. Will any Gentleman ſay, this is not a Crime, when even private Corruption has ſuch high Penalties inflicted upon it by expreſs Statute? A Miniſter that commits this Crime, and makes uſe of the publick Money for that Purpoſe, adds Thieving and Breach of Truſt to the Crime of Corruption; and as the Crime, when committed by him, is of much more dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution than when committed by a private Man, it becomes more properly the Subject of a Parliamentary Inquiry, and ought to be more ſeverely puniſhed. The Hon. Gentleman may much more reaſonably tell us, that *Porteous* was never murder'd by the Mob at *Edinburgh*, becauſe no Diſcovery of his Murderers could ever yet be made, notwithſtanding the high Reward, as well as Pardon, offered, than to tell us, we cannot ſuppoſe that our Miniſter ever, by himſelf or his Agents, corrupted an Election, becauſe no Information has as yet been brought againſt him; for nothing but a Pardon upon convicting the Offender has ever yet been offered in this Caſe, and how could any Informer expect ſuch a Pardon, much leſs a Reward, when he knew, that the very Man againſt whom he was to inform, had not only the Diſtribution of all publick Rewards, but the packing of a Jury or Parliament againſt him? Sir, whilſt ſuch a Miniſter preſerves the Favour of the Crown, and thereby the Exerciſe of it's Power, we can never expect ſuch an Information: Even Malice itſelf

itſelf can never provoke ſuch an Information; becauſe, like all other Sorts of impotent Malice, it will rebound upon the Heart that conceived it.

'This ſhews the Inſignificancy of the Act mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman, with regard to that Sort of Corruption which is properly called Bribery; and with regard to the other Sort of Corruption, which conſiſts in giving or taking away thoſe Poſts, Penſions, or Preferments, which depend upon the arbitrary Will of the Crown, this Act is ſtill more inſignificant; becauſe it is not neceſſary, it would even be ridiculous in a Miniſter to tell any Man, that he gave or refuſed him a Poſt, Penſion, or Preferment, on account of his voting for or againſt any Miniſterial Meaſure in Parliament, or any Miniſterial Candidate at an Election. If he makes it his conſtant Rule never to give a Poſt, Penſion, or Preferment, but to thoſe who vote for his Meaſures and his Candidates, and makes a few Examples of diſmiſſing thoſe who vote otherwiſe, it will have the ſame Effect as when he declares it openly. Will any Gentleman ſay, that this has not been the Practice of the Miniſter whoſe Conduct is now propoſed to be inquired into? Has he not declared in the Face of this Houſe, that he will continue to make this his Practice? And will not this have the ſame Effect, as if he went ſeparately and diſtinctly to every particular Man, and told him in expreſs Terms, Sir, If you vote for ſuch a Meaſure, or ſuch a Candidate, you ſhall have the firſt Preferment in the Gift of the Crown; if you vote otherwiſe, you muſt not expect to keep what you have. Gentlemen may deny the Sun ſhines at Noon Day, but if they have any Eyes, and do not wilfully ſhut them, or turn their Back towards him, I am ſure no Man will believe they are ingenuous in what they ſay; and therefore, I muſt think, the Hon. Gentleman was in the right who endeavoured to juſtify this Practice: It was more candid than to deny it; but as his Arguments have already been fully anſwered, I ſhall add nothing upon that Subject.

'Gentlemen cry out, What! will you take from the Crown the Power of preferring or caſhiering the Officers of our Army? No, Sir, this is neither the Deſign, nor will it be the Effect of our agreeing to this Motion. The King has at preſent an abſolute Power of preferring or caſhiering the Officers of our Army. It is a Prerogative he may make uſe of for the Benefit or Safety of the Publick; but like other Prerogatives, it may be made a wrong Uſe of, and the Miniſter is anſwerable to Parliament when it is. When an Officer is preferred or caſhiered, upon the Motive of his voting for or againſt any Court Meaſure or Candidate, it is a wrong Uſe,

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Uſe of this Prerogative, for which the Miniſter is anſwerable. We may judge; we muſt judge from Circumſtances or outward Appearances: From theſe we may condemn; and, I hope, we have ſtill a Power to puniſh any Miniſter that ſhall dare adviſe the King to prefer or caſhier upon ſuch a Motive. Whether this Prerogative ought to remain as it is, without any Limitation, is a Queſtion that has nothing to do in this Debate; but I muſt obſerve, that the Argument made uſe of for it, might with equal Weight be made uſe of for giving our King an abſolute Power over every Man's Property; for a large Property will always give the Poſſeſſor a Command over a great Number of Men, whom he may arm and diſcipline if he pleaſes: I know of no Law for reſtraining it: I hope, there never will be any ſuch; and I wiſh, our Gentlemen of Eſtates would make more uſe of this Power than they do, becauſe it would contribute towards keeping our domeſtick as well as our foreign Enemies in Awe. For my Part, I think, a Gentleman who has earned his Commiſſion by his Services, (in his military Capacity, I mean) or bought it with his Money, has as much a Property in it, as any Man has in his Eſtate, and ought to have it as well ſecured by the Laws of his Country: Whilſt it remains at the abſolute Will of the Crown, he muſt be a Slave to the Miniſter, unleſs he has ſome other Eſtate to depend on; and if the Officers of our Army long continue in that State of Slavery in which they are at preſent, I am afraid, it will make Slaves of us all.

'The only Method we have for preventing this fatal Conſequence, as the Law now ſtands, is to make the beſt and moſt conſtant Uſe of the Power we have, as Members of this Houſe, to prevent any Miniſter's daring to adviſe the King to make a bad Uſe of this Prerogative; and as there is ſuch a ſtrong Suſpicion, that this Miniſter has done ſo, we ought certainly to inquire into it, not only for the ſake of Puniſhing him, if guilty, but as a Terror to all future Miniſters.

'This, Sir, may therefore be juſtly reckoned among the many other ſufficient Cauſes for the Inquiry propoſed: and the Suſpicion of the Civil Liſt's being greatly in Debt is another; for if it is, it muſt either have been miſapplied or profuſely thrown away, which it is our Duty both to prevent and puniſh. It is inconſiſtent with the Honour of this Nation to have our King ſtand indebted to his Servants or Tradeſmen, who may be ruined by a Delay of Payment: The Parliament has provided ſufficiently for preventing this Diſhonour's being brought upon the Nation; and if the Proviſion we have made ſhould be miſapplied or laviſhed, we muſt ſupply the Deficiency, we ought to do it, whether the King makes any

any Application for that Purpoſe or no; and the Reaſon is very plain, becauſe, as we ought firſt to inquire into the Management of that Revenue, and puniſh thoſe who have occaſioned the Deficiency, they will certainly chuſe to leave the Creditors of the Crown, and the Honour of the Nation, in a State of Suffering, rather than adviſe the King to make an Application which will bring their Conduct into Queſtion, and themſelves, probably, to condign Puniſhment. Beſide this, Sir, there is at preſent another Reaſon, ſtill ſtronger for promoting an Inquiry. As there is a great Suſpicion, that the publick Money has been applied towards corrupting Voters at Elections and in Parliament, if the Civil Liſt be in Debt, it gives Reaſon to preſume, that ſome Part of this Revenue has, under the Pretence of Secret Service Money, been applied to that wicked Purpoſe.

'I ſhall conclude, Sir, with a few Remarks upon the laſt Argument made Uſe of againſt the Inquiry propoſed. It has been ſaid, that the Miniſter delivered in his Accounts annually. That thoſe Accounts have been annually paſſed and approved of by Parliament; and that therefore it would be unjuſt to call him now to a general Account, becauſe the Vouchers may be now loſt, or many expenſive Tranſactions have ſlipt out of his Memory. 'Tis true, Sir, Eſtimates and Accounts have been annually delivered in: The Forms of Proceeding made that neceſſary; but were any of thoſe Eſtimates or Accounts ever properly inquired into? Were not all Queſtions for that Purpoſe rejected by the Miniſter's Friends in Parliament? Has not the Parliament always taken them upon Truſt, and paſſed them without Examination? Can ſuch a ſuperficial paſſing, to call it no worſe, be deem'd a Reaſon for not calling him to a new and general Account? If the Steward, to an Infant's Eſtate, ſhould annually, for 20 Years together, deliver in his Accounts to the Guardians; and if the Guardians, through Negligence, or for a Share of the Plunder, ſhould annually paſs his Accounts without any Examination, or at leaſt without any Objection, would that be a Reaſon for ſaying, that it would be unjuſt in the Infant to call his Steward to an Account when he came of Age? Eſpecially if that Steward had built and furniſhed ſumptuous Palaces, and had, during the whole Time, lived at a much greater Expence than his viſible Income could afford, and yet, nevertheleſs had amaſſed great Riches. The Publick, Sir, is always in a State of Infancy; therefore no Preſcription can be pleaded againſt it, nor even a general Releaſe, if there appears the leaſt Cauſe to ſuſpect, that it was ſurreptitiouſly obtained: Publick Vouchers ought always to remain upon Record, nor ought there to be any publick

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

publick Expence without a proper Voucher; therefore, the Caſe of the Publick is ſtill ſtronger than that of any Infant. Thus the Hon. Gentlemen, who made Uſe of this Objection, muſt ſee of how little Avail it can be in the Caſe now before us, and conſequently, I hope, we ſhall have their Concurrence in the Queſtion.'

A Secret Committee of 21 appointed to inquire into the Conduct of Robert Earl of Orford.

The Debate being over, the Queſtion was put upon Lord *Limerick*'s Motion, which was carried in the Affirmative; Ayes 252, Noes 245. And it was reſolv'd, that a Committee of Secrecy, conſiſting of twenty one Members, to be choſen by Ballot, be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, during the laſt ten Years of his being Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer: And it was ordered, that the Members do on *Friday* next, at twelve of the Clock, prepare Liſts to be put into Glaſſes of one and twenty Perſons Names, to be the ſaid Committee.

An Addreſs of Confidence and Fidelity voted.

Then it was reſolved, *Nem. Con.* That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to aſſure him of the Fidelity, Zeal, and Affection of this Houſe to his Royal Perſon, Family and Government; and that his faithful Commons will take every Opportunity, in this critical Conjuncture, to ſhew, how ſenſible they are of the preſent dangerous Situation of *Europe*, by the Diſtreſſes, to which the Queen of *Hungary* has been reduced; and, as the late favourable Turn of Affairs affords reaſonable Grounds to hope that, if ſhe is timely and properly aſſiſted by thoſe Powers, who are engaged by Treaties, and bound by Intereſt to ſupport her, the Ballance of Power may be again reſtored, and the Tranquility of *Europe* re-eſtabliſhed, this Houſe will therefore proceed with Unanimity, Vigour, and Diſpatch, to ſupport his Majeſty in all ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall be neceſſary to attain theſe great and deſirable Ends; having, from a juſt Senſe of their Duty, the higheſt Regard for the Honour and Safety of his Majeſty, and the trueſt Concern for the Freedom, Peace, Trade, and Welfare of theſe Kingdoms.

Inſolvent Debtors Bill preſented.

March 25. Mr *Cornewall* preſented to the Houſe, a Bill for Relief of inſolvent Debtors, which was read the firſt Time, ordered a ſecond Reading, and to be printed.

Petition for Bridport withdrawn.

The Inhabitants in and Electors for the Borough of *Bridport*, having withdrawn their Petition, *William Bowles*, Eſq; who was returned for that Borough, and alſo for *Beaudly*, made his Election for the latter; and a new Writ was ordered for *Bridport* *.

March

* Lord Deerhurſt, eldeſt Son of the Earl of Coventry, who had been Candidate for Worceſterſhire [See p. 12.] was elected.

March 26. Mr *Trevor*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented, purſuant to Addreſs, Copies of all Orders, Inſtructions, or Letters, written by the ſaid Commiſſioners to Mr *Haddock*, and Copies of all Letters from Mr *Haddock* to them, ſince the 28th of *Jan.* 1738, with a Schedule thereof.

Admiral Haddock's Inſtructions, &c. preſented.

Hereupon it was ordered, that the ſaid Papers, being 181 in Number, do lie on the Table.

Then Mr *Speaker* reported his Majeſty's Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Houſe on the 23d.

Gentlemen,

'I Thank you for this dutiful and loyal Addreſs. Your Unanimity on this Occaſion will, I am perſuaded, be attended with the happieſt Conſequences both at Home and Abroad. I recommend to you the laying aſide all Heats and Diviſions. I deſire nothing more than to reign in the Hearts and Affections of all my People; which I look upon to be the greateſt Security to my Government, and their Liberties.'

King's Anſwer to the foregoing Addreſs.

March 29. Ordered in a Bill for veſting, for a certain Term of Years, in *John Tuite*, his Executors, &c. the ſole Property of a Water-Engine, of his own Invention.

Then the Marquis of *Hartington* reported from the Committee, appointed to examine the Liſts of Twenty one Perſons Names, to be a Committee for inquiring into the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, &c. that the Majority had fallen upon Sir *John St Aubyn*, Bart. *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; Sir *John Ruſhout*, Bart. the Hon. *George Compton*, Eſq; the Lord *Quarendon*, *William Noel*, Eſq; Sir *John Barnard*, Knt. the Lord *Limerick*, *Edward Hooper*, Eſq; the Lord *Cornbury*, *Nicholas Fazakerley*, Eſq; *Henry Furneſe*, Eſq; the Lord *Granard*, Sir *John Strange*, Knt. *Thomas Prowſe*, Eſq; *Edmund Waller*, Eſq; *William Bowles*, Eſq; *William Pitt*, Eſq; *Cholmley Turner*, Eſq; the Hon. *William Finch*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Liddel*, Bart. the Hon. *John Talbot*, Eſq; the Hon. *Alexander Hume-Campbell*, Eſq;——But the Votes being equal for the four laſt mentioned Gentlemen, the Journal of the 12th of *April* 1694, in Relation to the Liſts of Commiſſioners for the publick Accounts; And alſo of the 20th of *April* 1711, in Relation to the Liſts of Commiſſioners for examining into the Value of Lands and other Intereſts granted by the Crown ſince the 13th of *Feb.* 1688, being read, Mr *Speaker* gave his Voice for Sir *Henry Liddel* and Mr *Talbot*.

Names of the Secret Committee.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Then it was ordered that Five be the *Quorum* of the ſaid Committee †; and that they have Power to ſend for Perſons, Papers, and Records; and alſo to examine, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, ſuch Perſons as they ſhall think proper to ſend for.

Petition from Exeter, relating to the Woollen Trade.

March 30. A Petition of the Corporation of Weavers, Fullers, and Sheermen of *Exeter*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, was referred to the Conſideration of the Grand Committee.

Then Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.*

Reſolutions on the Supply.

I. That 11,611 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* be granted for the Charge of the ſeveral Officers appointed to go with the Forces under General *Wentworth* for 1742.

II. That 1277 *l.* 10 *s.* be granted for the Charge of the Staff-Officers, appointed to attend the Hoſpital for the Service of the ſaid Expedition.

III. That 44,008 *l.* 3 *s.* 7 *d.* be granted for defraying ſeveral extraordinary Expences and Services incurred, *Anno* 1741, and not provided for by Parliament.

IV.

† The Names of the Members balloted for were as follows:

Sir John St Aubyn	518	Henry Furneſe, Eſq;	262
Sir John Ruſhout	516	Earl of Granard	259
Samuel Sandys, Eſq;	516	William Pitt, Eſq;	259
Hon. George Compton, Eſq;	516	Thomas Prowſe, Eſq;	259
William Noel, Eſq;	512	Edmund Waller, Eſq;	259
Lord Quarendon	512	William Bowles, Eſq;	259
Sir John Barnard	268	Cholmley Turner, Eſq;	259
Lord Limerick	266	Sir John Strange	259
Lord Cornbury	265	Sir Henry Lyddel	258
Edward Hooper, Eſq;	265	Hon. John Talbot, Eſq;	258
Nicholas Fazakerley, Eſq;	262		

There were two Liſts of 21 each prepared on this Occaſion, but ſix Members, viz. Sir John St Aubyn, Mr Sandys, Sir John Ruſhout, Major Compton, Lord Quarendon, and Mr Noel, being in both, the whole Number of Members balloted for was only 36, of which the above 21 were declared to be the Committee; and the other 15 are as follows:

Hon. A. Hume-Campbell, Eſq;	258	John Phillips, Eſq;	254
Hon. William Finch, Eſq;	258	Sir Charles Gilmour	253
John Plumtree, Eſq;	257	Sir John Hind Cotton	252
Charles Gore, Eſq;	256	Lord Fitzwilliams	252
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn	256	Sir John Ramſden	251
Henry Arthur Herbert, Eſq;	256	James Weſt, Eſq;	251
General Wade	256	Mr Doddington	249
George Lyttelton, Eſq;	255		

The Number of Members abſent was 321; vacant Seats 7; Members who voted 518, which, with the Speaker, makes 558; the Number of the whole Houſe.

IV. That 27,968 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* be granted on Account of the reduced Officers of the Land Forces and Marines, for 1742. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

V. That 4168 *l.* be granted for paying Penſions to the Widows of ſuch reduced Officers as died upon Half Pay in *Great Britain*, and who were married before the 25th of *December*, 1716, for the Year 1742.

VI. That 21,000 *l.* be granted to replace to the Sinking-Fund the like Sum paid out of the ſame, for half a Year's Intereſt due the 5th of *Nov.* 1741, on the principal Sum of 1,200,000 *l.* lent on the Credit of the Salt-Duty, towards the Supply of the Year 1741

VII. That 27,851 *l.* 1 *s.* 2 ½ *d.* be granted to replace to the Sinking-Fund the like Sum paid out of the ſame, to make good the Deficiency of the Duty of 12 *s. per* Barrel on Sweets or Wines, made from *Britiſh* or Foreign Fruit or Sugar, at *Michaelmas*, 1741.

VIII. That 19,018 *l.* 4 *s.* 11 *d.* be granted to replace to the Sinking Fund the like Sum paid out of the ſame, to make good the Deficiency of the Duty upon all Victuallers and Retailers of Beer and Ale, within *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and the Bills of Mortality, at *Michaelmas* 1741.

IX. That 10,000 *l.* be granted, to be applied to the Maintenance of the *Britiſh* Forts and Settlements belonging to the Royal *African* Company.

Upon a Motion of Mr *Vyner*, ſeconded by Mr *Whitehot*, *&c.* ordered in a Bill to impower Meſſrs. *Nuthall*, *Fydell*, and *Michell*, and certain other Merchants, to import from neutral Ports, a certain Quantity of *Spaniſh* Wine. Bill for importing Spaniſh Wines from neutral Ports.

A Petition of *Thomas Cowper*, ſetting forth, that he had prepared a Scheme for the regiſtring the Wool of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; and that he finds, by the Votes of the 23d Inſt. Mr *Webber* has Leave to be heard relating to his Scheme; and therefore praying, that the Houſe will grant him Leave to be heard at the ſame Time, was referred to the ſame Committee. Mr Cowper's Scheme relating to the regiſtring of Wool.

March 31. Ordered a new Writ for *Andover*, in the Room of *John Pollen**, Eſq; made a *Welſh* Judge. A new Writ for Andover.

Upon a Motion by Mr *Carew*, ſeconded by Mr *Philips*, a Bill was ordered in to indemnify ſuch Perſons, who have omitted to qualify themſelves for Offices and Employments within the Time limited by Law; and for allowing further Time for that Purpoſe. Bill relating to qualifying of Officers.

The Serjeant at Arms having been ſent to the uſual Places to ſummon the Members to attend, a Motion was made that an Act of the firſt Year of his late Majeſty King *George*, intituled, *An Act for enlarging the Time of Continuance of*

* He was re-elected.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Parliaments, appointed by an Act made in the fifth Year of the Reign of King William *and Queen* Mary, intituled, *An Act for the frequent Meeting and calling of Parliaments**, might be read; which being read accordingly, a Motion was made by Sir *Robert Godſchall*, and ſeconded by Sir *John Barnard*, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill to repeal the ſaid Act: But the ſame being warmly oppoſed by ſeveral Members, amongſt whom were Mr *Pulteney* and Mr *Sandys*, it paſſed in the Negative, by 204, againſt 184.

Motion for repealing the Septennial Act rejected.

April 1. Mr *Vyner* preſented to the Houſe a Bill to impower Meſſrs. *Nuthall*, *Fydell*, and *Michell*, and certain other Merchants, to import, from neutral Ports, a certain Quantity of *Spaniſh* Wines, which was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

The Bills relating to Spaniſh Wines;

A Bill for the better protecting and ſecuring the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom in Times of War, was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading, and to be printed.

For ſecuring of Trade;

A Bill for veſting, for a certain Term, in *John Tuite*, his Executors, *&c.* the ſole Property of his Water-Engine, was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

And for encouraging a Water-Engine; ordered a 2d Reading.

Then Mr *Sandys* acquainted the Houſe, that he had a Meſſage from his Majeſty, which was read by Mr *Speaker*, as follows:

King's Meſſage for a Vote of Credit.

GEORGE R.

'IT is always with the utmoſt Reluctance his Majeſty aſks 'any extraordinary Supplies of his People; But as his 'faithful Commons have, with the greateſt Zeal and Una'nimity, expreſſed their Concern for the Support of the Houſe 'of *Auſtria*, and for reſtoring the Balance of Power in *Europe*; 'and as the late Events in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*, 'afford a reaſonable Proſpect of Succeſs, his Majeſty makes 'no doubt but this Houſe will, at this Time, readily grant 'him ſuch a Supply, as may enable him to concert proper 'Meaſures, and form ſuch Alliances with other Powers, as 'may be neceſſary for attaining thoſe deſirable Ends, which 'they have, in ſo particular a Manner, recommended to 'him.'

The ſaid Meſſage was order'd, *Nem. Con.* to be referred to the Committee of Supply.

Proceedings on the Scheme for regiſtring of Wool.

Then Mr *Carew* reported from the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the ſeveral Petitions, relating to the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, had been referred, that

* See the Debate on bringing in the Septennial Bill in CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Anno 2. Geo. I. 1716, p. 70; and the Debate on a Motion for repealing thereof, Anno 1734, p. 245.

that the Committee had heard Mr *Webber* and Mr *Cowper* in Relation to their reſpective Schemes for a Regiſter of Wool. Then the further Conſideration of that Matter was adjourn'd.

A new Writ for Haſtings.

Ordered a new Writ for *Haſtings*, in the Room of *Andrew Stone* *, Eſq; made Secretary of *Barbadoes*.

April 2. A Bill to indemnify Perſons, who have omitted to qualify themſelves for Offices and Employments, was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Accounts of Wool carried Coaſtwiſe ordered in.

Order'd an Account of all unmanufactured Wool and Yarn, that hath, for ſeven Years paſt, been put on Board any Veſſel to be carried coaſtwiſe, from one Port to another, within *Great Britain*, and relanded again; diſtinguiſhing each Year, and the ſeveral Ports from which ſuch Wool was put on Board, and where relanded, to be laid before the Houſe.

New Writ for Durham.

April 5. Ordered a new Writ for the City of *Durham*, in the Room of *John Shaftoe* †, Eſq; deceas'd.

The ſame Day *German Pole*, Eſq; withdrew his Petition for *Derby*.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.*

Farther Reſolutions on the Supply.

I. That 500,000 *l.* be granted to his Majeſty, upon Account, towards enabling his Majeſty to concert proper Meaſures, and form ſuch Alliances, or enter into ſuch Engagements with other Powers, as his Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary for the Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and for reſtoring the Balance of Power in *Europe*.

II. That 266,616 *l.* 6 *s.* 5 ½ *d.* be granted for maintaining his Majeſty's Forces and Garriſons in the Plantations, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, and Proviſions for the Garriſons at *Annapolis Royal*, *Canſo*, *Placentia*, *Providence*, *Gibraltar* and *Georgia*, for 1742.

III. That 4000 *l.* be granted towards the repairing and finiſhing *Weſtminſter* Abbey.

Petition againſt the Bill for importing Spaniſh Wines from neutral Ports.

Then a Petition of ſeveral Merchants, alledging, that on the 19th of *October* 1739, War being declared againſt *Spain*, the *Spaniſh* Court prohibited *Engliſh* Manufactures; which Prohibition they have enforced ſo lately as the 28th of *November* laſt; that upon the 18th of *December*, 1739, the Houſe ordered in a Bill for prohibiting Commerce with *Spain*, and afterwards an Act of Parliament was paſſed, enacting, That, after the 1ſt of *June* 1740, no Wines, Goods, or Manufactures of any of the Territories of the King of *Spain* in *Europe* (except Prize Goods) ſhould, during the preſent War, be imported into *Great Britain*, or other Places

* He was rechoſe. † John Tempeſt, Eſq; was elected.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Places therein named, from any Place whatſoever, ſave only as to ſuch, which ſhould be actually imported into *Minorca* or *Gibraltar* on, or before, the 1ſt of *May*, 1740, and imported hither on, or before, the 24th of *June* then following; and that as the ſaid Act remained in Force during the whole Seſſion of the 14th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, ſeveral of the Petitioners, and others, upon the Faith of the ſaid Law, have imported, and ordered, much greater Quantities than uſual, of Wines and other Goods, not only from *Portugal*, which takes off to the largeſt Value of *Britiſh* Woollen and other Manufactures, but alſo from other Places; intending thereby to ſupply here the Want of thoſe prohibited *Spaniſh* Wines; and that, in Conſequence of a Petition [*See p.* 136.] lately preſented from a few Merchants, Traders to *Spain*, deſiring a particular Liberty to themſelves only, to import *Spaniſh* Wines, even now, from neutral Ports, the Houſe has given Leave to bring in a Bill for ſuch Purpoſes: That the Petitioners apprehend, that their private Property will be thereby greatly affected, and their lawful Trade interrupted, if ſuch Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, and that the ſaid Traders to *Spain* cannot be relieved, in the Manner by them propoſed, but by a Repeal of Part of the Acts of Navigation, as well as the whole Act of Prohibition, and, in Effect, at the Expence of the Petitioners, who have been carrying on a Trade ſo beneficial to the Kingdom; and further alledging that *Spaniſh* Wines are the firſt Species of Goods forbidden by the ſaid Act of Prohibition, and pay, at the Time when exported from *Spain*, a very high Duty to that Crown, nearly equal to the prime Coſt of the Wines; and that the ſaid *Spaniſh* Traders avow, that ſome of them firſt ſent their Orders from hence, for their *Spaniſh* Wines, ſo late as upon the 14th of *Feb.* 1739, which was near four Months after the Declaration of War, and near two Months after this Houſe had order'd in a Bill to prohibit Commerce, and was nine Days after this Houſe had proceeded ſo far as to paſs a Bill for Prohibition of Commerce; ſo that ſuch Wines could not have been exported from *Spain*, nor the Duty paid for the ſame, 'till long after the Prohibition-Act might have been compleatly paſſed into a Law; and that as the preſent Application from the ſaid *Spaniſh* Traders came before this Houſe but on the third of *March* 1741, at ſo great a Length of Time after the Prohibition took Place, the Petitioners apprehend, the Indulgence deſired by the ſaid Traders may afford Opportunities for indirect Practices, or at leaſt may encourage ſuch great Numbers of like Applications, in reſpect of *Spaniſh* Wines, and other Goods alſo, as may render it extremely hazardous for Merchants to carry

ry on their Trade, according to Law, if liable to be defeated after the Time they ſhall have inveſted their Effects; and therefore praying the Houſe, that they may be heard againſt the ſame by their Counſel. Accordingly the ſaid Petition was order'd to lie on the Table, till the Bill in favour of Meſſrs *Nuthall*, *Fydell*, and *Michell*, *&c.* be read a ſecond Time; and that the Petitioners be then heard by their Counſel.

April 7. Upon the Motion of Mr *Hungerford*, ſeconded by Mr *Wilkinſon*, a Bill was order'd in for the more eaſy Recovery of ſmall Debts.

April 8. On a Motion by Sir *Robert Godſchall*, and ſeconded by Sir *John Barnard*, a Bill to prevent the Frauds committed by the counterfeiting of Gold and Silver Lace, was order'd in.

A Bill order'd in, for excluding certain Officers from being Members.

The Serjeant at Arms having ſummon'd the Members as uſual; A Bill was order'd in to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the Houſe of Commons; and it was ordered that Mr *Pulteney*, Mr *Sandys*, Mr *Cornewall*, Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, Mr *Philips*, Mr *Charles Cholmondeley*, and the Lord *Gage*, do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe.

Reſolutions on the Supply.

I. That 188,756 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 *d.* be granted for the Ordinary of the Navy (including Half Pay to Sea-Officers) for 1742.

II. That 168,645 *l.* 15 *s.* 7 *d.* be granted for the Charge of Tranſports hired to carry the Forces to *America*.

III. That 111,917 *l.* 19 *s.* 1 *d.* be granted for Victuals, provided for the Soldiers employed in the *American* Expeditions.

IV. That 10,000 *l.* be granted upon Account, towards the Support of the Royal Hoſpital at *Greenwich*.

Bill relating to Gold Lace;

April 9. A Bill to prevent the Frauds committed by the counterfeiting of Gold and Silver Lace, &c. was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Another for recovering ſmall Debts; order'd a ſecond Reading.

A Bill for the more eaſy Recovery of ſmall Debts, was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading, and to be printed.

Liſts of Juſtices of Peace order'd.

Ordered Liſts of the Juſtices of the Peace for the ſeveral Counties and Liberties within *England* and *Wales*, and for the City of *Weſtminſter*, to be laid before the Houſe.

Bill for explaining the Vagabond Act.

On a Motion of Sir *Nathaniel Curzon*, ſeconded by Mr *Carew*, a Bill was order'd in to explain and amend an Act of the 13th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, *For amending and enforcing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, and other*

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other idle and diſorderly Perſons, and for reducing the ſame into one Act of Parliament, and alſo for amending the Laws for erecting, providing, and regulating Houſes of Correction.

Land-Tax Bill paſs'd.

April 12. The Land-Tax Bill was read a third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Francis Fane*.

On a Motion of Sir *Robert Godſchall*, and ſeconded by Alderman *Heathcote*, a Bill was ordered in for preventing the Miſchiefs which may happen, by keeping dangerous Quantities of Gunpowder in or near Cities and Towns.

More Letters, &c. relating to Admiral Haddock, preſented.

Then Mr *Comptroller* preſented, purſuant to Addreſs, Copies of ſeveral Letters and Inſtructions, *&c.* relating to Admiral *Haddock*; Liſts of which, to the Number of 100, were order'd to lie on the Table.

The High Sheriff of Denbighſhire diſcharg'd.

A Petition of *William Myddelton*, Eſq; late High Sheriff of *Denbighſhire*, was preſented to the Houſe; ſetting forth, that he is extremely ſorry, and humbly begs Pardon for having given Offence to the Houſe [*See p.* 133.]; and praying to be diſcharged out of Cuſtody. Accordingly he was diſcharged upon Submiſſion.

A Bill for ſecuring to *John Byrom*, the ſole Right of publiſhing and teaching his Method of Short-Hand; was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Debate on Mr Paxton's refuſing to anſwer before the Secret Committee.

April 13. Lord *Limerick*, Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the Houſe, that Mr *Nicholas Paxton*, Solicitor of the Treaſury, having been examined upon Oath, did refuſe to anſwer the Queſtions put to him by the Committee; Hereupon it was moved, that he be committed to the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, and debarred the Uſe of Paper, Pen, and Ink. On this Motion a warm Debate aroſe. On the one Side it was urged, 'That except the Houſe was made acquainted with the Queſtions that had been propoſed, it was impoſſible to judge whether they had been properly put or not; and therefore they could not judge of the Offence, for it was poſſible that the Queſtions were of ſuch a Nature as might involve himſelf, and no Man was obliged to turn his own Accuſer.'

On the other Side it was argued, 'That if the Houſe was to be made acquainted with every Queſtion that the Secret Committee might, in Courſe of their Inquiry, propoſe, it was no longer a Secret Committee; that its Deſign was loſt, and that as nothing was more common than to examine and confine a Man by a Warrant from a ſingle Secretary of State, ſo it was not to be preſumed that 21 Gentlemen, whom the Commons of *Great Britain* had repoſed ſo much Confidence in, would have leſs Diſcretion, or propoſe any Thing improper.' Then the Queſtion being put upon the Motion, the ſame was agreed to, Ayes 197, Noes 136.

He is order'd into Cuſtody.

April

The next Day the Serjeant at Arms was order'd to bring the ſaid Mr *Nicholas Paxton*, now a Priſoner in his Cuſtody, to the Committee of Secrecy, to be examined, as often as the ſaid Committee ſhall think fit: And that his Wife have Leave to go to and remain with him, but not be allowed Pen, Ink, or Paper, and that no Perſon have Acceſs to her, without Leave of the Houſe.

Then it was farther ordered, that the Committee of Secrecy have Leave to ſit, notwithſtanding any Adjournments of the Houſe.

Bill for encouraging a Water-Engine paſs'd.

An ingroſſed Bill for veſting in *John Tuite*, his Executors, *&c.* the ſole Property of his Water Engine, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords.

Accounts of Linen imported and exported, order'd in.

Ordered an Account of the Quantity of Linens imported into *Great Britain* from foreign Parts: Alſo an Account of all foreign Linens exported from *Great Britain* to the *Britiſh* Plantations, both from *Chriſtmas* 1734, to *Chriſtmas* 1740, with the Drawbacks paid thereupon. Likewiſe an Account of the Quantity of *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Linens exported from *Great Britain* to the *Britiſh* Plantations, from *Chriſtmas* 1736, to *Chriſtmas* 1741. to be laid before the Houſe.

Writ for Cheſter.

April 15. Ordered a new Writ for *Cheſter*, * in the Room of Sir *Charles Bunbury*, Bart. deceaſed.

A Petition of the Priſoners for Debt in the Goal of *Worceſter*, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Officers Bill ordered a ſecond Reading.

A Bill to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the Houſe of Commons, was read the firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Royal Aſſent given to ſeveral Bills.

The ſame Day the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Land-Tax Bill, and to ſeven other publick, and eight private Bills.

Mr Paxton perſiſting in his Refuſal, is committed to Newgate.

His Majeſty being withdrawn, and the Houſe return'd, Lord *Limerick* reported from the Committee of Secrecy, that he was directed by them to acquaint the Houſe, that Mr *Nicholas Paxton*, Sollicitor of the Treaſury, did again refuſe to anſwer to what had been before demanded of him; whereupon it was reſolved by a Majority of 180 Voices againſt 128, That he be committed cloſe Priſoner to *Newgate*; and that he be not allowed Pen, Ink, or Paper; that no Perſon be permitted to have Acceſs to him, without Leave of the Houſe; that his Wife have Leave to remain with him during the Time of his Confinement, but that ſhe be not allowed Pen, Ink, or Paper; and that no Perſon have Acceſs to her, without Leave of the Houſe: It was alſo farther Ordered that the Keeper of *Newgate* do bring the

* Philip Henry Warburton, Eſq; was elected.

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ſaid *Nicholas Paxton* to the Committtee of Secrecy, to be examined, as often as the Committee ſhall think fit.

An Account, ſhewing how the Money granted laſt Seſſion for the Colony of *Georgia* has been applied, was ordered to be laid before the Houſe.

Accounts relating to Georgia and South Carolina order'd.

Then it was reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty, for a Copy of the Petition and Repreſentation of the Council and Aſſembly of *South Carolina* to his Majeſty, dated the 26th of *July* 1740, upon the then State of the ſaid Province. Alſo for a Copy of the laſt Memorial of the Truſtees for *Georgia* to his Majeſty. Then the Houſe adjourn'd to the 26th.

Writs for Plympton and Peterborough.

April 26. Ordered a new Writ for *Plympton*, in the Room of *Richard Edgecumbe*, Eſq; created Lord *Edgecumbe* †; and another for *Peterborough*, in the Room of *William* Earl *Fitzwilliam*, of *Ireland*, created Lord *Fitzwilliam* of *Milton* in *Northamptonſhire*.

Sir *William Yonge*, by his Majeſty's Command, preſented an Eſtimate of the Charge of one Regiment of Horſe, two of Dragoons, and four of Foot, transferred from the *Iriſh* to the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment, for 1742.

Bill for ſtating the Publick Accounts.

April 27. A Bill for taking, examining and ſtating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom, was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

The Committee of Supply vote ſeven Iriſh Regiments to be transferr'd to the Britiſh Eſtabliſhment.

April 28. The Commons in a Grand Committee on the Supply, reſolved, that one Regiment of Horſe, two Regiments of Dragoons, and four Regiments of Foot, conſiſting in the whole of 4000 Men, be transferred from the *Iriſh* to the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment, for the Year 1742; and, that 74,192 *l.* 5 *s.* 4 *d* be granted for defraying the Charge thereof: On a Diviſion, Ayes 214, Noes 123.

Bill relating to Gunpowder.

April 29. A Bill for preventing the Miſchiefs, which may happen by keeping dangerous Quantities of Gunpowder in or near Cities and Towns, was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Petition againſt the Bill for importing Spaniſh Wines.

A Petition of ſeveral Merchants, Traders, and Importers of Wines in *Southampton*, againſt the Bill order'd in favour of the Importation of *Spaniſh* Wines from Neutral Ports, was order'd to lie upon the Table.

Several Petitions relating to the Linen Manufactory.

A Petition of ſeveral Merchants of *London*, and other Dealers in Linens, made in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; ſetting forth, that the Manufactures of Linens have, of late Years, been greatly improved, but cannot be farther extended, without the Aid of the Legiſlature; was referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Then

† Lord Sundon, whoſe Election for Weſtminſter had been declar'd void, [See p. 63.] was choſen.

Then a Petition of the Manufacturers of Linen in *Perth*, ſetting forth, *inter alia*, that the Inhabitants of the foreign Linen Countries having great Advantage by the Cheapneſs of Flax, and all their Materials for whitening being Duty free; and that by allowing the Duties on foreign Linen, to a Trifle, to be drawn back at Exportation, even to our Colonies, Foreigners have had the principal Benefit of our Plantations, and the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* are, in a great Meaſure, cut off from this Market abroad; that by diſcontinuing the Drawbacks on foreign Linen carried to our *American* Settlements, the preſent Spirit for promoting this Manufacture would be enlarged; that as the Increaſe of our Home Manufactures has within theſe ten or twelve Years reduced the Price of foreign Linens from 10 to 15 *per Cent.* there is good Ground to believe, that ſuch farther Improvements may be made, as that there would be little or no Occaſion for importing foreign Linen. This Petition was referr'd to the above Committee.

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Petition from Perth relating to the Linen Manufactury.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the Reſolution of Yeſterday, whereupon Mr *Phillips* ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following Effect:

Debate on the Report of the Reſolution of the Committee for transferring ſeven Iriſh Regiments to the Britiſh Eſtabliſhment.

Sir,

Mr Phillips.

'I attended Yeſterday, in the beſt Manner I could, to the Arguments that were uſed in the Committee of the whole Houſe, in Favour of the Troops now under your Conſideration; and they were drawn either from the Neceſſity of ſupplying the Queen of *Hungary*, in order to preſerve the Balance of Power in *Europe*, or from the Fear of an Invaſion from ſome foreign Power, in the Abſence of the 16,000 Men, that his Majeſty has ordered to be ſent into *Flanders*. As to the Queen of *Hungary*, I believe, this Houſe is unanimous in their Opinion, that ſhe ought to be ſupported; and if the Queſtion had been, whether the Troops ſhould be ſent abroad, to her Aſſiſtance, or not, that Argument would have been proper; but has no Relation at all to the preſent Queſtion. His Majeſty has, without adviſing with his Parliament, thought fit to order thoſe Troops to embark, and that Matter is not now under our Conſideration; but, I hope, his Miniſters are ſatisfied, that the *Dutch* and *Hanover* Troops will act in Concert with thoſe Troops; the Embarkation will then be highly proper and juſtifiable, but otherwiſe mad and unaccountable.

'As to the Arguments drawn from the Fear of an Invaſion, I cannot think Gentlemen were in earneſt when they made uſe of them. Our Navy muſt be in a profound Sleep, and our Miniſters void of Intelligence, if they ſuffer *Spain* to approach our Coaſts; and as to *France*, her Finances are

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ſo low, and ſhe has ſo many Armies on Foot, to make good her Engagements to the new Emperor and her other Allies, that it would be ridiculous to imagine, ſhe would attempt to invade us, eſpecially when we have an Army marching to her Frontiers.

'It was ſaid, a Neceſſity might ariſe of ſending more Troops abroad; if ſo, will it not be Time enough to ſend Troops abroad directly from *Ireland*, when that Neceſſity appears, and cannot they be ſoon replaced by new raiſed Troops here? What Argument then can be uſed for taking into our Pay this additional Number of Troops? None but what prevailed in the Time of the late Adminiſtration, but which, I was in Hopes, would have died with them, That it is always neceſſary to keep up a large ſtanding Army in *England*; a dangerous Doctrine! and I will venture to ſay, that whoever adviſes a *Britiſh* King to delight in a ſtanding Army, is an Enemy to his Country, as it tends to enſlave the People, and inſtead of being a Security to the Crown, alienates the Affections of the Subject, and creates Murmurings and Jealouſies; for when People feel, they will complain. And I cannot help expreſſing the great Surprize I was under Yeſterday, to hear ſo many Gentlemen that are profeſſed Friends to Liberty, Advocates for the Increaſe of our Army. The Supplies already granted amount to above five Millions three hundred and eight Thouſand Pounds; the Embarkation of the Troops as they conſiſt of ſo many Horſe and Dragoons, will greatly increaſe that Sum; and, I am ſure, this Nation is not in a Condition to be at any Expence that is not abſolutely neceſſary for its Safety. That theſe 4000 Men are neceſſary for that End, I cannot at all believe, and therefore, muſt give my Negative to them.

'The Hon. Gentleman that made the Motion Yeſterday in the Committee, * was pleaſed to ſay, that when the 16,000 Men are embarked, you would not have above 11,000 Men left in the Kingdom. I am ſatisfied a leſs Number will be ſufficient in our preſent Circumſtances for the Security of the Kingdom; but I beg Leave to take Notice, that the 1600 Men that are coming over from *Minorca*, inſtead of thoſe that are to be ſent there, are not included in that Number, neither are the Marines, and tho' many of theſe are abroad, yet they are not all; I am ſure many of the Officers are at home, and they might ſoon raiſe Men to ſerve in Place of thoſe that we have been obliged to ſend to help to man the Fleet. Shall we never have done increaſing the Forces? An Army of 66,000 Men is inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution, and muſt one Day ruin it. I was in hopes the

* Sir William Yonge.

the Redreſſing of Grievances would at leaſt have kept Pace with the granting of Supplies; but, alas! the one has quite diſtanced the other; and the great Expectations from this Parliament will, I fear, end in nothing, but granting more Forces and more Money, than has been granted in any Parliament within the ſo much talked of Period of twenty Years paſt.' An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Mr *Winnington* ſpoke next: Mr Winnington.

Sir,

'In all Countries, eſpecially in this, the People expect to be protected by their Government, they expect to be ſecured even from the Approach of Danger, and yet they grudge every Expence which becomes neceſſary for that Purpoſe: This renders it popular to oppoſe all publick Meaſures, becauſe every publick Meaſure muſt be attended with a publick Expence; and this very often, I believe, creates a Prejudice in Gentlemen who are fond of Popularity, which makes them judge amiſs of almoſt every Meaſure, and every Precaution that can be taken by the Government. It is to this Prejudice that I muſt impute the Oppoſition which the Meaſure now under our Conſideration has met with; for if we conſider it impartially, and without Prejudice, there can nothing, I think, appear more prudent or more reaſonable. That the Queen of *Hungary* ought to be ſupported, that ſhe ought to be aſſiſted, has been for ſome Time almoſt the univerſal Cry of this Nation: We ought, they ſay, to aſſiſt her, not only in Conſequence of our Engagements but in order to preſerve ourſelves, by maintaining the Balance of Power. Whether I concur in this general Opinion, it is not now neceſſary to declare; but now when it is reſolved to ſend Troops to her Aſſiſtance, and ſome of thoſe Troops are, for our domeſtick Security, to be replaced by others, Gentlemen begin to find Fault with both theſe Meaſures, becauſe both muſt be attended with a publick Expence.

'We are told, that it will be mad and unaccountable to ſend our Troops abroad, unleſs we are well aſſured that thoſe Troops will be joined by the Troops of ſome other Powers. Suppoſe we were not ſure of being joined by the Troops of any other Power in *Europe*, except thoſe of the Queen of *Hungary* herſelf, yet I cannot think it would be either mad or unaccountable to ſend a large Body of Troops over to *Flanders*; becauſe it will ſhew, that we are not only willing, but ready to join with thoſe other Powers of *Europe*, who have certainly as great an Intereſt, and ought to have an equal Concern for preſerving a Balance of Power in *Europe*. There are ſeveral States and Princes in *Europe*, who at preſent affect a Neutrality, and yet we cannot ſuppoſe, they are

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are quite eaſy at ſeeing the Houſe of *Bourbon* giving Laws to the Princes of *Germany*, and appropriating to itſelf the greateſt Part of *Italy*. Even the Princes of *Germany* themſelves, who at preſent continue neutral, and, perhaps, ſome of thoſe who are now joned in Alliance with *France*, may be prevailed on to join in a Confederacy for pulling down, or at leaſt for preſcribing Bounds to the overgrown Power of that Monarchy, as ſoon as they ſee the Armies of *Britian* upon the Continent, and ready to protect them againſt that Power which, in their preſent Situation, they find they cannot reſiſt. This is an Effect which this Nation has, I am ſure, great Reaſon to wiſh for; and as the tranſporting a Body of our Troops to *Flanders*, will be attended but with a very ſmall additional Expence, and can be attended with no other Inconvenience, I think, it is worth our while to make the Trial, even tho' we be not previouſly aſſured, that either the *Dutch*, or any other State in *Europe*, will join their Troops with ours, or enter into any Confederacy for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, or for limiting the ambitious Views of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

'From hence, I hope, Sir, it will appear, that the Embarkation of our Troops can in no Caſe be deemed mad or unaccountable; but when we ſend our Troops out of the Kingdom, it would certainly be both mad and unaccountable to leave this Iſland deſtitute of a ſufficient Number of Troops for its Defence, and for ſecuring its domeſtick Tranquility. Whatever others may think of the diſaffected Party amongſt us, I have ſo great an Attachment to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and to the Royal Family now upon our Throne, that I am ſtill jealous of that Party, and apprehenſive of their Power. True Love, they ſay, is always mixed with Jealouſy; and this makes me dread every Opportunity, the Diſaffected may think they have got, for putting their Deſigns in Execution. There are ſtill many Gentlemen of Figure and Fortune amongſt us, who openly profeſs their Attachment to the Pretender: There is a Sort of enthuſiaſtical Spirit of Diſaffection that ſtill prevails among the Vulgar; and, I am afraid, there is by far too great a Number of Men of all Ranks and Conditions, who now ſeem to be true Friends to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, that would declare themſelves otherwiſe, if they thought they could do ſo without running any great or unequal Riſk. Theſe Conſiderations ſhall always make me jealous of the *Jacobite* Party's getting any Opportunity to rebel, and this they have always thought they had, and always will think they have, when they ſee the Nation deſtitute of Troops; for which Reaſon, I ſhall always be for keeping in the Iſland,

Iſland, in Time of War, as well as in Time of Peace, ſuch a Number of regular Troops as may be ſufficient for awing them into Obedience. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

' But the Danger of an Inſurrection at home, is far from being the only Danger we have to apprehend from not having in the Iſland a ſufficient Number of Troops for our Defence. The Danger of an Invaſion from abroad, with the Pretender at the Head of it, is equally to be apprehended; and the Nature of theſe two Dangers is ſuch, that each contributes to the Increaſe of the other. We are now in actual War with *Spain*, and as we are vaſtly ſuperior in Naval Force, even tho' ſhe ſhould be openly aſſiſted by *France*, ſhe can expect no Succeſs: She muſt dread the Effects and the Event of that War, unleſs ſhe can raiſe ſome domeſtick Combuſtion amongſt us. Muſt we not then expect, is it not certain, that ſhe will uſe every Art that can be thought of, for throwing 8 or 10,000 of her beſt Troops into this Iſland, with the Pretender and ſome of his Adherents at their Head? And is it not as certain, that upon their landing in any Part of the Iſland, they would be joined not only by all the Diſaffected, but by all thoſe of deſperate Fortunes, who are always more ready to join in overturning, than in ſupporting an eſtabliſhed Government; becauſe, from their Succeſs in the former, they muſt expect greater Encouragement than they can expect from their Succeſs in the latter. *Spain*, we know, has a ſufficient Number of Troops to ſpare for this Purpoſe; and we know what a ſmall Number of Ships would be ſufficient for tranſporting 10,000 Foot and diſmounted Dragoons from *Spain* to the Southern, or South-Weſt Parts of this Iſland; for they would have no Occaſion to tranſport Horſe to a Country where Horſes are ſo plentiful, and which is ſo much incloſed, that Horſe can, in very few Places, come to a regular Engagement. Twenty or Thirty good Merchant Ships would be ſufficient for ſuch a Purpoſe; and theſe might be provided, the Troops embarked, and even landed here, before our Court could have any Intelligence of the Deſign, which would have been the Caſe in the Year 1718, if their Fleet had not at that Time met with an accidental Storm and contrary Winds.

' Our Navy, Sir, may be uſeful, it will always be ſufficient, I hope, to defend us againſt a formidable Invaſion, becauſe we muſt have Intelligence of the Deſign, long before the neceſſary Preparations can be made for ſuch an Invaſion; and may, by a ſuperior Squadron, lock the Enemy's Fleet up in their Port, before it can be ready to ſail; but againſt a ſudden Invaſion with a ſmall Force, ſuch as I have mentioned, our Navy can never be a ſufficient Security. For defending

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ſending us againſt ſuch an Invaſion, we muſt always have a ſufficient Number of Troops in the Iſland; and I muſt leave to Gentlemen to conſider what a woeful and dangerous Condition we ſhould be in, if 10,000 of the veteran Troops of *Spain* were landed in the Southern or Weſtern Parts of this Iſland, and we had but 10 or 12,000 regular Troops in the whole Iſland: They might march to our Capital, drive the Royal Family, and all its Friends, from thence, and place the Pretender upon the Throne, before we could bring an equal Number of our regular Troops together to oppoſe them; and if they could do this, who can ſay, that our regular Army itſelf, or a great Part of it, would not declare in favour of the Invaders?

'The Danger of an Invaſion from *Spain*, is not therefore ſuch a Bugbear, as ſome Gentlemen ſeem inclined to repreſent it; but upon ſending our Troops to *Flanders*, *Spain* is not then the only Country from whence an Invaſion may be juſtly apprehended. The Deſign of our ſending our Troops into *Flanders* is well known: It muſt be to circumſcribe the Views of *France*, or directly to attack that Kingdom. Either of theſe will make *France* our Enemy, and will induce that Court to contrive, if poſſible, how to make an Invaſion upon us. They are, 'tis true, at preſent at a great Expence: They have loſt great Armies in *Germany*: They have ſtill great Armies there; but they have likewiſe great Armies of regular Troops at Home, much more than would be ſufficient for making an Invaſion upon us, if we had but 10 or 12,000 regular Troops in the whole Iſland; and they now ſee, that they will be in Danger of loſing all the Money they have ſpent, and all the Blood they have ſpilt, without being able to reap any Benefit to themſelves; unleſs they can divert the Power of this Nation by raiſing a Civil War amongſt ourſelves. Can we ſuppoſe, that in theſe Circumſtances they will not attempt making an Invaſion upon us, if by our own Miſconduct we put it any Way in their Power? By the Superiority of our naval Force, and by keeping a ſtrong Squadron in the Channel, we may prevent their being able to make an Invaſion upon us with any formidable Army; but conſidering how many Ports they have within a few Hours ſail of our Coaſt, how many Ships, Fiſhing Veſſels, and Barks fit for tranſporting Soldiers in ſuch a ſhort Voyage, they have in every Port, and how well acquainted their Smugglers are with every Creek and Corner of our Shore, we muſt admit, that it would be very eaſy for them to embark and land 10 or 12,000 of their beſt Troops upon our Southern Coaſt, before we could any Way hear of their Deſign, or ſend any Squadron to diſappoint them; and this,

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we may depend on it, they would attempt, if they knew that we had no ſufficient Number of regular Troops to march and attack theirs as ſoon as landed. I muſt therefore think, it would be the Height of Madneſs in us, to leave this Iſland deſtitute of a Number of Troops ſufficient for defending us againſt an Invaſion, that can be made ſuddenly and unawares: And as the Army we have now in this Iſland, together with the Troops to be brought from *Ireland*, is no more than ſufficient for that Purpoſe, I cannot but approve of their being brought hither, and muſt therefore be for providing for their Subſiſtence.

'Our Army, Sir, as it is at preſent modelled and commanded, is ſo far from being dangerous either to the Liberty or Property of the Subject, that I think it the ſureſt Pledge we have for the quiet Enjoyment of both. I thought ſo under the late Adminiſtration: I ſhall think ſo under every Adminiſtration, unleſs I ſee an Attempt made to model it ſo, as to make it fit for ſerving the Ends of thoſe that may aim at arbitrary Power. And as to the Millions we have raiſed, or may be obliged to raiſe, I wonder to hear them complained of by Gentlemen, who, upon former Occaſions, exclaimed ſo much againſt our Inactivity, and who have lately appeared ſo ſanguine for ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary*. Surely, they do not think, that War is to be carried on without the Aid of Millions; or that our Soldiers and Seamen are to fight their Battles for them, without the uſual Subſiſtence. I wiſh we could raiſe ten Times as many Millions as we do: I am ſure, I ſhould think the whole well beſtowed, if thereby we could procure a ſafe and honourable Peace both for *Europe* and ourſelves. We may, perhaps, Sir, for I have not made the Calculation, have at preſent above 60,000 Soldiers, if all the Regiments were compleat, beſides foreign Troops in our Pay; but no Man can imagine we have as yet too many, for if the War continues, and becomes general, we muſt raiſe more, or, at leaſt, we muſt take a much greater Number of foreign Troops into our Pay; and I never heard that an Army upon the Continent, or any Army but an Army kept up in this Iſland, in Time of Peace, and without the Conſent of Parliament, was of dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution; therefore I muſt think, that no Gentleman can, with Reaſon, find Fault with the Number of Troops we have now in our Pay, were that Number twice as great as it is at preſent.

'Gentlemen ſtill talk of Grievances, and of redreſſing Grievances at the ſame Time we grant Supplies. They have harp'd ſo much during this Seſſion upon that String, that the Subject is in ſome Meaſure become ludicrous. Surely, if they

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Hungary: On the contrary, they will do her a Prejudice, by conſuming a Part of our publick Revenue which otherwiſe might be ſent to her; and every one muſt grant, that ready Money is the Sort of Aſſiſtance ſhe ſtands moſt in need of.

'The Fear of an Invaſion or an Inſurrection in favour of the Pretender, is ſuch a threadbare Argument, that I am ſurpriſed to hear it again ſeriouſly made uſe of in this Houſe. What the Hon. Gentleman ſaid of the Redreſs of Grievances may much more juſtly be applied to the Fear of the Pretender; for this Argument is never made uſe of lately, but you may ſee a general Smile ſpread itſelf over the whole Houſe. Nay, in the Countenance of every Gentleman who makes uſe of it, you may ſee ſuch a Contraſt as is generally obſerved in the Countenance of a young Widow upon the Loſs of an old Huſband. She affects a Sorrow, but in ſpight of all ſhe can do, her inward Joy breaks forth in the Diſpoſition of ſome of her Features. I hope, all the Gentlemen of this Houſe have a real Affection for our preſent Royal Family; but I wiſh, ſome of us would ſhew a little more Affection for the Liberties and Conſtitution of our Country; for whoever betrays them to his Jealouſy or Fear of the Pretender, does our preſent Royal Family more Harm by his Jealouſy, than he can ever do it good by his Affection.

'It would be eaſy, Sir, to ſhew the Impoſſibility, or at leaſt the Improbability of all the Inſurrections and Invaſions we have been terrified with in this Debate; but it is ſo ſelf-evident, and has been ſo often and ſo fully explained upon former Occaſions, that I do not think it worth my while to enlarge upon the Subject. Therefore, I ſhall only obſerve in general, that by ſome Gentlemens Way of arguing upon this Subject, they make a very bad Compliment to our preſent Royal Family, or to thoſe who have an Affection for that Family; for by magnifying to ſuch a Degree the Danger we ſhould be in from an Inſurrection or ſudden Invaſion in Favour of the Pretender, they muſt either ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty has no affectionate Subjects except thoſe who are liſted in his Army, or they muſt ſuppoſe, that thoſe who are well affected towards our preſent Royal Family, have ſo little Courage, that they will neither riſk their Lives nor their Fortunes for that Family, upon which, they think, their Liberties, Properties and Religion depend. But however free thoſe Gentlemen, out of the Abundance of their Affection, may make with their King or their Countrymen, I am far from having ſuch an Opinion of either. I am perſuaded, his Majeſty has many loyal Subjects, beſides thoſe of his Army, who would be ready to venture both their Lives

Lives and Fortunes in his Defence: I believe, there are very few who would venture either for the Pretender; and therefore, if by a very extraordinary Concurrence of Events, 10 or 12,000 Foreigners were landed amongſt us, with the Pretender at their Head, I am convinced, they would be joined by very few, but, on the contrary, would ſoon be overwhelmed by the Numbers of Men that would take Arms in Defence of their King, and the Liberties of their Country. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

'This I hope, Sir, is the Caſe at preſent: It will certainly be the Caſe, as long as the People think that the Preſervation of their Liberties depends upon the Preſervation of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; but ſhould the Scene be changed, ſhould the People find the Liberties of their Country oppreſſed by a numerous mercenary Army, and that Oppreſſion enforced and made legal by a more mercenary Parliament, they would probably turn their Eyes to the Pretender for Relief; and then if he ſhould land in any Part of the Iſland, with half the Number of foreign Troops, his Army would increaſe like a Snowball; a few Days March would make it too huge and mighty for our mercenary Army to oppoſe, and the more ſo, becauſe a great many of the common Soldiers, and perhaps ſome of the Officers, would certainly deſert, and join the invading Enemy. I muſt therefore think, that thoſe Gentlemen who are for ſecuring the People's Loyalty by a numerous mercenary Army, are exactly in the Caſe of a jealous Huſband, who, to ſecure his Wife's Chaſtity, locks her up: She will certainly, ſome Time or other, get an Opportunity, and the firſt ſhe gets, ſhe will certainly make the proper Uſe of, ſuch an Uſe as ſuch an Huſband deſerves. Sir, the *Engliſh* Padlock is certainly the beſt: Clap the Padlock upon the Minds of the People: This can no way be done but by truſting to themſelves the Defence of their King and Country: Diſband therefore your Army, or the greateſt Part of that you have no Occaſion for abroad: Take all poſſible Methods to make your People accuſtom themſelves to Arms and military Diſcipline; and then you can be in no Danger from an Inſurrection of a few diſaffected Perſons, nor from any Invaſion that can be made upon you, as long as you have a ſuperior Force at Sea.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, I muſt be of Opinion, that the bringing theſe Regiments from *Ireland* and keeping them here, inſtead of preventing an Invaſion, will probably encourage our Enemies to make the Attempt; and inſtead of defeating it when made, they will more probably contribute towards rendering it ſucceſsful. Gentlemen tell us, Sir, that our Army, modelled and commanded as it is at preſent,

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ſent, can never be dangerous to Liberty. For God's ſake! How would they have it modelled and commanded? Is it not modelled and commanded in the very ſame Manner thoſe Armies were that have deſtroyed the Liberties of other Countries? Is it not under the arbitrary Command of the Prime Miniſter? Are not all the Officers Commiſſions at his arbitrary Diſpoſal! Have not they been taught for twenty Years, that a blind Submiſſion to his Orders, in civil as well as military Affairs, is the only Road to Preferment, the only Tenure by which they can expect to hold their Commiſſions? Is it poſſible to have an Army modelled and commanded in a Method more dangerous to Liberty? At the Revolution, I know, Sir, it was ſuppoſed, that no Army could be dangerous to Liberty, but an Army kept up within the Iſland, in Time of Peace, without the Conſent of Parliament; but we have ſince, by Experience, been taught otherwiſe: We now know, that the Officers of an Army, modelled as it is at preſent, may endanger publick Liberty by their own or their Friends Votes in this Houſe and at Elections, more than they can do by their Swords in the Field; and in this Way, we know, that an Army of *Britiſh* Subjects, even when employed upon the Continent, or kept in any of our remote Dominions, may be of dangerous Conſequence to the Liberties of their Country. My Hon. Friend was therefore in the right when he ſaid, that an Army of above 60,000 Men was inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution; for I ſhall always think ſo, as long as the Officers Commiſſions are all at the arbitrary Diſpoſal of a Prime Miniſter.

'What our Miniſters intend to do with the Troops now ordered for *Flanders*, or what Encouragement they may have for ſending them thither, I do not know; but if they have good Reaſon to expect that our Troops will be joined by the Troops of ſome neighbouring States, I hope, theſe Regiments that are to be brought from *Ireland*, and as many more as we can poſſibly ſpare, will be ſent after the reſt. I ſhall not as yet pretend to find Fault with this Meaſure of ſending our Troops abroad; but if it ſhould afterwards appear, that we had no good Reaſon to hope for being joined by any other Troops, beſides thoſe of the Queen of *Hungary*, nor any Reaſon to expect being able to form a Confederacy in favour of that Princeſs, I ſhall then certainly condemn the Meaſure; for ſurely we are not ſo mad as to imagine, that we are able to ſupport the *Pragmatick Sanction* againſt all the powerful Princes of the Empire, united with *France* and *Spain* againſt it; and if we ſhould be obliged to bring our Troops back without attempting any Thing,

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we ſhall make a very poor Figure in the Eyes of all *Europe*, which, I am ſure, will no Way contribute to reſtore our Character, but on the contrary, will ſink it ſtill lower, if poſſible, than our late Puſillanimity and perplexed Negotiations have done. If we are ſtill to do nothing but negotiate, we might have ſaved ourſelves the Expence of keeping in Pay ſuch a numerous Army; or, at leaſt, we might have kept our Money amongſt ourſelves, by keeping our Army at home. All the Powers of *Europe* know, that, as we are Maſters of the Sea, and have always abundance of Tranſports ready at a Call, we can ſend an Army to the Continent whenever we pleaſe; and therefore, if none of them be now inclined to join us, I am ſure, our putting ourſelves to the Expence of ſending a large Body of Troops thither, without ſome previous tho' ſecret Aſſurances, will not alter their Inclinations, becauſe it will give them a very bad Opinion of our Conduct.

'The Conſequence will therefore, I hope, ſhew, that our Miniſters had good Aſſurances from thoſe that ought to give them: In that Caſe, I hope, the Regiments propoſed to be brought from *Ireland* will be ſent after the reſt; but till they are ſent, or juſt ready to be ſent, I think we have no Occaſion to transfer them from the *Iriſh* to the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment; for which Reaſon I muſt be againſt approving the Reſolution of our Committee.'

The Reſolutions of the Committee agreed to by the Houſe.

Then the Queſtion being put for agreeing with the Reſolutions of the Committee, it was reſolv'd in the Affirmative, Ayes 280, Noes 169.

Then the Call of the Houſe was adjourned for a Fortnight, and it was ordered, that no Member do go out of Town, without Leave.

More Petitions relating to the Linen Manufactury.

April 30. A Petition of the Manufacturers of Linnen in the Town of *Montroſe*; alſo of *Aberbrothock*, *Brechin*, *Bervie*, and *Glaſgow*, to the ſame Effect as that from *Perth*, was referred to the ſame Committee.

Petition from T. Stephens, Agent for Georgia.

A Petition of *Thomas Stephens*, Agent for the People of *Georgia*, ſetting forth, That, by Letters Patent, dated the 9th of *June*, 1732, a large Tract of waſte Land was granted to the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the Colony; and that, in Purſuance thereof, large Sums have been granted by Parliament, ſeveral private Contributions made, Numbers of Gentlemen have adventur'd on their own Expence, many induſtrious poor Perſons were ſent over by the Truſtees, to cultivate the Colony on their Scheme; and that the Failure of this Scheme, which has been found to be utterly impracticable, has been properly repreſented from Time to Time

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An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

to the Truſtees, and neceſſary Alterations recommended and petition'd for, for near Seven Years; and that, through a Refuſal thereof, and the Miſapplication of the publick Money, great Delays in diſcharging the Debts due from the Truſtees to the People, and many Abuſes in the Civil Power, the Colony is ſo greatly reduced, as to be incapable of fulfilling his Majeſty's moſt gracious Deſigns in eſtabliſhing it; unleſs ſuch preſent Redreſs be found for the injured People, and ſuch Means procured for their Encouragement, as may concur with the natural Fertility of the Soil, the commodious Situation of the Province, and its excellent Harbours for Trade, to anſwer the generous Purpoſes of an effectual Eſtabliſhment. This Petition was referred to the Conſideration of a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Accounts from thence, and from South Carolina.

Mr *Comptroller* preſented, purſuant to Addreſs of the 15th of *April* a Copy of the Petition from and Repreſentation of the Council and Aſſembly of *South Carolina*, and the Memorial of the Truſtees of *Georgia*.

Farther Petitions relating to the Linen Manufactury;

May 3. A Petition of the Manufacturers and Dealers in Linnen in the Burghs of *Stirling*, *Queensferry*, *Dunfermline*, *Inverkeithing*, *Dyſert*, *Burntiſland*, *Kirkaldie*, *Renfrew*, and *Dundee*, were referred to the Conſideration of the Committee of the whole Houſe on the Linen Manufactury [*See p.* 226]

Alſo againſt the Spaniſh Wine Bill;

A Petition of ſeveral Merchants of *Exeter*, againſt the Bill in favour of the Importation of *Spaniſh* Wines, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Reſolved that an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, for Copies of the Petition of *Thomas Stephens* (who ſtiles himſelf Agent for the People of *Georgia*) to his Majeſty, dated *March* 26, 1742, with the Anſwer of the Truſtees thereto, to be laid before the Houſe.

May 4. A Petition of the Linen Manufacturers of *Aberdeen* and *Paiſly* was referred to the Committee of the whole Houſe on the Linen Trade.

Likewiſe from inſolvent Debtors.

A Petition of the inſolvent Debtors in the County Goal of *Salop*, was ordered to lie on the Table.

May 5. Ordered that a Committee be appointed to conſider of printing the Journals of the Houſe.

The Spaniſh Wine Bill committed.

Then the Houſe proceeded to the farther hearing of Counſel on the Bill to impower Meſſrs *Nuthall*, *Fydell*, *Mitchell*, &c. to import, from neutral Ports, a certain Quantity of *Spaniſh* Wines: After Debate, the ſaid Bill was committed, Ayes 63, Noes 62.

Eſtimates of the Daniſh and Heſſian Troops preſented.

May 6. Sir *William Yonge* preſented to the Houſe (by the King's Command) an Account of the Charge of the *Daniſh* and *Heſſian* Troops paid by *Great Britain*, from the 25th of

of *March* to the 25th of *December* 1741: Likewiſe an Eſtimate of the Charge of the *Daniſh* Troops from the 26th of *December* 1741, to the 3d of *March* 1741-2; and of the *Heſſian* Troops from the 26th of *December* 1741, to the 25th of *December* 1742: Likewiſe an Eſtimate of the Charge of the General and Staff-Officers for the Forces in *Flanders* for 1742; and alſo of the Officers appointed to attend the Hoſpital of the Service of the Forces in *Flanders*, commencing the 20th of *March* 1741-2, and ending the 24th of *December* 1742.

Bill for borrowing 1,600,000 l. of the Bank;

A Bill for eſtabliſhing an Agreement with the Bank of *England*, for advancing a certain Sum of Money towards the Supply for the Year 1742, was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Alſo a Bill relating to Vagabonds ordered a ſecond Reading.

May 7. A Bill to explain and amend an Act made in the 13th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, intituled, *An Act for amending and enforcing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, &c.* was read a firſt Time, ordered a ſecond Reading, and to be printed.

Bill for encouraging Short Hand paſs'd.

An ingroſſed Bill for ſecuring to *John Byrom*, A. M. the ſole Right of publiſhing his Art of Short Hand, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Sir *Thomas Drury*.

Writ for Plympton.

Ordered a new Writ for a Burgeſs for *Plympton*, in the Room of *Thomas Clutterbuck*, Eſq; * made Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Navy.

Bill paſs'd for qualifying Officers.

May 10. A Bill to indemnify Perſons, who have omitted to qualify themſelves for Offices, *&c.* was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Carew*.

Bill to prevent ſtealing Cloth off the Rack.

Upon a Motion by Mr *Hayward*, ſeconded by Lord *Gage*, *&c.* a Bill was ordered in for the more effectual preventing any Cloth, or woollen Goods, remaining upon the Rack or Tenters, or any Wool left out to dry, from being ſtolen, or taken away in the Night Time.

Bill for qualifying Juſtices of Peace.

A Motion being made by Mr *Fazakerley*, ſeconded by Mr *Carew*, *&c.* that Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the further Qualification of Juſtices of the Peace, the ſame was order'd in accordingly.

Bill for explaining and continuing ſeveral Acts.

May 11. A Bill to revive the Acts, For explaining, amending, and rendering the Laws more effectual, for puniſhing ſuch Perſons as ſhall wilfully and maliciouſly pull down or deſtroy Turnpikes for repairing Highways; or Locks, or other Works, erected by Authority of Parliament, for making Rivers navigable, and for other Purpoſes therein mentioned: And alſo to continue ſeveral Laws, for granting

* He was ſo appointed on the Reſignation of Mr Speaker, and was re-elected.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Liberty to carry Rice from his Majeſty's Province of *Carolina* in *America*, directly to any Part of *Europe* Southward of Cape *Finiſterre*, in Ships built in, and belonging to *Great Britain*, and navigated according to Law, and to extend that Liberty to his Majeſty's Province of *Georgia* in *America*: For preventing Frauds in the Cuſtoms, and to prevent the clandeſtine running of Goods: And for making Copper Ore of the *Britiſh* Plantations, an enumerated Commodity, was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Account of all the Proceedings of the Truſtees for Georgia order'd.

Then it was ordered that the Truſtees for the Colony of *Georgia* do lay before the Houſe, all Reſolutions, which they have at any Time agreed upon, concerning the Tenures of Land in the ſaid Colony: Alſo a Petition for Negroes from ſome of the Inhabitants, in the Year 1735: And a Remonſtrance from the Inhabitants thereof to the ſaid Truſtees, in the Year 1740.

Petitions complaining of the Frauds of Soap-Makers.

May 12. A Petition of ſeveral Soap Makers of *Exeter*, repreſenting, That, notwithſtanding the Care of thoſe employed in ſecuring the Duties on Soap, the Laws already enacted are not ſufficient to prevent great Frauds daily committed by Soap Makers, whereby the Crown is deprived of a conſiderable Part of the ſaid Duties, and the fair Trader is greatly injured; and propoſing, that an Impreſſion be made with a Stamp upon every Piece of Soap, that is weighed, and charged with the Duty; and that thoſe who ſhall expoſe any Cake of Soap to Sale, not having ſuch Impreſſion thereon, ſhall forfeit as the Parliament ſhall think fit, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Bill for borrowing 1,600,000 l. of the Bank, paſs'd.

A Bill for eſtabliſhing an Agreement with the Bank of *England*, for advancing 1,600,000 *l.* towards the Supply for the Year 1742, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Francis Fane*.

May 13. A Petition of ſeveral Merchants of *Great Yarmouth*, in *Norfolk*, againſt the Bill in favour of the Importation of *Spaniſh* Wines, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.*

Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply for paying the Foreign Forces in Britiſh Pay.

I. That 47,273 *l.* 9 *s.* 5 ½ *d.* be granted for defraying the Charge of what remains to be paid to the Troops of the King of *Denmark*, being 1194 Horſe, and 5692 Foot, together with the General Officers, in the Pay of *Great Britain*, from the 25th of *March* to the 25th of *December*, 1741.

II. That 51,072 *l.* 4 *s.* 2 ½ *d.* be granted for defraying the Charge of the *Daniſh* Troops, from the 26th of *December* 1741, to the 3d of *March* 1741-2, together with the

the Proportion of the Subſidy due for the ſaid Time, and alſo for 42 Days Pay, and Waggon-Money for their Return home, purſuant to Treaty. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

III. That 33,309 *l.* 7 *s.* be granted for defraying the Charge of what remains to be paid to the Troops of the King of *Sweden*, as Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſell*, being 1264 Horſe, and 4908 Foot, together with the General Officers and Train of Artillery, in the Pay of *Great Britain*, from the 25th of *March* to the 25th of *December* 1741.

IV. That 161,607 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 ½ *d.* be granted for defraying the Charge of the ſaid *Heſſian* Troops, from the 26th of *December* 1741, to the 25th of *December* 1742, together with the Subſidy for the ſaid Time, purſuant to Treaty.

V. That 25,731 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* be granted for defraying the Charge of the General and Staff Officers, appointed to attend the Forces in *Flanders*, with the Contingencies for the other Service, for 1742. And for the Britiſh Forces in Flanders;

VI. That 1365 *l.* be granted, for defraying the Expence of the Hoſpital, for the Service of the ſaid Forces for 1742.

VII. That 20,000 *l.* be granted towards enabling the Commiſſioners for building a Bridge croſs the *Thames*, from *Weſtminſter* to the oppoſite Shore in *Surrey*, to finiſh the ſaid Bridge. Alſo 20,000 l. for Weſtminſter Bridge.

The Lord *Limerick* made a Report from the Committee of Secrecy, which he read in his Place, and afterwards delivered in at the Table. Report from the Secret Committee preſented.

Then a Motion being made by his Lordſhip, and ſeconded by Sir *John St Aubin*, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill, for indemnifying ſuch Perſons, as ſhall, upon Examination, make Diſcoveries touching the Diſpoſition of publick Money, or concerning the Diſpoſition of Offices, or any Payments or Agreements in reſpect thereof, or concerning other Matters, relating to the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*. After Debate, a Bill was order'd in accordingly, on a Diviſion, Ayes 251, Noes 228. A Bill order'd in for indemnifying Evidence againſt Robert Earl of Orford.

The Report, with the Appendix, from the ſaid Committee was alſo ordered to be printed *.

Then it was farther reſolved, that the Call of the Houſe be adjourn'd for a Fortnight, Ayes 231, Noes 221.

May 14. On a Motion made by Mr *Carew*, a Bill was order'd in, more effectually to prevent Perſons from aſſiſting Priſoners to eſcape, or to attempt to eſcape, from their Confinement. This was brought in the next Day, read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading. A Bill to prevent the Eſcape of Priſoners order'd in.

May 15. A Bill for the more effectual preventing any

* This the Reader will find at large in the Appendix to this Volume.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Cloth, or woollen Goods, remaining upon the Rack or Tenters, or any Wool left out to dry, from being ſtolen, or taken away in the Night Time, was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading, and to be printed.

Bill to prevent ſtealing of Fiſh.

On a Motion made by Mr *Phillips*, and ſeconded by Mr *Powney*, a Bill was ordered in for the more effectual puniſhing of Perſons, who ſhall unlawfully and maliciouſly kill, deſtroy, or ſteal any Fiſh kept in Ponds or Stews, and alſo Perſons, who ſhall wilfully or maliciouſly pull down or deſtroy the Pales or Walls of any Park or Paddock.

A Petition of ſeveral Sope-makers of *Launceſton*, to the ſame Effect as that from *Exeter* [*See p.* 242.] was ordered to lie on the Table.

Mr Bell order'd into Cuſtody for refuſing to anſwer before the Secret Committee.

The Lord *Limerick* having reported from the Committee of Secrecy, that Mr *Joſeph Bell** having been examined by the ſaid Committee, refuſed to anſwer to what had been demanded of him, he was ordered into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms: On a Diviſion, Ayes 117. Noes 110.

Bill relating to the Earl of Orford order'd a 2d Reading.

Then the Bill for indemnifying ſuch Perſons, as ſhall, upon Examination, make Diſcoveries touching the Diſpoſition of publick Money, or concerning the Diſpoſition of Offices, or any Payments or Agreements in reſpect thereof, or concerning other Matters, relating to the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford* was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading

Proceedings on the Officers Bill.

Then the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, on the Bill to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the Houſe of Commons; and rejected the Clauſe for excluding all Officers of the Army under the Rank of a Lieutenant Colonel: On a Diviſion: Ayes 146, Noes 113.

Petitions againſt Frauds of Soap-makers.

May 17. A Petition of ſeveral Soap-Makers of *Taviſtock*, and of *Taunton*, to the ſame Effect as thoſe from *Launceſton* and *Exeter*, were ordered to lie on the Table.

Bill relating to Houſes of Correction.

A Bill to impower the Juſtices of the Peace of a Liberty, or Corporation, to commit Offenders to the Houſe of Correction of the County, Riding, or Diviſion, in which ſuch Liberty or Corporation is ſituate, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Williamſon*.

Another for ſecuring Trade and Navigation, paſſed.

A Bill for the better protecting and ſecuring the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom in Times of War, was read the third Time, and paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Sir *Robert Godſchall* †.

May

* Comptroller of the Poſt-Office.

† See a Copy of the ſaid Bill, and the Debate thereupon in the Houſe of Lords, where it was rejected, in TIMBERLAND's Hiſtory, Vol. VIII. p. 113.

May 18. A Bill for indemnifying ſuch Perſons, as ſhall, upon Examination, make Diſcoveries touching the Diſpoſition of publick Money, or the Diſpoſition of Offices, &c. relating to the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, was read a ſecond Time; and after Debate it was reſolved, that the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe: Ayes 228, Noes 216.

Bill relating to the Earl of Orford committed;

Then Sir *John Hind Cotton* mov'd, That the Houſe do immediately reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe upon the ſaid Bill, which was carried in the Affirmative, Ayes 233, Noes 221; and the Committee went through the Bill, and reported it with ſeveral Amendments.

And paſs'd.

May 19. A Bill for indemnifying Perſons, who ſhall, upon Examination, make Diſcoveries, &c. relating to the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, was read the third Time, and paſs'd: On a Diviſion, Ayes 214, Noes 186; and ſent to the Lords by Lord *Limerick*.

Bill to prevent the ſtealing of Fiſh order'd a 2d Reading.

A Bill, for the more effectual puniſhing ſuch Perſons, as ſhall unlawfully and maliciouſly kill, deſtroy, or ſteal any Fiſh kept in Ponds or Stews, and alſo Perſons, who ſhall wilfully and maliciouſly pull down or deſtroy the Pales or Walls of any Park or Paddock; was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Bill paſs'd to prevent Priſoners eſcaping.

A Bill, more effectually to prevent Perſons from aſſiſting Priſoners to eſcape from their Confinement, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Carew*.

Mr *Pulteney* reported from the Committee of the whole Houſe, the Bill to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the Houſe of Commons; and it was reſolv'd that the ſaid Bill ſhould not take Place 'till after the Expiration of this Parliament: On a Diviſion, Ayes 152, Noes 75.

Amount of Duties on Cambricks, order'd in.

Ordered an Account of the Amount of the Duties paid on Cambricks, from *Chriſtmas* 1727 to *Chriſtmas* 1740, inclusive; alſo of the Amount of the Drawbacks paid on Cambricks exported, during the ſaid Time, to be laid before the Houſe.

More Petitions relating to Soapmakers.

May 20. A Petition of ſeveral Soap-makers of *Totneſs*, to the ſame Effect as thoſe from *Exeter*, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Bill for Relief of the Poor, order'd in.

A Motion being made by Mr *Phillips*, and ſeconded by Mr *Carew*, to bring in a Bill for remedying ſome Defects in the Act made in the 43d Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, intituled, *An Act for the Relief of the Poor*; the ſame was granted accordingly, and thoſe two Gentlemen, with Mr *Bramſton*, Mr *Winford*, the Lord *Cheſterfield*, the Lord *Perceval*, and Mr *Legh Maſter*, were ordered to bring in the ſame.

Sir

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Sir *John Hind Cotton* having reported from the Committee of the whole Houſe, the Bill for taking, examining, and ſtating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom; the ſame, with the Amendments, was order'd to be ingroſs'd.

Proceedings on the Bill for ſtating the publick Accounts.

Then it was reſolved, that the Number of Commiſſioners for taking, examining and ſtating the ſaid Accounts, be ſeven, to be choſen by Ballot. It was alſo reſolved, that no Perſon ſhall be a Commiſſioner, who hath any Office of Profit, or is accountable to his Majeſty; but that the Commiſſioners may be Members of the Houſe.

Addreſs for all the Papers relating to the Convention with Spain.

Upon a Motion of Lord *Limerick's*, by Direction from the Committee of Secrecy, the Houſe reſolved to preſent an Addreſs to his Majeſty, for all the Powers, Inſtructions, Memorials, Letters and Papers, relating to the Convention * between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, concluded at the *Pardo*, *January* 14, 1739, *N. S.* as alſo all Memorials, Letters and Papers, relating to the ſaid Convention, ſince the ſigning thereof, till the Declaration of the War with *Spain*: On a Diviſion, Ayes 202, Noes 182.

Bill to exclude Officers;

May 21. A Bill to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the Houſe of Commons, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ordered to be ſent to the Lords by Mr *Pulteney*.

May 24. Notice being taken by ſome Members, that the ſaid Bill had not been carried up to their Lordſhips, Mr *Sandys* was ſent with the ſame.

And another relating to Gold and Silver Lace, paſs'd.

Then a Bill for preventing the counterfeiting of Gold and Silver Lace, and for ſettling and adjuſting the Proportions of fine Silver and Silk, and for the better making of Gold and Silver Thread, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Sir *Robert Godſchall*.

The Bill for recovery of ſmall Debts;

A Bill for the more eaſy Recovery of ſmall Debts was read a ſecond Time. A Motion being made, and the Queſtion put, that the Bill be committed, it paſſed in the Negative: On a Diviſion, Ayes 97, Noes 111.

And another for Relief of inſolvent Debtors, drop'd.

May 25. A Bill for Relief of inſolvent Debtors, was read the third Time; and an Amendment made thereto; and a Motion being made, and the Queſtion put, that the Bill do paſs, it paſſed in the Negative: Ayes 79, Noes 87.

Reſolutions relating to the Linen Manufactury.

The ſame Day Mr *Hooper* reported from the Committee of the whole Houſe, on the Petition of the Merchants of *London*, and other Dealers in the Manufactures of Linens made in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, the Reſolutions of the ſaid Committee, which are as follows:

I. That it is their Opinion, that the Manufactures of Linens made in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, are greatly improved

* See the Debate upon this Subject, Anno 1739.

proved, whereby the Price of Linens, as well of Foreign as Home Fabrick, hath been conſiderably reduced.

II. That the further Extention of the ſaid Manufactures of Linens will be a great Advantage to the ſaid Kingdoms.

III. That the granting a Bounty upon the Exportation of all *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Linens from *Great Britain*, will be a Means of extending the ſaid Manufactures.

IV. That an Allowance of One Penny *per* Yard, upon all *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Linens of the Value of Twelve Pence *per* Yard, and under, will be a proper Bounty for that Purpoſe

V. That the ſaid Bounty be paid by an additional Duty to be laid upon foreign Cambricks imported into *Great Britain*.

The above Reſolutions of the Committee, being agreed to by the Houſe, were referred to the Committee of Supply.

Then the Order for taking into Conſideration the Report relating to the Bill to impower certain Merchants to import Spaniſh Wines from Neutral Ports, was poſtpon'd *ſine die*; by which that Affair was quite drop'd.

Bill for importing Spaniſh Wines poſtpon'd.

May 26. A Petition of the ſeveral Sope-makers of *Bridgwater*, to the ſame Effect as thoſe of *Exeter*, was ordered to lie on the Table.

A Bill for the farther Qualification of Juſtices of the Peace, was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading, and to be printed.

Bill to qualify Juſtices, order'd a 2d Reading.

Then Mr *Coke* reported from the Committee, appointed to examine the Liſts of the Names of ſeven Perſons, to be Commiſſioners for taking, examining, and ſtating the publick Accounts, that the Majority had fallen upon the Hon. *Charles Hamilton*, Eſq; *Edward Hooper*, Eſq; Sir *William Middleton*, Bart. *George Grenville*, Eſq; Sir *Richard Corbett*, Bart. *James Weſt*, Eſq; and *John Bance*, Eſq; *

Names of ſeven Commiſſioners for ſtating the publick Accounts choſen by Ballot.

A Motion being made by Lord *Hillſborough* and ſeconded by Lord *Barrington*, for appointing a Committee to ſearch the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, as to what Proceedings are therein, with Relation to the Bill, intituled, *An Act for indemnifying ſuch Perſons, as ſhall, upon Examination make Diſcoveries, touching the Diſpoſition of publick Money, or concerning the Diſpoſition of Offices, or any Payments or Agreements*

A Committee appointed to ſearch the Lords Journals concerning their Proceedings on the Bill for indemnifying Evidences againſt Robert Earl of Orford.

* The Numbers upon the Ballot ſtood thus:

Hon. Charles Hamilton	241	Edward Hooper, Eſq;	238
Sir William Middleton	237	George Grenville, Eſq;	236
Sir Richard Corbett	235	John Bance, Eſq;	232
James Weſt, Eſq;	235	John Phillips, Eſq;	229
Edward Thompſon, Eſq;	231	John Pitt, Eſq;	228
Wenman Ellis, Eſq;	231	Sir Charles Mordaunt	225
Thomas Fonnereau, Eſq;	231	Hon. John Stewart	220

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

ments in reſpect thereof, or concerning other Matters, relating to the Conduct of Robert *Earl of* Orford, and to make Report thereof to the Houſe, the ſame was agreed to: On a Diviſion, Ayes 164, Noes 159: And a Committee was appointed accordingly.

The next Day the Lord *Hillſborough* having made a Report from the ſaid Committee, a Motion was made by Lord *Strange**, ſeconded by Lord *Quarendon* †, That the Lords refuſing to concur with the Commons of *Great Britain*, in an Indemnification neceſſary to the effectual carrying on the Inquiry now depending in Parliament, is an Obſtruction to Juſtice, and may prove fatal to the Liberties of this Nation: This occaſion'd a warm Debate, in which Lord *Hillſborough* ſpoke as follows:

Lord Strange's Motion to reſolve, That the rejecting that Bill is an Obſtruction to publick Juſtice.

Debate thereon.

Sir,

Ld Hillsborough.

'When the Nation has been oppreſſed and plundered by a wicked Miniſter, or when there is a general Suſpicion among the People that it has been ſo, publick Juſtice requires, that the Conduct of ſuch a Miniſter ſhould be fully and ſtrictly inquired into, that he may be condignly puniſhed if guilty, or his Character cleared from Suſpicion if innocent: And when in the Courſe of that Inquiry it appears, that he has been ſo cunning as to prevent its being poſſible to carry it on with Effect by the Laws in being, ſuch new Laws ought to be made as may appear neceſſary for attaining that End. That there is a general Suſpicion againſt our late Miniſter, I believe, no Man can be ignorant who has ever been in any Coffee-Houſe, or other Place of publick Reſort, frequented by thoſe who dare avow the Sentiments of their Heart; and from the Fate of the Bill which, we now find, has been rejected by the other Houſe, I am convinc'd, that thoſe Suſpicions are well grounded; for it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a Bill would have met with ſuch an Oppoſition in this Houſe, or ſuch a Fate in the other, if the Conduct of our late Miniſter had been blameleſs.

'As the Nature and the Neceſſity of that Bill were fully explained, and made evident to a Majority of this Houſe in the Debates that happened upon it here, I have no Occaſion to repeat what was ſaid upon either. The Bill was ſhewn to be of ſuch a Nature as could do no Prejudice to any innocent Man; and it was demonſtrated, to a Majority at leaſt of this Houſe, that without ſuch a Bill's being paſſed into a Law, it would be impoſſible for our Secret Committee to make any Diſcovery, even of thoſe Crimes, which from the

* Eldeſt Son of the Earl of Derby.

† Eldeſt Son of the Earl of Lichfield

the Obſtinacy of ſome of the Perſons examined by them there is too good a Ground for ſuppoſing to have been committed. It is therefore evident, that by this Bill's being rejected by the other Houſe, the Courſe of our Inquiry is obſtructed, and the People for this Seſſion at leaſt diſappointed of that Juſtice they had a Right to expect from Parliament. But this is not all: The rejecting of this Bill will be attended with Conſequences, which in a twofold Reſpect muſt be dangerous to our Conſtitution. It will make the People begin to deſpiſe Parliaments, and deſpair of ever meeting with any Relief from them; and it will make all future Miniſters more daring in their Attempts to overturn the Freedom and Independency of Parliament. If any Miniſter ſhould ever ſucceed in ſuch an Attempt, the People would certainly, in a very ſhort Time, have Reaſon to hate Parliaments: Nay, they would probably join with the Prince in laying them intirely aſide; for an abſolute Government, without any Form of Liberty, is certainly better and more tolerable than a Government ſupported by an Aſſembly of Men, who, under Pretence of being the Guardians of publick Liberty, take every Opportunity to betray it, and ſerve for nothing but that of making the Government more expenſive, and the Prince more arbitrary.

'We have, 'tis true, in this Seſſion made ſome Steps towards preventing this fatal Conſequence: Our having eſtabliſhed a Secret Committee; our having named of that Committee a Set of Gentlemen, moſt of whom were generally approved of by the People; and our having paſſed the Indemnifying Bill for rendering their Inquiry effectual, are Proofs that we were in Earneſt: But I wiſh our Endeavours had been more vigorous and ſpeedy; for conſidering that we might have eaſily foreſeen and prevented what has now come to paſs, I am afraid, leſt the People ſhould ſuſpect the Integrity of our Intentions. They may perhaps imagine, that we knew our Inquiry would be ineffectual, without an Indemnifying Bill for encouraging Accomplices to become Informers; and that we delayed the bringing in and paſſing that Bill, till after we had paſſed the Mutiny Bill, and granted all the Supplies, that it might be ſafely rejected by the other Houſe. Such a Suppoſition may at this Time be the more probably made, becauſe it is well known, that ſome Bills have been lately paſſed in this Houſe without Oppoſition, and, perhaps, with the Concurrence of ſome who were, in their Hearts, againſt the Bill, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they were ſure of the Bill's being rejected by the other Houſe.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

'I am far from ſaying, Sir, that there is any real Ground for ſuch Suſpicions; but they are ſuch as may be entertained, and they are ſuch as we ought in Duty to ourſelves, and for the Sake of the Character of this Houſe, to endeavour to prevent. In this Seſſion we cannot, I think, take any other Method for preventing it, than by declaring openly our Sentiments of the Bill's being rejected by the other Houſe; and therefore I have prepared a Motion, in which I cannot doubt of having the Concurrence of the Houſe. I know I am not to expect the Concurrence of thoſe who declared againſt the Bill, even when it was paſſing thro' this Houſe; but as it was in every Step carried by a Majority, and as every Gentleman, who was a real and ſincere Friend to the Bill muſt be of Opinion, that the rejecting of it is an Obſtruction to Juſtice, and of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Liberties, I ſhall, and I think I may with Hopes of Succeſs, move you to reſolve, That the Lords refuſing to concur with the Commons of *Great Britain*, in an Indemnification neceſſary to the effectual carrying on the Inquiry now depending in Parliament, is an Obſtruction to Juſtice, and may prove fatal to the Liberties of this Nation.'

Mr Sandys.

Mr *Sandys* ſpoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

'I hope no Man doubts of my Inclination, or my Sincerity, in carrying on the Inquiry that has been ſet on Foot, or in being a Friend to any Thing that has been propoſed for rendering it effectual; and yet I cannot agree with the Noble Lord in the Motion he has been pleaſed to make to you, becauſe I think it has a very different Tendency. In my Opinion, it would bring on an immediate Diſſolution of our preſent Form of Government; for after our agreeing to ſuch a Motion, I ſhould expect, that the next Motion would be, to vote the other Houſe uſeleſs, and that it ought therefore to be laid aſide. I diſapprove, as much as any Man can do of the Conduct of the other Houſe, in rejecting the Indemnifying Bill we ſent up to them, becauſe I thought ſuch a Bill neceſſary for obtaining Juſtice to a Nation that has, in my Opinion, been greatly injured; but tho' I diſapprove of the Conduct of the other Houſe in this Particular, I do not for that Reaſon think it ought to be laid aſide, or that we have any Right to paſs a Cenſure upon it. The Lords are generally called the Upper Houſe of Parliament, and tho' it is not from thence to be inferred, that they are ſuperior to us, yet it muſt be allowed, that they are quite independent,

dependent, and have as good a Right to refuſe any Bill we ſend to them, as we have to refuſe any Bill they ſend to us; and we cannot ſurely pretend to cenſure them for making uſe of a Right which we acknowledge to be inherent in them. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

' But ſuppoſe, Sir, we ſhould agree to cenſure the other Houſe for what they have done, without puſhing our Reſentment farther, our Cenſure would do more Harm to ourſelves than it could do to them, becauſe it would bring us into Contempt. Thoſe who have no Power to puniſh, ſhould always abſtain from cenſuring, becauſe it makes their Want of Power be taken Notice of; and as ſoon as their Want of Power comes to be generally known, their Cenſures will become ridiculous. We ought not therefore to agree to this Motion, without firſt reſolving to puſh our Reſentment farther; and I do not ſee how we can do ſo. We ſucceeded once, 'tis true, in voting the other Houſe uſeleſs, and conſequently laying them entirely aſide, but we then had the Army at our Command, which we cannot now pretend to; and if we had, the Conſequence of that Proceeding can be no great Encouragement for practiſing it a ſecond Time; for that very Army which enabled the Commons to turn the Lords out of Doors, afterwards aſſiſted their General in turning the Commons out of Doors, and ſupported him in the Exerciſe of a moſt arbitrary and tyrannical Power over theſe three Kingdoms during all the Days of his Life.

' The Fate of theſe Kingdoms at that Time, Sir, ſhould be a Warning to lateſt Poſterity, to beware of attempting any Thing that may tend to introduce Confuſion, by overturning a regular and well eſtabliſhed Government, which, in all Appearance, would be the Conſequence of this Motion's being agreed to, even ſuppoſe we ſhould proceed no farther; for after our having paſſed ſuch a ſevere Cenſure upon the other Houſe, it would be inconſiſtent with their Honour to have any Correſpondence with us, or to receive any Meſſage, or any Bill from this Houſe of Commons. This would lay his Majeſty under a Neceſſity of diſſolving the preſent Parliament; and if a new Houſe of Commons ſhould be choſen of the ſame Complexion, they would probably revive the Cenſure of their Predeceſſors, which would bring his Majeſty under the Neceſſity of governing without a Parliament: A Neceſſity which would, I am ſure, be moſt diſagreeable to him, and a Neceſſity which might be of fatal Conſequence to the Nation, becauſe it would probably be attended with a Civil War.

' Theſe Conſequences, I think, Sir, are moſt juſtly to be apprehended from our agreeing to this Motion; and if

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

any ſuch Conſequence ſhould enſue, would it not put an End to all Parliamentary Inquiries, either in this or any future Seſſion of Parliament? Our Committee may not, perhaps, be able to make ſuch ample Diſcoveries as they might have made, had this Bill been paſſed into a Law; but none of them have as yet ſaid, they can make no Diſcovery. The contrary might, perhaps, be made appear; and they may in this Seſſion make ſuch farther Diſcoveries as may induce the other Houſe to agree to a new Bill, of much the ſame Purport with that they have now rejected. But ſuppoſe this ſhould not be the Caſe: Suppoſe no material or full Diſcovery ſhould be made during this Seſſion: The Inquiry may be revived, and a new Secret Committee appointed, as ſoon as we meet in the next Seſſion: The ſame Bill may then be revived, and ſent up to the other Houſe at a Time when it would be dangerous for them to diſagree to it; or a new Bill may be contrived, which, in my Opinion, would be the beſt Method; and as we now know the Objections they made to our former, we may form our new Bill in ſuch a Manner as to obviate all thoſe Objections.

'For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I cannot join in aſſerting expreſsly, that our late Bill's being rejected is an Obſtruction to Juſtice; becauſe I am not ſure of our being quite unable to come at Juſtice without that Bill, and becauſe if we do not come at it in this Seſſion, we may in the next; but ſhould this Motion be agreed to, I am ſure, we can never come at Juſtice in a Parliamentary Method, either in this Seſſion or the next, nor, perhaps, in any future. It would, in my Opinion, unavoidably produce a Civil War; and this ſurely is an Event which ought at all Times to be moſt cautiouſly guarded againſt, but eſpecially in the preſent Conjuncture, when the Trade and Navigation of this Iſland is in Danger of being deſtroyed by one Power, and the Liberties of *Europe* by another; and theſe by their Situation, Genius, and Intereſt, the two moſt conſtant and dangerous Enemies this Nation has in the World.

'I am therefore convinced, that if the two noble Lords who made and ſeconded this Motion, had read and been well acquainted with the Hiſtory and Conſtitution of their Country, they would not have offered ſuch a Motion to your Conſideration. Can they ſay, they have ſtudied our Journals with that Attention which is neceſſary for forming a compleat Idea of all the Conſequences that may enſue from ſuch a Motion? From their Youth it is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe they have; and from their known Attachment to the Liberties and Conſtitution of their Country it is evident they have not; for no one that knows them can

can ſuſpect them of any evil Intention. I therefore hope, when they have conſidered what I have ſaid, and what may be ſaid by other Gentlemen in the Debate, that they will drop their Motion; for tho' I am convinced, it can meet with no Succeſs, yet the very Appearance of it upon our Journals may produce ſome of the bad Effects I have mentioned; and theſe, I hope, when they are appriſed of them, they will be ready and willing to prevent.' An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Sir *John Hind Cotton* ſpoke as follows: Sir John Hind Cotton.

Sir,

'I would not have my old Friend, now over againſt me, tho' formerly he uſed to be of the ſame Side with me, I ſay I would not have him, nor ſome other Gentlemen in the Houſe, imagine, that no Man doubts of their Sincerity in the effectual Proſecution of the Inquiry we have ſet on foot; for I can aſſure them, there are many without Doors who now begin to doubt of it; but if a Negative ſhould be put upon this Motion, thoſe Doubts will be at an End: Moſt Men will then be convinced, not of their Sincerity, but of their Want of it; and therefore, if thoſe Gentlemen have any Regard for what is ſaid or thought of them, they will not allow themſeves to be frighted by chimerical Dangers, from vindicating their own Characters, as well as the Character of this Houſe, from thoſe Aſperſions that will certainly ſpring up from the bad Succeſs of our Inquiry occaſioned by the rejecting of our Bill.

'It is well known, Sir, without Doors as well as within, that a new Miniſter generally endeavours to caſt a Slur upon the Adminiſtration of an old one, in order to add a Luſtre to his own, and to gain a little Applauſe at the Beginning of his Reign; but he always takes Care to prevent the former's meeting with condign Puniſhment, leſt he ſhould thereby prepare a Rod for his own Back; for it is ten to one but in few Years he may deſerve Puniſhment as much as his Predeceſſor. It is likewiſe well known without Doors as well as within, by whoſe Eloquence and Advice our Bill was rejected in the other Houſe; and conſidering their Intimacy and Connection with ſome Gentlemen in this, who appeared to be ſtrenuous Advocates for the Bill, People already begin to ſuſpect that the latter had ſome Sort of Foreknowledge of the Fate of the Bill, which gave them an Opportunity of gaining a little Popularity by declaring for a Bill which they were in their Hearts againſt; becauſe if it had been paſſed into a Law, they were afraid, it would have brought to Light ſuch a Scene of Iniquity, as would have put it out of their Power to prevent the Criminal's meeting with condign Puniſhment. Such

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a Suſpicion, I ſay, has already ariſen, and if by Means of thoſe Gentlemen this Motion ſhould meet with the ſame Fate in this Houſe, as our Bill met with in the other, that Suſpicion will be confirmed.

'I am ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear Gentlemen ſay, that if this Motion ſhould be agreed to, they ſhould expect its being followed by another Motion for voting the Houſe of Lords uſeleſs. Surely, I may tell a Man he has done wrong, without any Deſign or Deſire to murder him. On the contrary, if I am really his Friend, I ought to tell him my Opinion, in order to prevent his doing the like for the future, eſpecially if his Safety as well as his Character ſhould depend upon his doing ſo no more. This, Sir, is really the Caſe at preſent betwixt us and the Houſe of Lords. That Houſe has done wrong: The Hon. Gentleman himſelf ſays he thinks they have done wrong: I think ſo as well as he: He is for ſmothering his Opinion, and thereby ſacrificing his Friendſhip to his Complaiſance: I am for telling them bluntly what I think: Pray, which of us is the trueſt Friend to that Houſe?

'Sir, in all Caſes that will admit of it, I ſhall be for treating my Friend with Complaiſance; but in a Caſe where his Safety or Character is concerned, Complaiſance is Treachery: I abominate it: I deſpiſe the Man who, upon ſuch an Occaſion, would make uſe of it. This, Sir, is the Light in which the preſent Queſtion appears to me. The very Being, as well as the Character, of the other Houſe depends upon their rejecting no more ſuch Bills as that we lately ſent up to them. It was not the Army: It was not the Commons, that put an End to the Exiſtence of that Houſe in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time: It was their own Conduct. By refuſing their Conſent to popular and neceſſary Laws, by endeavouring to ſcreen guilty Miniſters, they render'd their Houſe hateful to the People. This enabled the Commons and the Army to turn them out of Doors; and the General's being in a Condition afterwards to turn the Commons out of Doors flowed from the ſame Cauſe. If ever the like Caſe ſhould again happen, the ſame Cauſe may very probably produce the ſame Effect; and therefore what happened at that Time ſhould be a Warning to the other Houſe, as well as this, to endeavour at all Times to preſerve a good Character among the People.

'I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that at that Time there was ſuch a Spirit of Republicaniſm and Enthuſiaſm prevailed among the People, that it was difficult for the other Houſe to preſerve a popular Eſteem, without ſacrificing our Conſtitution both in Church and State; but this Spirit had been raiſed

raiſed and propagated by the Conduct of thoſe who were at that Time our Miniſters; and in all ſuch Caſes common Prudence makes it neceſſary to yield a little to the Impetuoſity of the Times. This ſhould make all Miniſters cautious of raiſing too violent a Spirit among the People againſt them; for when they do, it will always be neceſſary for the Parliament to proceed againſt them with more Severity than they may perhaps deſerve; and thoſe of either Houſe, who have a true Regard for their Sovereign, and for the Conſtitution of their Country, will take Care to remove and puniſh a Miniſter before he has, by his Conduct, converted the Diſcontents of the People into a Spirit of Diſaffection: for when this happens, the Example of King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign is a Proof of its being almoſt impoſſible to confine it within any moderate Bounds. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

'This, Sir, I think, we are in ſome Danger of at preſent, eſpecially if it ſhould begin to be generally thought without Doors, that both Houſes of Parliament have joined in Skreening a guilty Miniſter, and in amuſing the Publick with a ſham Inquiry into his Conduct. The preſent Motion therefore, if complied with, may anſwer, and is, I believe, deſigned for anſwering two moſt ſalutary Purpoſes; that of letting our Friends, the Lords, (I hope I may yet call them ſo) know their Danger; and that of reſcuing this Houſe from the Danger of becoming deſpicable in the Eyes of the People. This Motion is ſo far from being deſign'd as a Cenſure upon the Conduct of the other Houſe, that it is deſigned as an Act of Friendſhip. We certainly know the Sentiments of the People better than they can be ſuppoſed to do; therefore we are, and, I think, we ought to tell them what we, and, I believe, the far greateſt Part of the Nation, think of their having rejected that Bill we ſo lately ſent up to them. This may prevent their bringing themſelves into that Contempt, which a few more ſuch Steps as this will certainly bring them into. Therefore as Friends to them, as Friends to our Conſtitution, and as faithful Subjects to our Sovereign, we ought to agree to this Motion.

'But ſuppoſe, Sir, it were to be look'd on as a Cenſure. Is not Cenſure itſelf ſometimes the Duty of a Friend? Does not the Church cenſure or admoniſh before ſhe excommunicates? We are not by this Motion to excommunicate the other Houſe; and, I hope, they will not excommunicate this, even tho' we ſhould agree to this Motion. If they ſhould, as we have the Purſe in our Power, they would find themſelves no great Gainers by the Bargain. They are ſufficiently ſenſible of this, and therefore we have no Occaſion to fear their reſolving to receive no more Meſſages or Bills

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Bills from this Houſe. Their Honour could not be any Way concerned in the Queſtion; becauſe if they took it right, they would take it as a friendly Admonition; and tho' they cannot recal what is paſſed, I hope, they would for their own Sakes take care to give us no more Room for ſuch a Cenſure.

'That they have a Right to refuſe any Bill we ſend up to them muſt be acknowledged; but that we have no Right to find Fault with the Uſe they make of that Right, no Man ſurely can with any Reaſon pretend. May not a Man make a bad as well as a good Uſe of any Right he enjoys? And if he makes a bad Uſe of it, has not every other Man a Right to ſay he does, and to cenſure him for ſo doing? Cenſure, Sir, when it is juſt, tho' it proceeds from no legal Authority, nor from any ſuperior Juriſdiction, will always carry Puniſhment along with it. It affects the Character of the Perſon cenſured, and will affect it more or leſs, according to the Juſtice and Weight of the Cenſure. Therefore a Man who has no Power to inflict any legal Puniſhment may cenſure, without running any Riſk of incurring Contempt. Nay, a Man may often for his own Sake be obliged to cenſure the Conduct of his Friend, in order to ſhew, that he had no Share in adviſing, nor had approved of that Conduct, which leads me to the other Purpoſe this Motion is deſigned for.

'To vindicate the Character of this Houſe from any Reproach will always, I hope, be conſidered as a Concern worthy of our Attention; and conſidering the general Reproach that will certainly be thrown upon the rejecting of this Bill, I think it concerns us highly to convince the World, that we were no Way privy or conſenting to its being rejected. The two Houſes of Parliament generally are look'd upon, I hope, there will always be Reaſon to look upon them, as Friends; and therefore, if one does a wrong Thing, and the other does not openly diſclaim it, an Imputation will fall upon both. This is the Caſe in private Life, and this will always be the Caſe with two publick Aſſemblies that have ſuch a Connection together as our two Houſes of Parliament have, eſpecially when it is known, that there is a cloſe Intimacy and Friendſhip between the Members of the one and the Members of the other. As to my own private Concern, if I had no Regard for the Character of this Aſſembly, I might be perfectly eaſy; for moſt of the Lords of my Acquaintance have, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, declared their Diſſent to the rejecting of this Bill. But I have a Concern for the Character of this Houſe: As a Friend to the Conſtitution, as a dutiful Subject to his Majeſty, I think myſelf

myſelf obliged to have a Concern for it; and thank God! no one, either of our new or old Miniſters, has ſuch an Influence over me, as to prevent my expreſſing that Concern and acting accordingly. I therefore think, it is abſolutely neceſſary for us, upon this Occaſion, to take ſome Method for convincing the World, that we had no Foreknowledge, nor ſo much as a previous Suſpicion, that a Bill ſo neceſſary for diſcovering the Conſpiracy, that has for ſeveral Years been carrying on againſt the Liberties of this Nation, by a Miniſter and his Creatures, was to be rejected by the other Houſe; and as I can ſuggeſt no better Method than what the noble Lord has been pleaſed to propoſe, I ſhall be for agreeing to it. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

'The other Houſe, Sir, neither ought, nor will, nor can reſent it. It is a Liberty we have often taken, and do uſually take at Conferences, to declare very freely our Opinion of their Proceedings. There is therefore no Danger of a Breach between the two Houſes, and much leſs of a Civil War, from our agreeing to this Motion; but if a Negative ſhould be put upon it, and an Encouragement thereby given to proſecute thoſe Screening Meaſures which ſeem to be already concerted, I may propheſy, that a Civil War will certainly at laſt be the Conſequence; for, I hope, the People of *England* are not ſo ſenſeleſs, or ſo cowardly, as to allow Slavery to be fixed upon them, under the Form of a free Government; which will be the Conſequence, if the Corruption practiſed by Miniſters is never to be detected, nor puniſhed.

'The Hon. Gentleman talks of what our Committee have done, or may do, and of the other Houſe being induced to paſs ſome ſuch Bill as that they have rejected. Sir, it is impoſſible from the very Nature of the Thing: The Hon. Gentleman himſelf ſhewed, in our Debates upon that Bill, that it would be impoſſible for them to make any great Diſcoveries, unleſs the Accomplices were, at leaſt, enabled to come in and inform. Let our Miniſter have been never ſo criminal, we cannot ſuppoſe him ſo weak as to have left any written Vouchers of his Villainy behind him; eſpecially conſidering the long Indulgence he had, after he knew he was to be diſmiſſed, to ranſack all the Offices, and deſtroy every Paper that might riſe up in Judgment againſt him. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, that the rejecting of our Bill has put it out of the Power of our Committee to make any material Diſcovery, eſpecially ſuch a full Diſcovery as will be neceſſary for convincing thoſe that have no Mind to be convinced: This, I am almoſt ſure, is the Caſe of a Majority in the other Houſe, and, I am afraid of ſome in this, who are not

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as yet ſuſpected of being in ſuch a Caſe: And from the Principle upon which our Bill was rejected in the other Houſe, we muſt ſuppoſe, that while they adhere to that Principle, no Diſcovery can induce them to paſs ſuch a Bill. To encourage Informers, by granting them a Pardon as to themſelves, was ſaid to be unjuſt and dangerous to Innocence. Petty Thieves may, it ſeems, be encouraged by a Reward as well as a Pardon, to inform againſt one another; but great and publick Plunderers are to remain intrenched in their mutual Danger, from which no one is to be allowed to eſcape, leſt he ſhould betray the ſecret Avenue by which alone his Confederates may be come at.

'This, Sir, was the Principle, ridiculous as it is, upon which our Bill was rejected in the other Houſe; and while they adhere to this Principle, can we expect they will agree, either in this Seſſion or the next, to any Sort of Indemnifying Bill? To pretend to argue Men out of a firſt Principle, let it be never ſo abſurd, is ridiculous, becauſe it is impoſſible: If they be obſtinate they muſt be beat out of it: If they be mad they muſt be phyſick'd out of it.' A ſtrong Purgation, I mean as to Salaries and Penſions, would, I believe, be the beſt Method the Nation could take for obtaining Juſtice from Parliament, both in this Caſe and every like Caſe that may happen hereafter. We cannot therefore expect Succeſs for any ſuch Bill, either in this Seſſion or the next; unleſs by agreeing to this Queſtion we ſhew that we are reſolved to adminiſter ſuch a Remedy, if this Principle be not given up by thoſe who are its preſent Supporters.

'How the Hon. Gentleman comes to talk of what may be done in the next Seſſion, I do not know; for, I hope, none of thoſe, who have the Honour of being his Majeſty's Counſellors, will adviſe him to put an End to this Seſſion by a Prorogation, till the Nation has obtained Satisfaction. A ſhort Receſs would, I know, be agreeable to moſt Gentlemen, but this we may be indulged in by an Adjournment as well as a Prorogation. Our Committee might then ſit in the mean Time, in order to carry on their Inquiries; and when we aſſembled again, we might proceed from where we left off at our laſt Meeting; but a Prorogation will put an End to our Committee, and oblige us to begin every Thing afreſh. Therefore, if this Queſtion ſhould be rejected, and an End put to this Seſſion by a Prorogation, before the Nation has obtained any Satisfaction, I am ſure, I ſhall expect no Juſtice nor Satisfaction; no, nor the leaſt Step towards it, from the next Seſſion of Parliament, nor from any Seſſion of this Parliament, unleſs the People ſhould be ſo wiſe, as to make this Houſe change its Complexion, by the new Members

bers they ſend up to us, inſtead of thoſe whoſe Seats may happen to become vacated.' An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Lord *Cornbury* ſpoke next. Lord Cornbury.

Sir,

'I was very much ſurpriſed when I firſt heard this Motion made to you, and conſequently was extremely curious to hear what could be ſaid in favour of ſuch an extraordinary and unprecedented Motion. As ſoon as I heard it, I thought it unconſtitutional, dangerous and uſeleſs; and as I have a great Regard for the young Nobleman that mov'd it, as well as for thoſe Gentlemen that have ſpoke in its Favour, I have attended to the Debate with a Sort of Prejudice; waiting, and even wiſhing, to hear ſomething ſaid that might alter the firſt Impreſſion it made upon me; but I have been very much diſappointed, for thoſe Impreſſions have been made deeper and ſtronger, even by what I have heard in its favour. As our Conſtitution conſiſts of three ſeparate Branches, each of which, while they are diſtinct and independent, will always be a Check for preventing any Oppreſſion's being exercis'd, or Injuſtice done, by either of the other two, the very Being of our Conſtitution depends upon preſerving a Diſtinctneſs and Independency, and at the ſame Time a good Correſpondence between the three Branches of our Legiſlature; and conſequently our Conſtitution would be deſtroyed, if this mutual good Correſpondence ſhould be interrupted, or if any one of them ſhould gain an Influence, and much more, a Power or Juriſdiction, over either of the other two.

'If we deſign, Sir, that this Cenſure ſhould be taken Notice of by the other Houſe, ſo as to direct or overawe their Proceedings upon any future Occaſion, the very Deſign is inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution; becauſe it is a Deſign to gain ſuch an Influence over them, as will deſtroy their Independency, upon which our Conſtitution ſubſiſts. Therefore, if this Cenſure ſhould be taken Notice of in the Manner we deſign it ſhould, it is unconſtitutional; and if it is to be taken no Notice of, it is uſeleſs; but as it is, in my Opinion, very far from being decent, I believe it will be taken Notice of by the other Houſe, not in the Manner we deſign, but in ſuch a Manner as will deſtroy that good Correſpondence which now ſubſiſts between the two Houſes, and upon which the Preſervation of our Conſtitution depends; therefore I muſt think it extremely dangerous, and as I think it will be of no Uſe to us, I cannot for this Reaſon agree to it.'

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Mr Cornewall.

Mr *Cornewall* ſpoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

'As I very ſeldom ſpeak ſo late at Night, I flatter myſelf, that the Houſe will excuſe me for now doing it, eſpecially as I ſhall chiefly endeavour to anſwer the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, and the learned Gentleman behind me; tho', I think, as that Gentleman was an Enemy to every Clauſe in the Bill, now thrown out by the other Houſe, which was to indemnify thoſe who were to give Evidence to the Secret Committee againſt the Earl of *Orford*, I ſhould murder our Time, were I to ſpend it in obviating any Objections made by him, or any of his Friends, who have been ſo uniform and conſiſtent with themſelves, in the violent Oppoſition they have made to every Thing that tended in the leaſt towards promoting the Inquiry.

'But as to that Part of his Speech, wherein he thinks it pretty odd, that this Houſe ſhould have a Power to inſpect the Journals of the other Houſe, and aſks, what Right we have to cenſure another ſuperior Houſe of Parliament? I have, Sir, no leſs Authority than your own to ſay, that both Houſes of Parliament are equal; and that we only exerciſe a Power our Anceſtors have uſed before. As the learned Gentleman has now, and on other Occaſions, taken a Kind of Pleaſure in paring down the Powers of this Houſe, I hope, he will ſoon, for his long and implicit Services to his Majeſty, be ſent hence to preſide in *Weſtminſter Hall*, and take this trite Piece of Advice thither along with him; that it is the Part of a good Judge, not to curtail but amplify his own Juriſdiction.

'Unleſs we now exerciſe this Right, and lay the Blame at the right Door, our Conſtituents won't think we have done our utmoſt, and been in earneſt, in putting a great State Criminal fairly on his Trial; and nobody who reads that inimitable Proteſt, ſigned by above thirty of their Lordſhips, can doubt but that ſome inviſible Influence muſt have operated on two Thirds of the Houſe when they threw out our juſt and reaſonable Bill; which puts me in mind of an Account there is, I think, in Father *Paul*, or ſome other Writer on the Council of *Trent*: He ſays, that the Powers concerned, pitched on *Trent* as a neutral Place, for all the Legates to meet at, and where no Prince could himſelf claim any Right to come; but, ſays the Writer, (who, I think, ſeems to be rather a good Catholick than a ſtrong Papiſt) all the Decrees of this Aſſembly ran ſo much in Favour of the Pope, that altho' he could not come there himſelf, his Holineſs ſent the Holy Ghoſt thither from *Rome* every Day in a Cloak-Bag. I leave it to every Gentleman to make his own Application

plication of this Story, which the Houſe, I ſee, is pleaſed to receive more favourably than it deſerves. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

'Even my Friend near me ſmiles, who, had he not now been in a very high Station in the Exchequer, would not have expoſtulated ſo roundly with the young Lords, as he calls them, who moved and ſeconded this Queſtion, who, he ſays, cannot yet have read the Hiſtory of their own Country. What they ſaid, Sir, plainly evinced the contrary; but the Gentleman was ſo much alarmed at the Motion itſelf, that he could not attend to what was ſaid in Support of it; but he goes on and ſays, the other Houſe won't bear it. As to that, Sir, give me Leave to aſk him, How they'll help themſelves? But, ſays he, what is there that the Lords won't do or ſay, when ſuch Aſperſions are caſt upon them? I humbly ſubmit it, Sir, that what is true can't be called an Aſperſion: We do it for our own Juſtification; and pray, let them take it for their Pains.

'And then, Sir, as to the Gentleman's Prophecy, that his Majeſty, if the two Houſes differ, may diſſolve the Parliament: The King, Sir, will think twice, before he once diſſolves a good Money-giving Parliament; for if the preſent ſhould not pleaſe him, I'll venture to propheſy, that the new one will be far from mending the Matter. If ſuch Advice, or ſuch unpopular Meaſures ſhould enſue, I flatter myſelf that inſtead of one, I ſhould be choſen for three or four Places, which would happen to many Gentlemen of ſuperior Merit in the ſame Way of thinking; and many other Country Gentlemen without Doors, would fill the Places of ſome who hear me, that might then be thought too courtly in their preſent Behaviour. I have my Reaſons too for thinking, that the Hon. Gentleman's Intereſt with the Crown is not very great: I am ſorry for it; becauſe if it was, I hope and believe, that more popular Meaſures would be purſued.

'But, Sir, ſince we have loſt our Bill, I'll be bold to ſay, that unleſs we put ſome Stigma upon that Proceeding, our Committee of Secrecy will be a Committee of Ridicule; and the noble Lord who ſo very worthily and indefatigably preſides in it, muſt put one in mind of the mad *Frenchman* in Mr *Locke*, who fancying himſelf a King, cries out, *Ou ſont mes Gens d'Armes?* The noble Lord is my old Friend and Acquaintance, and will forgive me, I am ſure, for blurting out ſo odd a Parallel; but I am really driven to ſay any Thing, and to think that, if this Queſtion has a Negative put upon it, he will, notwithſtanding his great Abilities, be little more than a Chairman of Straw; and that he'll ſit in great State, ſubject only to this ſingle Inconvenience, that

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that no Soul alive will anſwer one ſingle Queſtion he aſks him.

'But I aſk the noble Lord's Pardon, who ſo worthily repreſents the moſt learned Body in the World, that I've been ſo long without endeavouring to invalidate the Force of ſome of his Arguments; and, indeed, his Lordſhip's Manner of ſaying every Thing is ſuch, that he may ſay any Thing.

'He, Sir, is pleaſed to ſay, that there is an End of the Conſtitution, if any one Branch of the Legiſlature is influenced by the other; and it is much ſtronger in the Caſe of Cenſure.

'If the Influence were indirect or improper, or if the Cenſure were untrue or unconſtitutional, I ſhould agree with his Lordſhip; but in this Caſe I may more reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the other Houſe has been under ſome extraordinary Influence; and pray, Sir, have we not a Right at any Time to expoſtulate, or demand a free Conference with their Lordſhips? Ought they not even to lie under the Cenſure of the Commons, for rejecting this our moſt neceſſary favourite Bill, when the Committee declares, that they can't proceed without it.

'As to his Argument, that it is not decent to ſay this to the Lords, and aſking what good it will do us? I inſiſt, Sir, that Truth is to be ſaid at all Times, in all Places, and to all Perſons; and as to the Good, it will vindicate the Honour of the Members to their Conſtituents: It will place the national Odium where it ought to lie; and not only make their Lordſhips cautious in ſcreening State Criminals, but make them ſhew a Readineſs perhaps to redreſs Grievances, and afraid for the future of giving the like Treatment to any publick national Bill carried thither by this Houſe; and, Sir, * * * * * * —— *Deſunt multa.*

'As to his Lordſhip's ſaying, that a Proteſt is an Act of the Minority, I ſubmit it, Sir, as the Act of Thirty two Noblemen of the greateſt Quality, Figure, and Fortune in this Country; and as that Houſe has exerciſed that Power for many Centuries, without even aſſigning Reaſons to their Proteſtations, ſo now they have for near a Century, ſubjoined one or more Reaſons, out of which Articles of Impeachment have been often framed, which I hope will be the Caſe at preſent, there having never been, in my poor Opinion, a fitter Time for it; nor a Proteſt, for the Printing of which, as I am warranted by Precedents, I ſhall preſently move, that deſerved more glorioufly to be printed in Letters of Gold.

'Upon the whole, Sir, I am for every Tittle of the Motion, from the Bottom of my Soul.'

My

Lord *Strange* ſpoke as follows:

Lord Strange.

Sir,

' As it is now very late, and the Houſe, I ſee a little impatient, I ſhall only aſk a noble Lord who ſpoke lately, how, he thinks we are to prevent the other Houſe from doing Injuſtice, if we are never even ſo much as to cenſure any of their Proceedings? If they in any Caſe do a manifeſt Piece of Injuſtice, are we to take no Notice of it? If we do take Notice of it, can we do ſo without condemning it? This is now the Caſe. They have done Injuſtice to the Nation: They have refuſed to the whole People of *Great-Britain* what is never denied to the meaneſt Subject whohas been greatly injured by Perſons unknown, or againſt whom he has not a ſufficient Proof. A Pardon to any Accomplice who ſhall diſcover, or come in and give Evidence againſt the principal Offender, is never refuſed to any injured Perſon: This the Lords have denied to the Nation, 'tho it has been greatly injured, as is apparent from its preſent Diſtreſs. Shall we take no Notice of this Piece of Injuſtice? Ought we not, for the ſake of the People whom we in this Houſe repreſent, to paſs ſuch a Cenſure upon it as it deſerves? Ought wenot to cenſure it for our own ſakes, in order to ſhew, that we have been neither privy nor conſenting to ſuch a manifeſt Piece of Injuſtice? ****

Ld Strange's Motion to cenſure the Lords Proceedings on the Indemnity Bill, paſſes in the Negative: Alſo the Motion for printing the Report of the Committee relating thereto.

Several other Members, who had voted for the Inquiry, declaring, that tho' for the Satisfaction of the Nation they wiſh'd the Bill had paſs'd into a Law, yet they could not agree to this Reſolution, leſt it ſhould create a Breach between the two Houſes; the Motion paſs'd in the Negative by 245 againſt 193.

Then a Motion was made by Mr *Cornewall*, that the Report from the Committee, appointed to ſearch the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, with relation to the ſaid Bill, be printed: But this alſo paſs'd in the Negative.

Motion for a Bill for regulating ſelect Veſtries, paſſes in the Negative.

In the foregoing Part of this Work [*p.* 183] we took Notice of a Petition having been preſented, complaining of the Grievance of Select Veſtries, which was referr'd to a Committee. In Purſuance hereof ſeveral Petitions were preſented *Pro* and *Con.* and ſeveral Reports made thereupon: But on the 28th a Motion being made by Lord *Percival*, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better Regulation of the Veſtries of the Pariſhes of St *Martin*, St *Anne*, St *James*, St *Margaret*, and St *George Hanover-Square*, within the City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*: It paſſed in the Negative: On a Diviſion; Ayes 130, Noes 160.

Then

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Then a Motion being alſo made, and the Queſtion put, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better Regulation of Select Veſtries and Pariſh Officers; It paſſed likewiſe in the Negative.

Bill to prevent counterfeiting the Coin.

May 31. A Bill was order'd in for the more effectual preventing the counterfeiting the current Coin of this Kingdom, and the uttering or paying of falſe or counterfeit Coin; and that Mr *Arundel* *, Mr *Scrope* †, Mr *Clutterbuck* ‡, the Attorney-General ‖, and Solicitor-General § do prepare the ſame accordingly.

Bill to prevent Lunaticks from marrying.

On a Motion made by Mr *Gybbon*, and ſeconded by Mr *Bathurſt*, a Bill was ordered in to prevent Lunaticks from marrying, during the Time of their being under Commiſſions of Lunacy.

Then Sir *Watkyn Williams Wynn* reported from the Committee, appointed to conſider of printing the Journals of the Houſe, the Reſolutions of the ſaid Committee, which, with an Amendment, were agreed to.

Reſolutions relating to printing the Journals of the Houſe.

I. That all the Books of the Proceedings, or Journals of the Houſe of Commons, now in the Cuſtody of the Clerk, and commencing with the Book *Seymour*, which begins with the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, be printed.

II. That One Thouſand Copies ** of the ſaid Journals be printed, by the Appointment and Direction of *Nicholas Hardinge*, Eſq; Clerk of the Houſe; the ſame not to exceed thirty Volumes, with a proper Preface and Index to each Volume, and a general Preface and Index to the whole.

III. That a proper Recompence be made to the ſaid *Nicholas Hardinge*, for the Loſs of Fees, which he, and his Office, will ſuſtain, by printing the ſaid Journals.

The Houſe voted alſo an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to order Five thouſand Pounds to be advanced to *Nicholas Hardinge*, Eſq; Clerk of the Houſe, towards enabling him to print the ſaid Journals, and likewiſe One thouſand Pounds more, as a Recompence for the Loſs of Fees; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that the Houſe will make good the ſame.

Then Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the following Reſolutions, *viz.*

Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply.

That towards raiſing the Supply, 800,000 *l* be granted to his Majeſty, to be raiſed by Annuities at three Pounds *per Centum*

* Maſter-Worker of his Majeſty's Mint.
† One of the Secretaries of the Treaſury.
‡ Treaſurer of the Navy.
‖ Sir Dudley Ryder.
§ Sir John Strange.

** Upon the Report, the following Words were added, viz. "For the "Uſe of the Members of this Houſe.

Centum per Annum, transferable at the Bank of *England*, redeemable by Parliament, or by Loans; to be charged upon, and ſecured by the Sinking Fund: Alſo that an Act of the 12th Year of the late Queen *Anne*, intituled, *An Act for the better Encouragement of the making of Sail Cloth in* Great-Britain: Likewiſe, that the ſeveral Clauſes in an Act of the 8th Year of the late King *George*, intituled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom*, &c. relating to the Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom, *&c.* Alſo, that the two laſt Clauſes in an Act of the 9th Year of his late Majeſty, for more effectually preventing Frauds in mixing Silks with Stuffs to be exported: And, that the Clauſe in an Act of the 9th and 10th Years of the late King *William* III. intituled, *An Act to ſettle the Trade to* Africa, for allowing, during a limited Time, a Drawback of the Duties upon the Exportation of Copper Bars imported, *&c.* all which had been continued from Time to Time by ſeveral Acts, for that Purpoſe, were near expiring, and fit to be continued. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

The firſt Reſolution of the ſaid Committee being read a ſecond Time, Mr *Philips* ſtood up and ſpoke to the following Effect: Debate on the Reſolution of the Committee of Supply for granting 800,000 l. to be raiſed by Annuities at 3 per Cent.

Sir,

'The Gentlemen on the other Side of the Houſe cry out, Agree, agree; but as I do not find them ſo very ready to agree to any Propoſal that comes from this Side of the Houſe, to redreſs Grievances, or to promote Inquiries, and to render them effectual, I hope, they'll excuſe me, if I do not immediately agree to this Propoſition. Sir, when this Reſolution was propoſed and agreed to in the Committee, I was at ſo great a Diſtance from the Chair, that I could not diſtinctly hear it; therefore, I hope, I may be allowed to ſay a Word or two to it now, not that I have the leaſt Expectation, that any Thing I can ſay will have ſuch an Effect on the Houſe, as to cauſe any Alteration in this Reſolution; but I cannot let it paſs without ſome Remarks.

'According to the Computation that I have made, the Supplies voted this Seſſion amount to about 5,723,000 *l.* to which muſt be added the Deficiency of laſt Year's Malt and Land Tax, which comes to about 373,000 *l.* ſo that the whole Sum to be raiſed is about 6,097,000 *l.* The Ways and Means already voted amount to about 5,350,000 *l.* which being deducted from the 6,097,000 *l.* there will remain to be raiſed about 747,000 *l.* If I do not miſtake, the Reſolution of the Committee is to raiſe 800,000 *l.* which is about 53,000 *l.* more than is voted, and more than is wanted. —— Sir, I am for raiſing all the Money that has been voted, not becauſe I believe it is all

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

neceſſary, but for this ſingle Reaſon, becauſe it has been voted, and the Parliament Faith, is, as it were, at Stake for it; but I can by no Means come into a Reſolution of raiſing more Money on the People than has been voted, and I am ſurpriſed indeed to find it attempted.---If more Money is wanted, why was the Committee of Supply cloſed? Why was it not aſked? For I beg Leave to take Notice, that ſo great a Confidence did the Houſe place in the Gentlemen of this Adminiſtration, that every Thing that was aſked was granted; but this is a new Way of aſking, by turning a Committee of Ways and Means, into a Committee of Supply.

'If any Arguments are to be drawn from private OEconomy, I believe, we have all the Reaſon in the World to think, that our preſent Miniſters will be as frugal as any that ever went before them; but, I hope, they will excuſe me if I ſay, that to place an implicit Confidence in any Miniſters, which we do whenever we paſs a Vote of Credit, is unconſtitutional and unbecoming a Parliament of *Great Britain*. I ſuppoſe it will not be denied, that the Repreſentatives of the People are accountable to them for all the Money that is raiſed upon them; but if I ſhould be aſked, why this Overplus is raiſed, I ſhould be puzzled for an Anſwer, and, I believe, the Gentlemen on the other Side the Houſe could furniſh me with no other than this, 'That it was to make up a round Sum.'

'I am ſenſible, if the Houſe agrees to this Reſolution, it will not be the only Vote of Credit of this Seſſion: The 500,000 *l.* for the Service of the Queen of *Hungary* was an abſolute Vote of Credit: The many Sums granted for Contingencies in the ſeveral Eſtimates laid before the Houſe, are all ſo many Votes of Credit, and are therefore the ſtrongeſt Reaſon in the World againſt your coming into this --- It may be ſaid, why all this Stir about ſo ſmall a Sum as 50 or 60,000 *l.*? I allow it is a ſmall Sum in Compariſon of the *ſix Millions* that we have granted; but be the Sum large or ſmall, the Raiſing it in this Manner, by Vote of Credit, at the End of the firſt Seſſion of this Parliament, is ſo bad a Precedent to future Seſſions, that I dread the Conſequence of it.

'I was in Hopes, that inſtead of increaſing their Demands, the Miniſtry would rather have abated of them, and have left ſomething in the Hands of the Parliament by way of Pledge, that all the Sums that have been granted, ſhall be properly applied.---I'll ſay but one Thing more: If we can't redreſs the People's Grievances, let us not be laviſh of their Money: If we can't compaſs an Inquiry into paſt Miſmanagements, let us not lay a Foundation for future ones: If

we

we can't obtain the Glory of doing all the Good we aimed at, let us at leaſt avoid the Shame that muſt always attend all unjuſtifiable and unprecedented Meaſures. Sir, I call God to Witneſs, I have no End in ſaying theſe Things, but the publick Service and the Honour of this Houſe; and therefore ſhall beg Leave to conclude with making you a Motion, That this Reſolution be recommitted.'

Then the Queſtion being put upon Mr *Phillips*'s Motion, it paſſed in the Negative, Ayes 86, Noes 118: And the ſaid Reſolution was agreed to by the Houſe, as were the other Reſolutions of the Committee; and a Bill was ordered to be brought in thereupon by Mr *Francis Fane*, Mr *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Mr *Compton*, Sir *John Roſhout*, Mr *Gybbon*, Mr *Attorney General*, Mr *Solliciter General*, Mr *Scrope*, Mr *Legge*, and Mr *Henry Archer*.

Bill for granting 800,000 l. Alſo relating to Lunaticks; and for Relief of the Poor order'd a ſecond Reading.

June 1. A Bill for granting to his Majeſty a certain Sum, to be raiſed by Annuities, &c. Alſo a Bill to prevent Lunaticks from marrying, during the Time of their being under Commiſſions of Lunacy: Likewiſe another for remedying ſome Defects in the Act made in the 43d Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, intituled, *An Act for the Relief of the Poor*, were ſeverally read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading; and the laſt mentioned Bill was ordered to be printed.

Bills for ſtating the publick Accounts rejected.

Then the Bill for taking, examining, and ſtating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom was read a third Time, and the Names of the Commiſſioners being inſerted in a Blank left for that Purpoſe, a Motion was made, and the Queſtion put, that the Bill do paſs; it paſſed in the Negative by 136 againſt 66.

Bills to prevent ſtealing of Cloth, and killing of Fiſh, paſs'd.

June 2. A Bill for the more effectual preventing Cloth upon the Rack or Tenters, &c. from being ſtolen in the Night Time, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Eatharſt*.

A Bill for the more effectual puniſhing of Perſons who ſhall unlawfully and maliciouſly kill, or ſteal any Fiſh in Ponds, &c. was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Philips*.

Bill relating to the Coin.

June 3. A Bill for the more effectual preventing the counterfeiting of the current Coin of this Kingdom, and the uttering or paying of falſe or counterfeit Coin, was received, read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.*

1. That after the 24th of *June* 1742, a farther Duty of 2 *s.* 10 *d.* be laid on the Half-piece of Cambrick, containing ſix Ells and a half, and 5 *s.* 8 *d.* upon the Whole-piece of Cam-

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Cambrick, containing 13 Ells, to be imported into *Great Britain*.

II. That the ſaid Duty be granted for the Term of Seven Years, and from thence to the End of the then next Seſſion of Parliament.

III. That Quickſilver, taken as Prize by his Majeſty's Subjects, and brought into this Kingdom, be liable to pay the like Duties, as if it were imported directly from the Place of its Growth.

IV. That the permitting Rum, or Spirits, of the Produce of the *Britiſh* Plantations, to be landed before the Payment of the Duties, and lodging the ſame in Ware Houſes, till ſuch Duties are paid, under proper Regulations, will be an Eaſe to the Importers, and encourage the Importation.

A Motion being made, that the Reſolutions of the 25th of *May*, [*ſee p.* 246.] relating to the Manufactures of Linens made in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, might be read; and they being read accordingly, a Bill was ordered to be brought in upon the ſaid Reſolutions, and alſo upon the two firſt of the above Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply, and that Mr *Francis Fane*, Mr *Hooper*, the Lord *Limerick*, Mr *Buchanan*, Sir *Charles Gilmour*, Mr *Oſwald*, Mr *Murray* of *Philip Haugh*, Mr *Archibald Stuart*, the *Lord Advocate* of *Scotland*, Mr *Scot*, Mr *Bance*, Mr *Drummond*, the Lord *John Murray*, and the Lord *George Graham* do prepare and bring in the ſame: It was alſo ordered that it be an Inſtruction to the Committee, to whom the Bill for granting to his Majeſty a certain Sum, to be raiſed by Annuities, *&c.* was referr'd, that they have Power to receive a Clauſe purſuant to the third of the above Reſolutions.

Then it was likewiſe ordered that a Bill be brought in upon the laſt Reſolution of the Committee of Supply, by Mr *Francis Fane*, Sir *John Rushout*, and Mr *Drax*.

Papers relating to the Convention preſented, and referr'd to the Secret Committee.

June 4. Sir *Conyers Darcy* acquainted the Houſe, that he had received his Majeſty's Command to lay before them, purſuant to their Addreſs of the 20th of *May* laſt, Copies of all the Powers, Inſtructions, *&c.* relating to the Convention with *Spain*, concluded *January* 14, 1739, N. S. as there has been Time to prepare; and that he was ordered to ſay, that Copies of the remaining Papers are preparing with the utmoſt Diligence to be laid before the Houſe: And he preſented Copies of ſuch of the ſaid Papers as he had received his Majeſty's Command now to lay before the Houſe, which were referred to the Committee of Secrecy.

In the Progreſs of this Work we have taken Notice of the ſeveral Petitions relating to the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, the Reſult of which was that of Voting of an Addreſs

Addreſs to his Majeſty, to cauſe ſtrict and immediate Orders for the effectual putting in Execution the Laws now in Being, for preventing the Exportation of Wool or Yarn, from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, to Foreign Parts.

Addreſs relating to the Exportation of Wooll.

Then Mr *Francis Fane* preſented to the Houſe, a Bill for encouraging the Manufactures of *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Linens, by allowing a Bounty upon Exportation of certain Species thereof from *Great Britain*, which was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond reading.

Bill for encouraging Britiſh and Iriſh Linens; and permitting Rum to be landed without Payment of Duty.

June 10. A Bill to impower the Importers or Proprietors of Rum, or Spirits, of the Produce of the *Britiſh* Sugar Plantations, to land the ſame before Payment of the Duties of Exciſe charged thereon, and to lodge the ſame in Ware-Houſes, at their own Expence, for a certain Time, was preſented by Sir *John Ruſhout*, read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Addreſs relating to Wooll.

Then Sir *William Yonge* reported to the Houſe, that his Majeſty would cauſe ſtrict and immediate Orders to be given, for the effectual putting in Execution the Laws for preventing the Exportation of Wool or Yarn, from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, to foreign Parts, in Purſuance of their Addreſs.

Writ for Truro.

Ordered a new Writ for *Truro*, in the Room of *James Hammond*, Eſq; * deceas'd.

Annuity Bill paſs'd.

A Bill for granting to his Majeſty 800,000 *l.* to be raiſed by Annuities, *&c.* and for aſcertaining the Duties upon Quick-Silver taken as Prize, *&c.* was read a third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Francis Fane*.

Then Mr *Sandys*, by the King's Command, preſented Copies of the Remainder of the Papers relating to the Convention, which were referred to the Committee of Secrecy.

A Bill order'd in to regulate the Plantation-Trade, &c.

June 16. A Bill was ordered in for farther regulating the regiſtring of Ships employed in the Plantation-Trade; and for limiting a Time for producing Certificates to diſcharge Plantation-Bonds given in *Great Britain*; for Relief of Merchants importing Prize-Goods from *America*; and for preventing Abuſes, which may be committed by colluſive Captures, made and carried into his Majeſty's Colonies there, during the War; and to oblige the Claimers of Boats and Veſſels ſeized for unlawful Exportation of Wool, or Importation of Goods and Merchandiſe, to give Security for Coſts; and for allowing *Eaſt-India* Goods to be taken out of Ware-Houſes, to be cleaned and refreſhed; and that Mr *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Mr *Gybbon*, Mr *Scrope*, Mr *Attorney General*, Mr *Solicitor General*, and Sir *John Barnard* do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Juſtices Bill put off.

Mr *Carew* reported the Amendments to the Bill for farther

* Captain Boſcawen was elected.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ther qualifying Juſtices of Peace: Then the farther Conſideration of the ſaid Report was adjourned for two Months, on a Diviſion, Ayes 152, Noes 104.

Petitions againſt the Linen-Bill.

A Petition of ſeveral Merchants, and others, Dealers in Cambrick, alledging, That if the Bill for encouraging the Manufactures of *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Linens paſs into a Law, the Petitioners will be very great Sufferers, having bought in foreign Parts, and paid for large Parcels of Cambricks, which cannot be imported within the Time limited by that Bill; that ſhould the Petitioners import them after the Bill is to take Effect, they will never be able to vend them, without great Loſs; and repreſenting, that the laying a farther Duty of 5 *s.* 8 *d.* upon each whole Piece of Cambrick will not anſwer the Ends propoſed, but divert the Courſe of Trade, by taking it out of the Hands of the fair Trader, and putting it into Smugglers Hands; and praying to be heard by themſelves or Counſel, was referred to the Committee to whom the ſaid Bill was committed: And it was ordered that the ſaid Committee do admit the Perſons, who petitioned for the Encouragement of the Manufacture of Linens made in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, to be heard againſt the laſt mentioned Petition.

June 17. A Bill for the farther regulating the regiſtering of Ships imployed in the Plantation Trade, *&c* [*See p.* 269] was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Addreſs relating to Spaniſh Wool.

Then it was reſolved, that an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty: that he will, by Proclamation, or Order in Council, take off the Prohibitions of the Act of the 13th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, intituled, *An Act for prohibiting Commerce with Spain*, ſo far as the ſame relate to Wool and Barilla, of the Product of any of the Territories of the King of *Spain*, lying or being in *Europe*, or of the *Canary* Iſlands belonging to the ſaid King.

The next Day Mr *Comptroller* acquainted the Houſe, that his Majeſty will give proper Directions in Purſuance of that Addreſs.

Bill relating to Lunaticks paſs'd.

Then a Bill to prevent the Marriage of Lunaticks, was read a third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Gybbon*.

Act for the Bill relating to Gunpowder.

June 21. A Bill for preventing the Miſchiefs which may happen by keeping dangerous Quantities of Gunpowder in or near *London* and *Weſtminſter*, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Sir *Robert Godſchall*.

June 22. A Bill to continue ſeveral Laws therein mentioned, relating to the Encouragement of the making of Sail-Cloth in *Great Britain*; and for the Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom, and relating to Copper

Bars

Bars exported, was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

A Bill to impower the Importers or Proprietors of Rum or Spirits of the *Britiſh* Sugar Plantations, to land the ſame before Payment of the Duties of Exciſe, *&c.* As alſo another for the more effectual preventing the counterfeiting of the current Coin of this Kingdom, were ſeverally read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords.

A Bill for importing Rum;

Another relating to the Coin;

June 23. A Bill for farther regulating the Plantation-Trade, *&c.* Alſo a Bill to revive and continue ſeveral Laws, *&c.* [*See p.* 271.] were ſeverally read a third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Henry Arthur*.

Alſo for regulating the Plantation-Trade;

June 24. Ordered a new Writ for the Borough of *Shaftſbury*, in the Room of *Charles Ewer*, Eſq; * deceas'd.

June 28. A Bill for granting to his Majeſty an additional Duty on foreign Cambricks, *&c.* was read a third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Philips*.

And for laying a Duty on Foreign Cambricks; paſs'd.

The Houſe reſumed the adjourned Conſideration of the Report of the Bill, touching the Election of Members of Parliament, and to reſtrain the Partiality of returning Officers; then a Motion being made, and the Queſtion put, that the ſaid Bill be recommitted, it paſſed in the Negative, Ayes 44, Noes 57: And the Bill, with the Amendments, was ordered to be engroſſed.

Returning Officers Bill engroſs'd.

June 29. A Bill to explain and amend an Act of the 13th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, intituled, *An Act for amending and enforcing the Laws, relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, &c.* was read a third Time; and a Motion being made, and the Queſtion put, that the ſaid Bill do paſs, it was reſolved in the Negative by 80 againſt 77.

Vagabond Bill rejected.

Then Mr *Carew* reported from the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the Petition of *Thomas Stephens*, Agent in Behalf of the People of *Georgia*, was committed, the following Reſolutions of the ſaid Committee.

I. That the Province of *Georgia*, by Reaſon of its Situation, may be an uſeful Barrier to the *Britiſh* Provinces on the Continent of *America*, againſt the *French* and *Spaniards*, and the *Indian* Nations in their Intereſts.

Reſolutions relating to the Colony of Georgia.

II. That the Ports and Harbours within the ſaid Province may be a great Security to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom.

III. That the ſaid Province, by Reaſon of the Fertility of the Soil, the Healthfulneſs of the Climate, and the Convenience of the Rivers, is a proper Place for eſtabliſhing a Settlement, and may contribute greatly to the encreaſing of the Trade of this Kingdom.

IV. That

* George Pitt, Eſq; was choſen.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

IV. That it is very neceſſary and advantageous to this Nation, that the Colony of *Georgia* ſhould be preſerved and ſupported.

V. That it will be an Advantage to the Colony of *Georgia*, to permit the Importation of Rum into the ſaid Colony from any other of the *Britiſh* Colonies.

VI. That the Petition of *Thomas Stephens* contains falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious Charges, tending to aſperſe the Characters of the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the ſaid Colony of *Georgia*.

The Agent for Georgia reprimanded.

All which Reſolutions were, upon the Queſtion put thereupon, agreed to by the Houſe, and the ſaid *Thomas Stephens* was reprimanded by Mr Speaker for his Offence.

Bill to encourage Sail-Cloth, &c. paſs'd.

June 30. An ingroſſed Bill to continue ſeveral Laws, for the Encouragement of the making of Sail-Cloth, *&c.* was read a third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Henry Archer*.

Farther Report from the Secret Committee preſented.

The Serjeant at Arms having ſummoned the Members, the Lord *Limerick* made a farther Report from the Committee of Secrecy, which being read, a Motion was made, and the Queſtion put, that the ſaid Report, with the Appendix, be printed; and the previous Queſtion being put thereupon, it paſſed in the Negative, without a Diviſion.

July 1. An ingroſſed Bill from the Lords, *For explaining an Act made in the 14th Year of his preſent Majeſty*, intituled, *An Act to render the Laws more effectual for preventing the ſtealing and deſtroying of Sheep and other Cattle*, was read a firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Writ for London.

Ordered a new Writ for the City of *London*, in the Room of Sir *Robert Godſchall*, deceas'd *.

July 6. An ingroſſed Bill to explain and amend the Laws touching the Elections of Members, and to reſtrain the Partiality, and regulate the Conduct of returning Officrs, was read the third Time, and paſs'd: On a Diviſion, Ayes 93, Noes 92, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Pulteney*, where it was drop'd.

Returning Officers Bill, and

A Bill from the Lords, *For the more effectual preventing Perſons from aſſiſting Priſoners to eſcape from their Confinement*, was read a firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Sheepſtealing Bill paſs'd.

July 7, The Bill from the Lords, *For explaining the Act relating to Sheepſtealing*, was read a third Time, and paſs'd with ſome Amendments, and ſent back to the Lords by Mr *Thomas Gore*.

July 13. Ordered a new Writ for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, in the Room of the Hon. *Edward Finch*, Eſq; † ap-

* William Calvert, Eſq; was elected. † He was re-elected without Oppoſition.

appointed one of the Grooms of the Bed Chamber to his Majeſty.

For *Cockermouth*, in the Room of the Hon. *William Finch*, Eſq; * made Vice Chamberlain to his Majeſty's Houſhold.

For *Grampound*, in the Room of *Daniel Boone*, Eſq; * appointed Commiſſary General of the Muſters.

New Writs in the room of Members preferr'd.

For the City of *York*, in the Room of *Edward Thompſon*, Eſq; deceas'd.

And for the *Devizes*, in the Room of *Francis Eyles*, Eſq; appointed Super-Intendent of his Majeſty's Founderies.

The next Day new Writs were iſſued for *Dorcheſter*, in the Room of *Nathaniel Gundry*, Eſq; * appointed one of his Majeſty's Counſel learned in the Law.

For *Ripon*, in the Room of the Hon. *Henry Vane*, Eſq; * made Vice Treaſurer, Receiver-General, and Paymaſter-General of *Ireland*.

For the Shire of *Edinburgh*, in the Room of Sir *Charles Gilmour*, Bart. * appointed Pay-Maſter of his Majeſty's Board of Works.

For *Chriſt Church*, in the Room of *Edward Hooper*, Eſq; * made Paymaſter of divers annual Bounties and Penſions.

And for the County of *Middleſex*, in the Room of the Rt Hon. *William Pulteney*, Eſq; created Earl of *Bath*.

At the ſame Time a Reverſionary Patent of the Office of Chief Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer in *Ireland*, was granted to the Hon. *James Hamilton*, Son to the Lord *Limerick*.

July 15. A new Writ iſſued for *Orford*, in the Room of the Hon. *Henry Legge*, Eſq; * appointed Surveyor-General of his Majeſty's Woods on the North and South Side of *Trent*.

The ſame Day the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to Eleven Publick and Four private Bills: After which his Majeſty made the following moſt Gracious Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech at putting an End to the Seſſion.

"THIS Seſſion of Parliament has been drawn out into ſo unuſual a Length, and the Seaſon of the "Year is ſo far advanced, that I am perſuaded, you are all "very deſirous of a Receſs.

"I acquainted you, at the Beginning of the Seſſion, with "my

* They were all re-elected without Oppoſition; George Fox, Eſq; was choſen for York; as was alſo Dr George Lee, whoſe Seat became vacant by being made a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, for the Devizes, in the Room of Capt. Eyles; and Sir Roger Newdigate was elected for Middleſex.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1743.

" my Endeavours to bring about an Accommodation between thoſe Princes, whoſe Union was moſt neceſſary in " this critical Conjuncture. The Treaty, lately concluded " between the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Pruſſia*, " under my Mediation, and ſo highly to the Honour of " *Great Britain*, muſt undoubtedly produce the beſt Conſequences to the common Cauſe.

" The Succeſſes which have attended the *Auſtrian* Arms " in *Germany*, the Conjunction of the King of *Sardinia*'s " Forces with thoſe of the Queen of *Hungary* in *Italy*, the " preſent favourable Diſpoſition of the *States General* and " of other great Powers, are, under God, chiefly owing " to the generous Aſſiſtance afforded by this Nation to its " ancient and natural Allies.

" Theſe happy Events cannot fail to give Encouragement " to our Friends, and to eſtabliſh the Reputation of our " Strength, and our juſt Influence Abroad.

" If, for the farther Support and Defence of the Queen " of *Hungary*, and to reſtore and ſecure the Ballance of " Power, ſo particularly recommended to me by my Parliament, it ſhould become neceſſary for me to contract " new Engagements, or to enter into farther Meaſures, I " rely upon your Zeal and Perſeverance, in ſo juſt a Cauſe, " to enable me to make them good.

" In the midſt of theſe extenſive Tranſactions, I have " been, and ſhall continue to be, attentive to the Proſecution of the War againſt *Spain* with the utmoſt Vigour; " which is of the greateſt Importance to the Trade and " Navigation of my Subjects; the Encouragement and Protection whereof, ſhall be one of my principal Cares.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" The Zeal, Unanimity, and Diſpatch, with which you " have given ſuch large Supplies, for the Service of the " current Year, demand my particular Thanks, and are " freſh Proofs of your Duty to me, and of your Concern " for the true Intereſt of your Country. The Succeſs, with " which theſe Supplies have been raiſed, muſt convince all " the World of the eſtabliſhed Credit of this Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have the juſteſt Confidence in the Affections of my " People; which I ſhall not fail to cultivate, by a conſtant " Care of their Rights and Liberties, and by promoting " their Proſperity and Happineſs. Let it be your Endea-

" vour,

" vour, in your reſpective Countries, to make theſe my " good Intentions rightly underſtood; to calm and heal " all Animoſities and Diviſions; to ſupport my Authority " and Government; and to preſerve the Peace and good Or- " der of the Kingdom." An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *September*. They were afterwards further prorogued to the 16th of *November*, on which Day his Majeſty open'd the Second Seſſion: The Hiſtory whereof will be publiſhed with all convenient Expedition. Prorogation of the Parliament.

A

TABLE

OF THE

Publick ACTS paſs'd during the Firſt Seſſion of the Third Parliament of King *George* II.

AN Act, *For continuing the Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry, for the Service of the Year* 1742.

An Act to repeal ſo much of an Act paſſed laſt Seſſion, *For the Preſervation of the Publick Roads in* England, *as obliges Perſons not travelling for Hire to make uſe of Waggons with Wheels bound with Streaks or Tyre of a certain Breadth, or the ſaid Streaks to be faſtened with Nails of a certain Size.*

An Act, *For granting to his Majeſty a certain Sum out of the Sinking Fund, towards the Supply for the Year* 1742.

An Act, *For puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion*, &c.

An Act, *For laying a Duty of Two Pennies* Scots, *upon every* Scots *Pint of Ale and Beer brewed for Sale, brought into, tapped, or ſold within the Town of* Kirkaldy, *and Liberties thereof.*

An Act, *For explaining, amending, and making more effectual Two Acts of Parliament, for erecting Workhouſes,*

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

and Houſes of Correction, in the Town of Kingſton *upon* Hull, *for the Employment and Maintenance of the Poor there.*

An Act, *For granting a Land Tax, for the Service of the Year* 1742.

An Act, *Relating to the rebuilding the Church of* St Catherine Coleman, *in* Fenchurch-Street, *in the City of* London.

An Act, *For eſtabliſhing an Agreement with the Governor and Company of the Bank of* England, *for advancing the Sum of* 1,600,000 l. *towards the Supply for the Service of the Year* 1742.

An Act, *To render more effectual an Act made in the Ninth and Tenth Years of King* William *the Third,* For erecting Hoſpitals and Workhouſes within the Town of *Colcheſter,* for the better employing and maintaining the Poor thereof.

An Act, *For granting to his Majeſty the Sum of* 800,000 l. *to be raiſed by Annuities tranſferrable at the Bank of* England; *and for aſcertaining the Cuſtoms and Duties upon Quickſilver taken as Prize during the preſent War; and for the farther appropriating the Supplies granted in this Seſſion of Parliament.*

An Act, *To prevent the counterfeiting of Gold and Silver Lace; and for ſettling and adjuſting the Proportions of fine Silver and Silk; and for the better making of Gold and Silver Thread.*

An Act, *To indemnify Perſons who have omittted to qualify themſelves for Offices, Employments, and Promotions, within the Time limited by Law; and for allowing farther Time for that Purpoſe.*

An Act, *To exclude certain Officers from being Members of the Houſe of Commons.*

An Act, *For ſecuring to* John Byrom, *M. A. the ſole Right of publiſhing, for a certain Term of Years, the Art and Method of Short-hand, invented by him.*

An Act, *To empower the Juſtices of the Peace of a Liberty or Corporation, to commit Offenders to the Houſe of Correction of the County, Riding, or Diviſion, in which ſuch Liberty or Corporation is ſituate.*

An Act, *To impower the Importers or Proprietors of Rum or Spirits of the* Britiſh *Sugar Plantations to land the ſame before Payment of the Duties of Exciſe charged thereon, and to lodge the ſame in Warehouſes at their own Expence; and for the Relief of* Ralph Barrow, *in reſpect to the Duty on ſome Rock Salt, loſt by the Overflowing of the Rivers* Weaver *and* Dane.

An Act, *For the better enabling the Commiſſioners for building a Bridge croſs the River* Thames, *from the City of*

of Weſtminſter *to the oppoſite Shore in the County of* Surrey, *to finiſh the ſaid Bridge, and to perform the other Truſts repoſed in them, and for enlarging the Time for exchanging of Tickets unclaimed in the laſt Lottery for the ſaid Bridge, and to make Proviſion for Tickets in the ſaid Lottery, loſt burnt, or otherwiſe deſtroyed.*

An Act, *For the more effectual preventing any Cloth, or Woollen Goods remaining upon the Rack, or Tenters, or any Woollen Yarn, or Wooll left out to dry, from being ſtolen, or taken away in the Night-time.*

An Act, *For the more effectual preventing the counterfeiting of the current Coin of this Kingdom, and the uttering or paying of falſe or counterfeit Coin.*

An Act, *For granting to his Majeſty an additional Duty on foreign Cambricks, imported into* Great Britain; *and for allowing thereout, a Bounty upon certain Species of* Britiſh *and* Iriſh *Linens exported.*

An Act, *To prevent the Marriage of Lunaticks.*

An Act, *For farther regulating the Plantation Trade; and for Relief of Merchants importing Prize Goods from* America, *and for preventing colluſive Captures there; and for obliging the Claimers of Veſſels ſeized for Exportation of Wooll, or any unlawful Importation, to give Security for Coſts; and for allowing* Eaſt India *Goods to be taken out of Warehouſes, in order to be cleaned and refreſhed.*

An Act, *For preventing the Miſchiefs which may happen by keeping dangerous Quantities of Gunpowder in or near the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter.

An Act, *To revive ſeveral Acts for the Puniſhment of Perſons deſtroying Turnpikes or Locks, or other Works erected by Authority of Parliament, and for other Purpoſes therein mentioned; and to continue ſeveral Acts relating to Rice, to Frauds in the Cuſtoms, to the clandeſtine Running of Goods, and to Copper Ore of the* Britiſh *Plantations; and for extending the Liberty given by the Act of the Twelfth Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, for carrying Sugar of the Growth of the* Britiſh *Sugar Colonies in* America, *in Ships belonging to any of his Majeſty's Subjects reſiding in* Great Britain, *and navigated according to Law; and for the more effectual preventing the cutting of Star or Bent.*

An Act, *To explain an Act made in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled,* An Act to render the Laws more effectual for preventing the ſtealing and deſtroying of Sheep and other Cattle.

An Act, *To continue ſeveral Laws for the Encouragement of the making of Sail Cloth in* Great Britain, *and of the Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom; and for allowing a Drawback*

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

back on the Exportation of Copper Bars; and to explain a Clauſe of an Act made in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, to prohibit the Exportation of Corn, and other Things therein mentioned; and to give further Time for the Payment of Duties omitted to be paid for the Indentures and Contracts of Clerks and Apprentices.

Alſo to Eight Acts relating to the Repairing the following Roads, *viz.* *From* Wendover *to* Buckingham: *Alſo, between the* Horſeſhoe Houſe, *in the Pariſh of* Stoke Goldington, *Co.* Bucks, *and the Town of* Northampton, *and the Road from the North Bridge of* Newport Pagnal, *Co.* Bucks, *to the* Horſeſhoe Houſe. Alſo, *From* Bromſgrove *to* Dudley, *Co.* Worceſter; *and from* Bromſgrove *to* Birmingham, *Co.* Warwick. Likewiſe, *The Highways between* Tyburn *and* Uxbridge, *Co.* Middleſex; *and from* Brent Bridge, *over* Hanwell Heath, *through the Pariſhes of* Hanwell, New Brentford, *and* Ealing, *to the great Weſtern Road in the ſaid County.* Alſo, *From* Sheet Bridge *in the Pariſh of* Petersfield, *to* Portſmouth, *Co.* Southampton. Likewiſe, *From* Cirenceſter *Town's End to* St John's Bridge, *Co.* Glouceſter. Alſo, *From* Stump-Croſs *to* Newmarket Heath, *and the Town of* Cambridge; *and from* Foulmire *to* Cambridge. Likewiſe, *From* Ledbury, *Co.* Hereford, *to the ſeveral Places therein mentioned.*

And to 46 Private Bills.

F I N I S.

THE TWO
REPORTS
OF THE
Secret Committee,
Appointed to Inquire into the Conduct of
Robert Earl of *Orford.*
With the *APPENDIXES.*

A REPORT *from the* COMMITTEE *of* SECRECY, *appointed to enquire into the Conduct of* ROBERT *Earl of* ORFORD, *during the laſt Ten Years of his being Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.*

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

YOUR Committee finding themſelves obſtructed in their Enquiry, by the Obſtinacy of Mr. *Nicholas Paxton* upon his ſeveral Examinations, are under a Neceſſity of laying that whole Tranſaction before the Houſe, together with a ſhort State of his Behaviour, as Soliciter of the Treaſury and a public Accomptant) as alſo an Account of the Behaviour of *Gwyn Vaughan* Eſquire, on his Examination.

Your Committee now think proper, in order to avoid Repetition, to acquaint the Houſe, that, in purſuance of their Orders, all the Perſons examined before the ſaid Committee, were examined in the moſt ſolemn Manner; and Mr. *Michael Gibbons* being examined, ſaid, he was Agent to *John Boteler* Eſquire, who ſtood Candidate at the Election for a Member of Parliament for the Borough of *Wendover* in the County of *Bucks*, in 1735; that Mr. *Boteler* did, the *Saturday* Night before it came on, adviſe with the Examinant, what was proper to be done; that the Examinant told him, Nothing could be done without 5 or 600 *l.* that on this, he believes, Mr *Boteler* told him, that he had not ſo much Money, but he would write a Letter to Mr *Paxton*; that the next Morning one Mr *John Jones*, who was a Friend of Mr *Boteler*, was ſent to *London*, and returned on the *Monday* Morning to *Wendover*, and on his Return told the Examinant, that he had delivered a Letter to Mr *Paxton*, and Mr *Paxton* had given him 500 *l.* he having at the ſame Time in his Hand a great Number of Bank Notes, which he told the Examinant was the 500 *l.* in Queſtion, and which he immediately carried in to Mr *Boteler*, who ſoon after came out, and informed the Examinant the 500 *l.* was come.

Account of the Election at Wendover, Anno 1735.

Examination of Mr Gibbons relating thereto

Mr *John Jones*, being examined, ſaid, that he had no Intereſt in the Borough of *Wendover*, but was employed by Mr *Boteler* as a Friend; that, before the Day of the Election, Mr *Boteler* deſired the Examinant to go to Town with a Letter to Mr *Nicholas Paxton* for Money; that he found Mr

And of Mr Jones

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Paxton at *Fulham*, and gave him the Letter, and Mr *Paxton*, on reading it, desired the Examinant to meet him the next Day at *Roger Williams*'s Coffee-house; that he did meet him accordingly, and Mr *Paxton* gave him a Parcel of Money (of which the greatest Part, if not the whole, was in Bank Notes) and told him, on delivering it, 'Here is your 'Answer,' the Sum, he believes, might be about 500*l.* that he carried it the same Morning to *Wendover*, and delivered the same, or the greatest Part thereof, to Mr. *Boteler*.

John Boteler, Esq; examined

John Boteler, Esquire, being examined, said, that when he stood Candidate at *Wendover*, in 1735, he did, on Occasion of that Election, and not long before it, make an Acquaintance with Mr *Paxton* Sollicitor to the Treasury; that the Examinant was pushed at the Election, and wanted Money, and thinking he had some Pretensions to Favour, on Account of his having been ill used in his former Election, and knowing Mr *Paxton* was a Person about the Treasury that might have an Interest where the Money might be had, the Examinant, as he could not come away from *Wendover* without Money to defray his Charges, sent Mr *John Jones* to *London*, with a Message to Mr *Paxton* for Money, which Message, the Examinant believes, was a Letter for 500*l.* that Mr *Jones* returned with the Money to the Examinant a little before the Election; that the Examinant did never give either Bond, Note, or Receipt for the Money, nor has Mr *Paxton* at any Time since made a Demand either of the Money, or any Security for the same, nor did he consider himself as a Debtor for the Sum thus received.

And Mr Paxton

Mr *Nicholas Paxton* being examined, said, that he knows Mr *John Jones* very well, and has known him for some Years; that he likewise knows Mr *Boteler*, formerly a Candidate at *Wendover*, and has known him several Years; he believes, that Mr *Boteler* stood Candidate for *Wendover* in the Year 1735, but that he was not an Agent for Mr *Boteler*.

Mr *Paxton* being further asked, if he advanced any Money to Mr *Jones*, on the Account of Mr *Boteler*, about the Time of that Election?

He said, 'I will not answer that Question, as it may tend 'to accuse myself.'

The Committee desired he would consider of it. To which he answered,

'I desire no Time to consider of it.'

Then he was ordered to withdraw.

And being again called in, the Question was read to him, and he was informed by the Chairman, that it was the unanimous Opinion of the Committee, that an Answer to this Question

Queſtion did not tend to accuſe himſelf, and therefore the Committee did inſiſt on an Anſwer. To which

He ſaid, 'I deſire to be excuſed.'

Then he was again ordered to withdraw.

And being again called in, the Chairman repeated the Queſtion to him, and informed him, that the Committee did inſiſt on an Anſwer, and would not excuſe him. To which

He ſaid, 'I will not anſwer that Queſtion; and perſiſting in his Refuſal, was ordered to withdraw.

Mr *Paxton* being, on the next Day, taken into the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, by Order of the Houſe, was on the Day following brought before the Committee, in order to be examined, and being again aſked, if he did advance any Money to Mr *John Jones*, on the Account of Mr *Botcler*, about the Time of the Election at *Wendover*, in the Year 1735?

He ſaid, 'I adhere to my former Anſwer;' upon which he was ordered to withdraw.

And being again called in, the Chairman by the Direction of the Committee, repeated the ſame Queſtion to him, and acquainted him, that they expected he ſhould give a poſitive Anſwer thereto. Upon which

He ſaid, 'If you will have me give a poſitive Anſwer, I 'do ſay, I will not anſwer that Queſtion, as it may tend to 'accuſe myſelf.'

Examination of Mr Banks, relating to the Borough of Orford.

Your Committee in the next Place, proceeded to examine Mr *Richard Banks*, late Partner with Mr *Paxton*, who ſaid, that he became a Partner in Buſineſs with the ſaid Mr *Paxton*, about the Year 1731 or 1732, and continued to act with him as ſuch, till within theſe four or five Years; that in their private Buſineſs he, *Banks*, generally received the Money from the Clients, tho' not always; that in other Buſineſs, which he apprehended related to the Public, he gave the Bills to Mr *Paxton*, who allowed them to the Examinant upon Account, as Money; that the Examinant had one Bill of near 3000 *l.* for Proſecutions relating to the Borough of *Orford* in *Suffolk*, in which Mr *John Lawton*, of the *Exchequer*, appeared to be the Client; that Mr *Lawton* paid the Examinant ſeveral hundred Pounds for carrying on this Proſecution, and ſometimes he had Money for the ſame Purpoſe from Mr *Paxton*, for which the Examinant gave him a Receipt; but this was, for the moſt Part, when Mr *Lawton* was out of the Way, and when they met again, Mr *Paxton* uſually gave up ſuch Receipts to the Examinant, who then gave Mr *Lawton* others in Lieu thereof; that twice Mr *Maſterman* received Coſts from Mr *Moxon* who was concerned on the other Side, about 200 *l.* the firſt, and about 300 *l.* the ſecond Time, and theſe Coſts being allowed

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

to the Examinant by Mr *Maſterman*, who taxed the Bills, the Examinant gave Mr *Lawton* a Receipt to their Amount, and, the Examinant believes, that he gave no Receipt to any Perſon, except as aforeſaid, for Money advanced in this Affair, but to Mr *Lawton*, from whom moſt of the Money came; that at firſt the Examinant did not know whether this Proſecution was a public or private one, but he did at laſt believe it was anſwered by Public-Money; that it was underſtood by all Mr *Lawton*'s Friends, as the Examinant believes, that the ſaid Proſecutions were carried on with Public-Money, and that Mr *Lawton* did not bear the Expence thereof; that the Examinant, being at *Bury*, was one Evening in Company with Mr *Prime* and Mr *Lawton*, when Mr *Prime* took Occaſion to talk to Mr *Lawton*, as not thinking he had received enough in that Cauſe, Mr *Lawton* told Mr *Prime* that Mr *Banks* had Orders to fee him handſomely, and aſked *Banks*, what he had given him, who anſwered, five Guineas on each Information; and the Examinant informed the Committee, that there were ſeveral Informations; he further added, that Mr *Prime* ſaid to Mr *Lawton*, I do not doubt, but this is an Exchequer, or Treaſury-Proſecution (one or other Expreſſion the Examinant was ſure of) Mr *Lawton* then ſaid to Mr *Prime*, Why do you aſk me that Queſtion? Mr *Prime* replied, I ſee there is Abundance of Care taken in theſe Proſecutions, and a Thing carried on by a private Purſe would ſcarce have had two Sollicitors; that thereupon angry Words paſſed between Mr *Lawton* and Mr *Prime*, and that at laſt Mr *Lawton*, ſaid to him, 'I aſſure you, there has been 'no Money diſburſed hitherto, but what has been out of my 'Pocket, but I do not pretend to ſay, I ſhall not be reimburſed 'it again;' that the Examinant has ſometimes jocularly aſked Mr *Paxton*, if theſe Proſecutions were not on the Public Account, but that Mr *Paxton* has been on the Reſerve, and evaded it by telling the Examinant, 'What is that to you, 'as long as you are paid?' that there remains Seven hundred and odd Pounds unpaid of the Bill for theſe Proſecutions: That Mr *Paxton* has likewiſe charged himſelf with another Bill of the Examinants as Money in an Accompt * to paſs between them in a Proſecution againſt a News-Writer for defaming Sir *Charles Gouter Nichol*, juſt after his Death, for having accepted of a red Ribbon; that Counſellor *Chute* recommended Mr *Paxton* to Lady *Nichol*, and Mr *Paxton* gave Orders to the Examinant for this Proſecution; and that a good while afterwards, the Examinant aſked Mr *Chute*, who he ſhould make out the Bill to; that Mr *Chute* told the Examinant,

And alſo as to a Paragraph in the London Evening Poſt, reflecting on Sir C. G. Nichol.

* The Paragraph in the London Evening-Poſt was to this Effect, 'In 'his early Days he acted like a Man of Honour, and a true Friend to his 'Country, but he changed his Principles for a Red Ribbon, and voted for 'that pernicious Project, the Excise.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

aminant, that he ſhould be no Loſer by it, but that he thought it was to coſt Lady *Nichol* Nothing; and that he apprehended Mr *Paxton* was to pay it; on which the Examinant went to Mr *Paxton*, who at firſt made a little Demur about it, but after a while he did agree to allow the Bill to paſs in Account, as aforeſaid; but the Examinant never did apprehend it to be at Mr *Paxton*'s own Expence; nor doth the Examinant know, that Mr *Paxton* ever charged himſelf with the Examinant's Bills as Money, before he had actually received them, unleſs in what the Examinant apprehends was diſcharged with Public Money; but that Mr *Paxton* has engaged himſelf under his Hand, to anſwer for the beforementioned Bills as Money in his Account with the Examinant.

Examination of Mr Martin, relating to a new Charter for the Borough of Radnor.

Mr *Leonard Martin*, who has been Partner with his Father in Law, Mr *Paxton*, ſince *Michaelmas* 1737. being examined, ſaid, that he was concerned for the Borough of *Radnor*, but not till they came to apply for a new Charter; that he received his Directions from *Thomas Lewis* Eſquire, who told the Examinant, as he believes, that he ſhould be paid by the Government; that he conſulted Mr *Paxton*, as well as Mr *Lewis*, and, to the beſt of his Remembrance, Mr *Lewis* told him, Mr *Paxton* was to pay him: that the Examinant's Bill for ſoliciting, and paſſing the new Charter, and for defending three Informations in the Nature of *Quo Warranto*, againſt three Members of the Corporation, was 1284 *l.* of which upwards of 1200 *l.* was on Account of paſſing the Charter, and it was paid him by Mr *Paxton* above a Year ago; that this new Charter was for an Incorporation, the old Corporation being broke up by Proſecutions and Judgments of Outter; that he apprehends the Petitioners for this Charter were only Perſons ſet up by Mr *Lewis*; for he was the Perſon that had it at Heart, and who chiefly ſollicited, and puſhed it forwards.

And of Thomas Lewis, Eſq; Member for the ſaid Borough.

Thomas Lewis Eſquire, a Member of this Houſe, being examined, ſaid, that he applied to have the Expences of an intended new Charter for the Borough of *Radnor* born by the Crown; that he had a favourable Anſwer; and believes Mr *Paxton* has told him, he had Directions to take Care of it; that Mr *Martin* acted as Sollicitor in procuring and paſſing the Charter, and furniſhed the Money for that Purpoſe; but the Examinant believes, Mr *Paxton* paid Mr *Martin* again; that the Examinant paid ſome Fees to the Counſel for attending the *Attorney* and *Sollicitor General* in this Affair, which amounted to about 40 or 50 *l.*; that he delivered a Bill for the ſame to Mr *Paxton*, who repaid him; that Mr *Paxton* in the ſame Manner ſupported the Expence of defending three Informations which were brought during the paſſing of the Charter

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Charter, againſt the Bailiff and two Aldermen of *Radnor*; on which Informations they were ouſted from their Offices as Bayliff and Aldermen.

Account of Mr Paxton's Behaviour as a Public Accomptant.

Your Committee proceeded, in the next Place, to examine into Mr *Paxton*'s Behaviour as a publick Accomptant; and find, that he entred on his Office of *Sollicitor of the Treaſury* on the 22d of *December* 1730, from which Time till the Month of *July* 1734, being four Years and upwards, they find that he had paſſed no Account, nor was he in Readineſs to paſs the ſame; for it appears to your Committee, that, on the 2d of *July* 1734, he procured a Warrant from the Treaſury for ſtopping Proceſs till the *Hillary* Term following; but it does not appear to your Committee, that, ſince that Time, Proceſs has ever been revived againſt him, or that any other Steps were taken towards his paſſing any Account, till about twelve Months ago, when his Account, ending the 22d of *December* 1732, was deliver'd into the *Auditor*'s Office.

That, beſides the Account juſt mentioned, there is another of Mr *Paxton*'s ending the 22d of *December* 1734, now under Examination, which was delivered in to the ſaid Office laſt *April* was twelve Months; there lies alſo before the *Auditor* a third Account, ending the 22d of *December* 1736, which was delivered in the 8th Day of *February* laſt.

And your Committee find, that, on the 8th of *February* laſt, a State of the Account of Mr *Paxton*, from the 22d of *December* 1730, (the Day of his Appointment to his Office) to the 22d of *December* 1732, amounting to the Sum of 28,235 *l.* 00 9 *d.* ½. and the Diſcharge whereof amounted to 26,630 *l.* 4 *s.* 5 *d.* was ſubmitted to the Lords of the *Treaſury* by Mr *Edward Bangham*, Deputy-Auditor, who has obſerved at the Foot of the Account, that for 3251 *l.* 17 *s.* Part of the Cravings of the ſaid Mr *Paxton*, no Receipts, or Bills of the Particulars, were produced; and that it appears by the Warrant of the *Treaſury*, which direct the Accomptant's Allowance of 500 *l. per Annum*, payable out of the *Exchequer*, that the ſaid Allowance is to be, as well in lieu of Termly, and other Fees and Allowances, which he might claim for his own Pains and Service, as for Clerks, Coach hire, and ſuch other the like Charges, incident to the Execution of the ſaid Office; but that it is alledged by the Accomptant, that the Services before mentioned are foreign to his Buſineſs as *Sollicitor of the Treaſury*; and that he was directed, by ſpecial Orders, to attend the ſame; the greateſt Part of which were before his Appointment, and required his Attendance in the Country; and it appears, that this State of the ſaid Account, though it bears Date on the 8th of *February*, was not in Fact delivered into the

the *Treaſury* till the 9th of *February* laſt, when your Committee, to their great Surprize, find, that, notwithſtanding theſe Obſervations laid before the Commiſſioners of the *Treaſury* by the *Deputy Auditor* of the Impreſt, they did, the very ſame Morning, iſſue their Warrant to one of the *Auditors* of the Impreſt, to authorize the paſſing and allowing of the ſaid Account. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

But though, by this Means, the *Treaſury* did grant to Mr *Paxton* all the Favour in their Power, his Accounts are not yet paſſed; for they muſt be firſt declared, and the Declaration is the judicial Act of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*; in which he can reviſe, and, if he ſees Cauſe, diſallow them or any part of them, notwithſtanding the Warrant of the *Treaſury*, and the Allowance of the *Auditor*, founded thereon.

Your Committee finding, that Mr *Paxton* had actually paſſed no Account, during the whole Time of his being *Solicitor to the Treaſury*, proceeded to enquire, whether any large Sums of publick Money had been intruſted to him, and find, that he ſtands Inſuper 5,382 *l.* 18 *s.* 1 *d.* for Money paid over to him by Mr *Cratcherode*, when the ſaid Mr *Paxton* was his Aſſiſtant; they alſo find, that he ſtands charged upon the Impreſt Rolls with a Sum of 89,314 *l.* 19 *s.* 2 *d.* ½. upon Account; ſo that the whole Sum of publick Money, with which he ſtands charged, is no leſs than 94,697 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* ½.

It alſo appears to your Committee, that, beſides the ſaid Sums, they have already diſcovered, that Mr *Thomas Lowther*, one of the Meſſengers of the *Treaſury*, has paid to the ſaid Mr *Paxton* one Sum of 1500 *l.* by virtue of a Minute of the *Treaſury*; for which Sum neither the ſaid *Lowther*, nor the ſaid *Paxton*, are publick Accomptants.

But your Committee are utterly unable to diſcover, by what Arts and Methods Mr *Paxton* could evade paſſing any Account during the Time of his being *Solicitor of the Treaſury*, which is upwards of eleven Years; eſpecially as it appears to your Committee, that it was the Duty of the ſaid *Treaſury*, to oblige him to proſecute all ſuch Accomptants, as ſhould appear to be in Arrear by the Certificates of the *Auditors* of the Impreſts; for your Committee find, from a Report of the ſaid *Auditors*, (which is hereunto annexed by way of *Appendix*) that, by a Warrant of the *Treaſury* dated the 16th of *Auguſt* 1711, and ſigned *Oxford*, the *Solicitor of the Treaſury* is directed to take Care, that the Proceſs be regularly iſſued againſt ſuch impreſt Accomptants as ſhall appear to be in Arrear, by the Certificates of the *Auditors* of the Impreſts, to the Queen's Remembrancer; as alſo againſt all Perſons ſtanding Inſuper upon an Impreſt, or

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742. or other Accounts; which Warrant was confirmed in his late Majeſty's Reign, as follows, *viz.*

Whitehall, Treaſury-Chambers, 18 November, 1717.
Preſent
Lord *Stanhope*, Lord *Torrington*,
Mr *John* † *Wallop*, Mr *Baillie*.

'Renew the Order to the *Sollicitor of the Treaſury* to 'proſecute Supers upon Accomptants.'

And your Committee are at a Loſs to determine, what Motives could induce the Commiſſioners of the *Treaſury*, to continue the ſaid Mr *Paxton* ſo many Years in the Office of *Sollicitor of the Treaſury*, and to direct, that ſuch large Sums of publick Money ſhould, from time to time, be lodged in his Hands; when they muſt have been informed, by the Half-yearly Certificates, delivered in to them by the *Auditors* of the Impreſts, that he had paſt no Accounts from the Time of his firſt Appointment to be *Sollicitor of the Treaſury*, which was on the 22d of *December* 1730.

Further Examination of Mr Paxton.

Your Committee, the better to be enabled to diſcover, by what Services the ſaid Mr *Paxton* could deſerve ſuch ſingular and extraordinary Indulgence, did, on *Friday* laſt, direct the Keeper of *Newgate* to bring him before them; and, upon his being called in, the former Queſtion was again repeated to him, *viz.*

'Did you advance any Money to Mr *John Jones*, on the 'Account of Mr *Boteler*, about the Time of the Election at '*Wendover* in 1735?'

Upon which he deſired, that his former Anſwer to the ſaid Queſtion might be read.

Which being read accordingly;

He repeated the very ſame Words, *viz.* 'I will not an- 'ſwer that Queſtion, as it may tend to accuſe myſelf.'

Whereupon he was asked, Whether the Apprehenſion that it might tend to accuſe himſelf, was his only Reaſon for not anſwering?

He ſaid, 'That is my principal Reaſon.'

Whereupon he was ordered to withdraw.

And Gwyn Vaughan Eſq;

Gwyn Vaughan Eſquire ‡, being examined, he was asked, If he knew of any Sum, or Sums of Money, paid out of the Salary, or Profits, of any Place, or Office under the Government? To which he anſwered, 'I do not know of any, at this Time.'

Being then farther asked, If he knew of any paid within theſe ten Years?

He deſired to know, Whether he was to include himſelf, or only others?

'I

† Now Lord Viſcount Lymington. ‡ A Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms.

He was then informed, that the Queſtion was general, and included all Perſons. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Then he ſaid, that he was apprehenſive, that an Anſwer to that Queſtion might in part affect himſelf; and therefore deſired to be excuſed anſwering.

Whereupon he was ordered to withdraw.

And upon his being called in again;

He was acquainted by the Chairman, that the Committee had conſidered of his Objection to the Queſtion put to him, and would not preſs it farther at that Time.

Your Committee are now proceeding, with all poſſible Diſpatch, in proſecuting the Enquiry into the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*, during the laſt ten Years of his being firſt Commiſſioner of the *Treaſury*, and *Chancellor* and *Under-Treaſurer* of his Majeſty's *Exchequer*; but they cannot conclude this Report, without repreſenting to the Houſe, the great Difficulty they labour under, from this obſtinate and contemptuous Behaviour of Mr *Paxton*, who appears to have been directly or indirectly concerned in moſt of the Tranſactions, into which they have hitherto enquired; and when they conſider the very large Sums, which have been iſſued to him, during the Time of his being *Solicitor to the Treaſury*, and that no effectual Methods were ever taken to oblige him to account for any Part thereof, (a Circumſtance, which could not ariſe from meer Negligence or Inattention) when they conſider that the ſtrong and well-grounded Remarks made on his Accounts by the Deputy-Auditor of the Impreſts, were inſtantly followed by a Warrant of the Treaſury, directing the Auditor to allow his Accounts; when they conſider, what ſtrong Suſpicions muſt ariſe from the foregoing Evidence, that ſome Part, at leaſt, of the Money in his Hands, may have been employed in Practices dangerous to the Liberties of this Nation, and deſtructive of the Independency of Parliaments; they cannot help obſerving, that this Perſeverance in refuſing to anſwer, ſeems to take its Riſe from a premeditated Scheme, to obſtruct and fruſtrate their Enquiry; and, ſhould it paſs unregarded, may probably communicate itſelf to other Perſons, whom they ſhall have occaſion to call before them; and, by that means, render it impoſſible to lay a clear State of Affairs before the Houſe.

The Obſervations of the Committee on Paxton's obſtinate and contemptuous Behaviour.

Your Committee therefore thought themſelves obliged in Duty to Report theſe Matters ſpecially to the Houſe, and do humbly ſubmit the ſame to their Conſideration.

APPENDIX

TO THE

Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

Mr Lowndes's Letter to the Auditors of the Impreſt.

Gentlemen,

MY Lord Treaſurer is pleaſed to order, that you, together with Mr *Borret* the Sollicitor for the Affairs of the Treaſury, do attend Mr *Attorney*, and *Sollicitor General*, and adviſe with them of the moſt effectual Methods for making out the Proceſs of the Exchequer from Time to Time, againſt Accomptants in Default, and for Execution of the ſame.

I am,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt humble Servant,
WILLIAM LOWNDES.

Treaſury Chambers,
4 June, 1711.

Auditors Impreſt. { *To the Right Honourable* Robert *Earl of* Oxford *and Earl* Mortimer, *Lord High Treaſurer of* Great Britain.

Their Repreſentation to the Earl of Oxford, Lord Treaſurer.

IN Obedience to your Lordſhips Order of the 4th of *June*, we have attended Mr *Attorney* and *Sollicitor General*, and adviſed with them of the moſt effectual Method for making out the Proceſs of the *Exchequer*, againſt Accomptants in Default, and for the due Execution of the ſame; and by whoſe Approbation do humbly propoſe,

That the Sollicitor of the Treaſury be directed to take care that the Proceſs be regularly iſſued, againſt ſuch Impreſt Accomptants, as ſhall appear to be in Arrear, by the Certificates of the Auditors of the Impreſts, to the Queen's Remembrancer; as alſo againſt all Perſons ſtanding Inſuper, upon any Impreſt, or other Accounts.

That the like Directions be given with Reſpect to the Receivers of the Land-Tax, who are behind with their Accounts; as alſo to the Sollicitors of the Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Poſt-Office, Salt and Stamp Duties, with reſpect to the Perſons ſtanding inſuper upon the Accounts of the Revenues; and that the Effect of ſuch Proceſs may appear, it is humbly propoſed, that the ſame may be repreſented, by each Sollicitor, in the Beginning of every Term to your Lordſhip, in the following Method; and that a Copy thereof, be each Term tranſmitted to the Auditors of the Impreſts, and the Auditor of the Land-Revenue.

And whereas many of the Accomptants have no viſible Eſtate in Land, and it has been found by long Experience, that

that the iſſuing *Diſtringas ad Computandum*, have had very Little Effect; it is therefore propoſed, That in all Caſes where a *Diſtringas* has once been iſſued without Effect, the ſeveral Sollicitors ſhould be directed to take out a *Capias ad Computandum* the next Term, to ſecure the Perſon of the Accomptant, till he gives Security for his rendering a due Accompt.

E. Harley,
A. Mainwairing,

I approve of the Method propoſed
Edward Northey,
July 20, 1711.
I likewiſe approve of this Method,
Robert Raymond,
July 30, 1711.

Accomptants appearing to be in Arrear by the Certificates of the Auditors of the Impreſt.	Proceſs iſſued againſt, and executed upon ſuch Accomptants.	Reaſon why Proceſs has not been executed.	Accompts brought into the Auditors ſince the iſſuing of Proceſs.

Perſons ſtanding inſuper upon the Accompts of the Army, *&c.* for which no Accompt has been rendered.	Proceſs iſſued againſt, and executed upon ſuch Accomptants.	Reaſon why Proceſs is not executed.	Inſuper Accompts brought in ſince the laſt Certificate.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

His Lordſhip's Warrant to the Sollicitor of the Treaſury, upon that Occaſion.

AFter my hearty Commendations, having conſidered the Repreſentation, of which the within written is a true Copy, and approving thereof; theſe are to authorize and direct you to take Care, that all Matters and Things therein and thereby preſcribed, for the Sollicitor of the Treaſury to do, be carefully and duly done and performed by you; and that your Proceedings thereupon be, from Time to Time, repreſented in the Manner, and according to the Method thereby propoſed; and for ſo doing this ſhall be your Warrant.

Whitehall, Treaſury Chambers,
16th *Auguſt*, 1711. OXFORD.

To my very loving Friend William Borret, *Eſquire, Solliciter for the Affairs of the Treaſury.*

Confirmation thereof by the Lords of the Treaſury, Anno 1717.

Which Warrant was confirmed in his late Majeſty's Reign, as follows, *viz.*

Whitehall, Treaſury Chambers, 18 November 1717.

Preſent

Lord *Stanhope*, Lord *Torrington*,
Mr *John Wallop*, Mr *Baillie*.

Supers upon Accomptants, about Proſecutions, } Renew the Order to the Sollicitor of the Treaſury to proſecute Supers upon Accomptants.

It is ſubmitted, whether the Certificates from the Sollicitors, ſhould not be every iſſuable Term, inſtead of every Term.

The foregoing are true Copies from the Entries in the Books in the Office of the Auditors of the Impreſts.

Edw. Bangham,
Ja. Thomas, } Deputy Auditors.

A

A Farther REPORT *from the* COMMITTEE *of* SECRECY, *appointed to inquire into the Conduct of* ROBERT *Earl of* ORFORD, *during the laſt Ten Years of his being Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.*

YOUR Committee having, in their former Report, laid before the Houſe the Obſtructions they met with in the Courſe of their Inquiry, and finding that the Lords had refuſed to concur in the Means propoſed by this Houſe to remove them, by rejecting the Bill for indemnifying ſuch Perſons as ſhall, upon Examination, make Diſcoveries touching the Diſpoſition of publick Money, or concerning the Diſpoſition of Offices, or any Payments or Agreements in reſpect thereof, or concerning other Matters relating to the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, have not thought it adviſeable to enter upon any new Matter relating to the Tranſactions of the Earl of *Orford*. But as previous to the rejecting of the ſaid Bill by the other Houſe, they had ſeveral Matters before them of the higheſt Conſequence and Importance to the Succeſs of the War with *Spain*, and to the domeſtick OEconomy and good Order of the Kingdom, to the Payment of the Troops Abroad, to the Freedom of Elections at Home, and to the Quantity and Method of iſſuing publick Money for the ſecret Services of the State, in all which the ſaid Earl appears to have had the principal, if not the ſole Direction; your Committee thought it their abſolute Duty to lay theſe Matters before the Houſe, and were preparing to do it with as much Clearneſs and Perſpicuity, as the many notorious Difficulties and Diſcouragements this Inquiry has labour'd under would permit. But in the Execution of this Deſign, they were again interrupted by a new and unforeſeen Obſtruction to one of the moſt material Points in Queſtion, which therefore, together with the other Matters abovementioned, they find themſelves under a Neceſſity of laying before the Houſe.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

As the vigorous and ſucceſsful Proſecution of the War in *America* ſeems to have been the great Object of the Intereſts and Inclination of the People of *Great Britain*; and as an Expedition to a Climate ſo diſtant and dangerous, muſt unavoidably be attended with an immenſe Expence both of Men and Money to the Nation, your Committee therefore, conſidering how eſſentially it muſt affect the Glory of his Ma-

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Majeſty's Arms, and the Juſtice due to this Nation, that thoſe of their Countrymen, who chearfully undertook a Service, where the Enemy was the leaſt Danger they were expoſed to, ſhould be juſtly and fully paid the great Sums raiſed to ſupport them, have thought it their Duty to inquire into the Contract made for ſupplying his Majeſty's Forces going upon the Expedition with Lord *Cathcart*, and to examine whether it had been eſtabliſhed on the moſt juſt and advantageous Foot, for Troops ſo peculiarly deſerving the Care and Attention of the Publick. And in proceeding therein,

Account of the Contract for ſupplying Money for paying the Forces ſent to the Weſt-Indies.

Your Committee find, that the Money, or rather the Currency of *Jamaica*, is of a leſs Value than *Sterling* Money; and, by the Examination of Merchants, it appears, that for ſome Years before the Commencement of the War with *Spain*, the Rate of Exchange between *Jamaica* and *England* was from 135 to 140, but generally at 140, very few Bills having been drawn under that Rate; that is, Perſons at *Jamaica* generally paid 140 *l.* of the Currency of that Country, for a Bill which intitled them, or their Agents, to 100 *l. Sterl.* in *England*.

Meſſ. Burrell's and Briſtow's Propoſal for that Purpoſe.

Your Committee find, that on the 9th of *July* 1740, the following Propoſal was made to the Treaſury for furniſhing Money at *Jamaica* for the Expedition under Lord *Cathcart*, by *Peter Burrel* and *John Briſtow*, Eſqrs. Members of this Houſe.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, the Propoſal of Peter Burrel *and* John Briſtow.

'That they are ready to furniſh at *Jamaica* his Majeſty's 'Forces going upon the intended Expedition with Lord 'Cathcart, with any Sums of Money, and at the Times 'which the Service ſhall require, at the Rate of 100 *l. Sterl.* 'for every 120 *l.* paid at *Jamaica* in the Currency of that 'Iſland; that the Sum of 27,000 *l.* be paid to them be'fore the Departure of the Troops, they furniſhing their 'Bills at Sight on *Jamaica* for the Amount thereof, at the 'abovementioned Rate of 100 *l. Sterl.* for 120 *l. Jamaica* 'Currency. That the ſubſequent Payments be made upon 'their producing the Deputy-Paymaſter's Bills or Receipts, 'who ſhall be directed to give the ſame for the Sums they 'ſhall receive from Time to Time.

London, July 9, 1740. PETER BURRELL. JOHN BRISTOW.

This Propoſal was the ſame Day agreed to by the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, the Earl of *Orford* being then preſent at the Board, which appears the more extraordinary

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to your Committee, becauſe the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury (had they thought fit to inquire) muſt have found, that for ſeveral Months preceding the Date of this Propoſal, all the Bills drawn from *Jamaica* for the Service of his Majeſty's Navy and Ordnance, were drawn at the Rate of 140 *l.* for 100 *l. Sterl.* as appears by the Appendix (No. 1.)

Your Committee alſo obſerve, that at the Time of the Delivery of this Propoſal, it could be no Secret to Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Briſtow* that the Exchange from *Jamaica* was 140 *l.* for your Committee find in the Minutes of a Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, when Mr *Burrel* Sub-Governor, and Mr *Briſtow* Deputy-Governor, were preſent, the following Order:

Friday, March 16, 1738 9.

'Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee of Correſpondence to conſider, and report their Opinion concerning the Exchange from *Jamaica*, which is now at 140 *l.* for 100 *l. Sterl.* and yet the Company are not credited for the Dollars, Piſtoles, and Bar-Gold, more than when the Exchange was at 135 *per Cent.*'

The Circumſtances which preceded and occaſioned this extraordinary Tranſaction, as far as your Committee have been able to trace them, are of a very ſingular Nature; for it appears by the Examination of Captain *Alexander Wilſon*, who was Agent to Lord *Cathcart*, when he was preparing for the Expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*, which is annexed in the Appendix, (No. 2) That in *May* or *June* preceding this Contract, the Paymaſter-General communicated to Lord *Cathcart* a Method of paying the Troops, which his Lordſhip approved of, this was by ſending a Sum of Money by the Deputy-Paymaſter, who was to attend the Expedition, and impowering him to draw what Bills ſhould be neceſſary, and directing the Troops to be paid at *Jamaica*, at ſuch a Rate of Exchange, as ſhould appear to Lord *Cathcart* and the ſuperior Officers to be moſt advantageous to the Troops; and it being intimated ſome Time after to Lord *Cathcart*, that a Contract for paying the Troops, at 120 *l. Jamaica* Money, for 100 *l. Sterl.* was then depending before the Treaſury, he immediately procured a Meeting with Mr *Hanbury Williams*, Paymaſter of the Marines, Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Briſtow*, with a View, if poſſible, to get the Troops paid in a more advantageous Manner, for he did not apprehend the Contract was at that Time paſſed. At this Meeting he mentioned the Inconveniencies which might ariſe from the paying the Men at a Rate ſo much lower than the known Exchange, and the Danger there was from what he had obſerved Abroad, of its producing Diſ-

Examination of Capt. Wilſon relating thereto.

contents

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contents and Mutiny; and after ſeveral Arguments raiſed on both Sides, their Meeting ended on Mr *Burrell*'s or Mr *Briſtow*'s declaring, that they had made an Agreement with the Treaſury already, on the Terms of 120 *l. Jamaica* Money for 100 *l. Sterl.* and that they could not do it for leſs Profit.

And of Meſſ. Burrell and Briſtow.

From the Examinations of Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Briſtow*, (which are annexed in the Appendix (No. 3.) it appears, that they applied for this Contract to the Earl of *Orford*, and to no other Perſon; for when it was publickly known that the Troops were going to *Jamaica*, Mr *Burrell* acquainted the ſaid Earl, that he had Correſpondence in *Jamaica*, on the *South-Sea* Company's Account, who were Men of great Credit, and had the greateſt Command of Money of any in the Place, and he thought, if Money was wanted there, he could ſupply the Government as well as any Body; and that afterwards, conſidering the great Importance of the Affair, he thought it too much Hazard for himſelf alone, and mentioned it to Mr *Briſtow*, and they together ſettled the Terms of their Propoſal; and about the Month of *June*, 1740, the Parliament being then prorogued, they waited on the Earl of *Orford*, and propoſed to him the ſame Terms, which were afterwards agreed to by the Treaſury; the ſaid Earl aſked them if theſe were the loweſt Terms, and hoped they would not aſk more than was reaſonable, or what any Body elſe ſhould complain of; that he would not take it on himſelf, but deſired them to make their Propoſals to the Treaſury, which ſeems to your Committee to have been entirely Matter of Form: for it appears that when this Propoſal was accordingly delivered to the Treaſury, the Gentlemen cannot recollect to whom it was delivered, nor when, nor by whom they were informed of its being accepted; nay one of the Gentlemen even does not remember, whether they themſelves went with the Propoſal when it was preſented.

Alſo of Charles Hanbury Williams, Eſq;

And your Committee having alſo examined *Charles Hanbury Williams*, Eſq; a Member of this Houſe, touching the Converſation that paſſed between Mr *Burrell*, Mr *Briſtow*, and Lord *Cathcart*, at Mr *Williams*'s Office, have alſo added his Examination to the others in the Appendix (No. 3.) to which they beg Leave to refer.

And of James Knight, Eſq;

Your Committee cannot find that any Notice or Intimation was given to any Perſon, except what paſſed between the Earl of *Orford* and the Contractors, as is before mentioned, of the Intention of the Treaſury to make this Contract; for it appears by the Examination of *James Knight*, Eſq; which is annexed in the Appendix (No. 4.) that when he heard the Troops were going to *Jamaica*, and was told the Treaſury would contract with private Perſons for paying them, he did himſelf intend to make an Offer of furniſhing

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he Money, but in very few Days after, he heard the Treasury had agreed with Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Briſtow*, at the Rate of 120 *l.* and he did not believe the Treaſury ever gave any Notice of their Intentions to make any ſuch Contract. That what he expected was not a formal publick Notice, but that it ſhould have been communicated to Merchants, as he has heard has been practiſed in Queen *Anne*'s Wars, and had this been done, he believes ſeveral beſides himſelf would have propoſed, and that he himſelf would have furniſhed the Money at 130 *l. per Cent.* for 100 *l. Sterl.* and ſhould have thought it a good Bargain, provided he could have had the ſame Money advanced to him which he has heard was advanced to Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Briſtow*; that after the firſt Difficulty, which would be on the Arrival of the Troops, was over, he did not doubt but he could have contracted with the People of the Iſland to furniſh the Money at the Rate of 137½, and if the whole Money was advanced to him here beforehand, and he was only to ſend it over and furniſh it at *Jamaica* at the Rate of 130 *l. per Cent.* he thinks he ſhould make 12, or 15 *per Cent. per Annum* of the Sums he furniſhed, by returning the ſame Money twice a Year.

This led your Committee into a Computation of the Profits which might have been made on this Contract, which they conceive to ſtand thus:

The Committee's Obſervations on the Injuries done to the Soldiers and to the Publick by the above Contract.

If the Value of 100 *l. Sterl.* be ſent to *Jamaica* in Moidores, it appears they will produce 143 *l.* 10 *s. Jamaica* Currency; but by this Contract, only 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency was to be paid at *Jamaica* for every 100 *l. Sterl.* received here: To this 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, all the neceſſary Charges muſt be added, which your Committee conceive to be 1 *l. per Cent.* Commiſſion, 2½ *per Cent.* Inſurance, 1 *l. per Cent.* Freight, and ½ *per Cent.* for the Charges of Shipping; in all, 4 *l.* 15 *s. per Cent.* which on 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, is 5 *l.* 14 *s.* of the ſame Currency, in all 125 *l.* 14 *s. Jamaica* Currency. So that the Profit to be made on ſending Moidores, was the Difference between 125 *l.* 14 *s.* and 143 *l.* 10 *s.* which is 17 *l.* 16 *s. Jamaica* Currency, or 12 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. Sterl.* out of every 100 *l. Sterl.* which is 14 *l.* 3 *s.* 2 *d.* ½ *per Cent. Sterl.* And your Committee obſerve, that if half of the Sum ſent had been in Six and Thirty-Shilling Pieces, and only half in Moidores, 100 *l. Sterl.* ſo ſent would have produced 141 *l. Jamaica* Currency, which is only 2 *l.* 10 *s. Jamaica* Currency leſs than Moidores alone would have produced.

And your Committee cannot help obſerving, that if the Treaſury had thought fit to ſend in Moidores to *Jamaica*, on the Account of the Publick, the ſame Sums of Money

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which they actually advanced to the Contractors, then every 100 *l. Sterl.* ſo ſent would have produced 143 *l.* 10 *s. Jamaica* Currency, except what may be allowed for Inſurance, which your Committee is informed amounts to about 2 ½ *per Cent.* on Money ſent by Ships of War. Nor could frequent Opportunities have been wanting of ſending, on Board his Majeſty's Ships, ſuch farther Supplies of Money as might at any Time have been neceſſary for that Service. But if it had been thought more adviſeable to have ſupplied Part of this Expence by Draughts from thence, there can be no Doubt but that the Deputy-Paymaſter being furniſhed with a proper Proportion of Specie from hence, would have been able to keep up the Exchange at 140 *l.* and in that Caſe no Charge would have attended that Part ſo ſupplied.

It further appears, that in the Courſe of this Affair, and before the Departure of Lord *Cathcart*, ſtill greater Indulgences were granted to the Contractors: for by their firſt Propoſal the Sum of 27,000 *l.* only was to be advanced them by the Treaſury before the Departure of the Troops, but the ſubſequent Payments were not to be made to them till they produced the Deputy Paymaſter's Bills or Receipts: And yet on the 30th of *September* following, which was before the Departure of the Troops, 12,000 *l.* was further advanc'd to them by the Paymaſter-General, for their Bill of that Date; and on the 1ſt of *October* 9500 *l.* more was advanced to them by the Paymaſter of the Marines, for their Bill of the 30th of *September*; and on the 23d of *December* a Sum of 12000 *l.* was advanced by the Paymaſter-General, for their Bill of that Day's Date; and on the 6th of *January*, a farther Sum of 9000 *l.* was advanced by the Paymaſter of the Marines for their Bill of the 31ſt of *December*. All in Conſequence of Minutes of the Treaſury, as in the Appendix, No. 5.

Here your Committee cannot help obſerving that the paying theſe Sums amounting to 42,501 *l.* over and above the 27,000 *l.* originally advanced before there had been any Diſburſements on the Part of the Contractors, altered the Nature of the Contract, and render'd it much more beneficial than as it was originally propoſed by the Contractors themſelves.

Mr *Burrel* ſaid, he did offer the Half of his Share to his Brother, and a Gentleman engaged in Buſineſs with them, but they thought it too great a Riſque for them to run: He likewiſe mentioned it to another Gentleman (whom he did not name) who would not accept of it, that theſe Refuſals were very early before any Thing was done in it, more than paſſing the Contract, and that he mentioned them, to ſhew that he thought he had no great Bargain of it. And from

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the Examination of Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Briſtow*, it farther appears, that ſome Time after the making of the Contract, they offered Mr *Monſon*, a Member of this Houſe, one fourth Part of it, as far as it related to the Payment of the Troops in the Office where he is Deputy, which he accepted of, and has ſhared accordingly the Profits of this Contract from the Beginning; and ſome Time after the Earl of *Orford* mentioned to Mr *Burrel*, that Mr *Hanbury Williams* had deſired him to ſpeak to him, Mr *Burrel*, that one of Mr *Williams*'s Friends might have a Share in the Remittances, but he added, You are to do juſt as you pleaſe, I don't aſk you to let any Body in, for the Contract is yours; and ſoon afterwards Mr *Hanbury Williams* ſpoke to the Contractors, and told them, that he had a Relation, one Mr *Hanbury*, a *Weſt-India* Merchant, to whom he had Obligations; and as he had Money and Effects at *Jamaica*, he deſired he might be concerned one fourth Part with them for the future, which he has accordingly been, in what relates to the Payment of the Marines in Mr *Hanbury Williams*'s Office. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

And it appears to your Committee, that neither the one nor the other of thoſe Gentlemen advanced any Money, or were concerned in the Management, but were to be Sharers of the Profit or Loſs only.

And it farther appears to your Committee, that on the Arrival of the Troops at *Jamaica*, and the tendering the Money to them at 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, great Diſcontents were expreſſed by the Officers, and ſome actually refuſed to receive it, and with Time the Diſcontent increaſed, and nothing was talk'd of ſo much among the Officers of the Army, as the Hardſhip of being paid at 120 *l.* when the Exchange was at 140 *l.* every one of them became a Calculator, and complain'd he loſt 16 *l.* 6 *s.* on every 100 *l.* he being paid his 120 *l. Jamaica* Money, with 62 Moidores, which is no more than 83 *l.* 14 *s. Sterl.* all which appears by the Letters of *Colebroke* and General *Wentworth*, annexed in the Appendix, No. 6. ſo truly were the Fears of Lord *Cathcart* verify'd.

And this Uneaſineſs among the Troops was greatly increaſed by the peremptory Refuſal of the Agents of Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Briſtow*, to furniſh the Deputy-Paymaſter at *Jamaica* with any Money upon their Credit, ariſing, as Mr *Colebroke* ſays in his Letter of the 20th of *February*, 1740, Mark'd (B) in the Appendix, (No. 6.) from their Views of appropriating the Profit to themſelves, and being dazzled with the Proſpect of getting 15 or 20 *per Cent.* inſtead of 2 *per Cent.* their Commiſſion. Upon this the Deputy-Paymaſter took up Money from other Perſons, and gave them

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them Bills on the Paymaſter-General; and tho' there were, as appears by the Extracts of Letters of the Deputy-Paymaſter, of the 20th of *February*, and the 23d of *March*, 1740-1, which are mark'd (B and D) in the Appendix, (No. 6.) Combinations to diſtreſs him, yet the firſt Bills he thus drew were at the Rate of 130 *l.* and he, by Degrees, raiſed the Exchange, ſo that at laſt he drew at 140 *l.* whilſt the Troops ſtill continued to be paid at 120 *l.*

And it further appears to your Committee, that on the 5th of *June*, 1741, there is entered in the Treaſury-Books the following Minute:

'Mr *Briſtow*, one of the Remitters for the *Weſt-Indies*, 'is called in, and acquaints my Lords, that he and Mr 'Burrel have diſcharged ſuch of their Factors and Agents 'at *Jamaica*, as misbehaved themſelves in their Conduct 'about ſupplying the Money for the publick Service there; 'and that as General *Wentworth* has applied for the Troops 'to be paid at the Rate of 125 *per Cent.* he will take 'Care that the Remittance ſhall be made accordingly.'

And on the 10th of *July* following, the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury agree and order, 'That Meſſrs. *Burrell* and 'Briſtow pay the Troops in *America* at the Rate of 125 *l.* 'Jamaica Currency for 100 *l. Sterl.* from the 24th of 'April preceding.'

Now your Committee obſerve, on this new Contract, firſt propoſed on the 5th of *June*, 1741, and finally regulated on the 10th of *July* following, that Mr *Colebrooke*, the Deputy-Paymaſter at *Jamaica*, did on the 24th of *Feb.* preceding, being 19 Weeks before the ſettling of the ſaid Contract, draw Bills on the Paymaſter-General to the Amount of 1250 *l.* all at the Rate of 130 *l.* and did in his Letter of the 23d of *March* before mentioned, acquaint the Paymaſter-General that he had happily overcome all Oppoſition, and could aſſure him on good Grounds, that whatever Money might be neceſſary to be raiſed for the Service, would be found at *Jamaica*, for Bills on the Paymaſter-General for 130 *l.* and upwards, and this laſt Letter is dated above ten Weeks before the Propoſal of Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Briſtow*, to amend their Contract, and above fifteen Weeks before the final Acceptation of that Propoſal by the Treaſury; and it is worthy of Obſervation that in the Months of *January*, *February*, *March*, *April* and *May*, preceding the *July* in which this ſecond Contract at 125 *l.* was eſtabliſhed by the Treaſury, there were drawn from *Jamaica*, no leſs than 39 Bills for the Service of his Majeſty's Navy, moſt of them at the Rate of 135 *l.* and the Remainder at the Rate of 140 *l.*

And it appears to your Committee, that ſeveral Bills amounting to the Sum of 11392 *l.* 17 *s.* were drawn on the Paymaſter

Paymaſter of the Marines by his Deputy, between the 18th of *Feb.* 1740, and the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1741, Part of which Bills amounting to 5000 *l.* were drawn in the Month of *February*, preceding the new Contract; that theſe Bills were paid by Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Briſtow*, and that Money was iſſued to them for that Purpoſe by the Paymaſter of the Marines. But, your Committee have not been able to diſcover at what Rate of Exchange they were drawn, nor does it appear whether Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Briſtow* have been allowed to take the Profit ariſing from the Difference between 120 *l.* the Rate of the Contract, and the Rate of Exchange the Bills were drawn at. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

And it further appears to your Committee, that the Bills drawn by the Deputy-Paymaſter from *Jamaica*, on the Paymaſter-General, when the Agents of Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Briſtow* refuſed to ſupply him, amounting to the Sum of 29216 *l.* 5 *s.* 3 *d.* and which were drawn in the Months of *February* and *March*, 1740. and in *April*, *May*, *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*, 1741, at 130 *l.* 135 *l.* 137 ½ *l.* and at laſt at 140 *l.* were ſent for Payment to Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Briſtow*, and alſo that Money was iſſued from the Pay-Office to them to diſcharge the ſaid Bills; altho' it does not appear to your Committee what Pretence or Right the Contractors could have to the Profit ariſing from any of theſe Bills, after the Forfeiture of their Bargain by the Refuſal of their Agents to furniſh the Deputy-Paymaſters at *Jamaica*.

But tho' theſe Bills were thus paid by Meſſ. *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, yet your Committee find that on the 15th of *December* laſt, the Paymaſter-General made a Repreſentation of this Matter to the Treaſury, as in the Appendix (No. 7.) praying a Direction of the Commiſſioners whether the Profit or Difference ariſing by the Exchange on the ſaid Bills ſhould be accounted for, and paid to the Agents of the ſaid Contractors, or reſerved in the Hands of his Deputy for the Uſe and Benefit of the Public: And your Committee find the following Minute in the Books of the Treaſury:

Whitehall, Treaſury-Chamber, 29th *Dec.* 1741.

'Read alſo to my Lords a Memorial from the ſame Paymaſter, dated the 15th Inſt. relating to the Remittance of Pay for the Troops in *America*, with reſpect to the *Jamaica* Currency, and ordered a Copy thereof to be ſent to the Remitters for their Anſwer thereto.'

To which the Remitters gave in their Anſwer, annexed in the Appendix (No. 8.) in which it is remarkable, that in ſtating the ſeveral Charges upon ſending over Specie to *Jamaica*, they make one Charge in the following Words; Three *per Cent.* Commiſſion we pay in *Jamaica*: Whereas it appears by their Examinations, that they paid One *per*

Cent.

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Cent. only to their Agent, Mr *Colebrooke*, for the Money ſent out with Lord *Cathcart*.

This Anſwer was received on the 5th of *Feb.* laſt, and Nothing appears to have been done upon it while the Earl of *Orford* continued in the Treaſury.

Your Committee have been obliged to dwell the longer upon this Contract, becauſe the whole Behaviour of the Earl of *Orford*, who had the ſole Direction of it, ſeems ſo extraordinary, that they fear this Part of their Report would want Credit, if they had not deſcended into the moſt minute Particulars of it.

Here they find a Contract entered into upon the good Faith of the Propoſers only, with an Ignorance of the Value of the Exchange, whether real or affected does not appear to your Committee; and that Defect ſo far from being endeavoured to be ſupplied, by admitting Propoſals or Information from any other Merchants, that it ſeemed a determined Point to ſhut it out, even when it ſeemed to obtrude itſelf, upon him, from the very Offices ſubject to his Inſpection.

But as if this Injury to the Troops and Injuſtice to the Nation, had been too little, he rendered this Contract more advantageous to the Contractors than their moſt ſanguine Expectation originally ſuggeſted to them.

For tho' by the Terms of the Contract the Public was to advance 27000*l.* only, in Money, yet we find the further Sum of 42000*l.* advanced to them before the Arrival of the Troops in *America*.

And your Committee obſerve, that the Shares of the Profits of this Contract were dealt out to the Deputy of the Pay-Office, and to a Friend of the Paymaſter of the Marines, at the Requeſt of the ſaid Paymaſter, without any Advance of Money or Trouble on their Part, and it is very remarkable that theſe Shares were confined to the Sums iſſued from the reſpective Offices.

And here your Committee muſt obſerve, from the whole Courſe of this Proceeding, that neither the Intereſt of the Soldier, or the Public, ſeemed to have been the Object of the Earl of *Orford*'s Attention.

The Cries of the injured Soldiers, who had loſt one Day's Pay in ſeven, where Proviſions of all Kinds bear an exceſſive Price, made ſo little Impreſſion, that the only Relief they obtained was an Advance of their Pay upon the Contract from 120*l.* to 125*l.* tho' there had been drawn upon the Navy-Office, during the ſix Months preceding, ſeveral Bills, none at leſs than 135*l.* and ſome at 140*l.* and tho the Deputy to the Paymaſter-General likewiſe, 19 Weeks before, had drawn upon the Office at 130*l.* and 15 Weeks before had written to the Paymaſter-General, that he might depend upon

upon being furniſhed with whatever Sums ſhould be wanted at 130 *l.* and upwards, nor could there be any Reaſon to fear a Diſappointment, in relying upon thoſe Aſſurances of the Deputy-Paymaſter, becauſe to his Care wholly it was owing, that they were not diſappointed upon the Refuſal of the Contractors Agents to furniſh him with Money. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Your Committee cannot but obſerve that the Treaſury, in eſtabliſhing this new Contract, where the Contractors propoſed the Advance from 120 *l.* to 125 *l.* to commence from the 5th of *June*, 1741. order it with a Retroſpect, and to commence from the 24th of *April* preceding, and are greatly at a Loſs to find if the firſt Contract was upon juſt and equal Terms, why the Contractors ſubmitted to any Advance at all; and if it was not upon equal Terms, why the Treaſury did not extend their Retroſpect, and order it to be rectified from the Commencement.

And ſo little was the Public to avail itſelf of this Injuſtice to the Soldier, that when the Contractors could furniſh no Money at all, from their Agents refuſing to anſwer their Credit, and conſequently the Contract was diſſolved, and the Army muſt have ſtarved, if the Deputy-Paymaſter, who is the Officer of the Public, had not procured Money by Draughts upon the Pay-Office, at 130, 135, up to 140 *Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l.* Sterling; yet thoſe very Bills were ſuffered to be paid by the Contractors, and public Money iſſued to them to pay the ſame, but by whoſe Orders does not appear to your Committee; as if the Profits ariſing from the advanced Prices of thoſe Bills, drawn by a public Officer upon the Public, had belonged to the Contractors.

And your Committee obſerve, that when on the 15th of *December* laſt, the Paymaſter prayed Directions from the Treaſury, whether the Profits on thoſe Bills ſhould be paid to the Contractors, or reſerved for the Benefit of the Public, even that could not be obtained, while the Earl of *Orford* remained in the Treaſury.

The Committee's Remarks on the Earl of Orford's Tranſactions relating to Elections.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you, the great Part which the Earl of *Orford* appears to have had in ſeveral Tranſactions which nearly concern the Freedom of Elections, and the Independency of Parliament, and they have the greateſt Reaſon to believe, that had the Perſons employed in theſe dark Tranſactions been properly indemnified, many Diſcoveries would have been made of the utmoſt Importance.

Your Committee having in their former Report laid before you the Share which Mr *Paxton* and Mr *Lawton* had in carrying on Proſecutions relating to the Borough of *Orford*, and particularly that *Lawſon* had declared, that he did not pretend to ſay he ſhould not be re-imburſed his Expences on that

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Examination of Mr Farley relating to the Borough of Orford;

that Head, think fit now to acquaint you, that Mr *Abraham Farley* being examined, ſaid, that about *January*, 1736, Mr *Lawton* told him there was an Order made out at the Treaſury, in his (*Farley's*) Name, for 1200 *l.* and bid him go and receive it, which he did, and paid it over immediately to the ſaid *Lawton*.

Act of Mr Banks:

And Mr *Richard Banks*, upon his Examination, ſaid, that *John Lawton*, Eſq; of the Exchequer, appeared to be his Client in the Proſecutions relating to *Orford*, tho' he did not know what Relation Mr *Lawton* had to the Borough of *Orford*, but believed, that what Mr *Lawton* did was to oblige Sir *Robert Walpole*, to whom he apprehended *Lawton* was under Obligations; that the whole Bill of near 3000 *l.* which the Proſecutions amounted to, was never ſatisfied; that Mr *Lawton*, *Paxton*, and he (*Banks*) met about it, and after a good deal of Time allowed to examine the Bill, they on the 15th of *December*, 1736, came to a ſtated Account, when there was a Balance of 1200 and odd Pounds in his (*Banks's*) Favour, which Mr *Lawton* agreed he would pay in a Fortnight's Time, and he did ſoon after pay 500 *l.* to *Paxton*, who paid *Banks* 100 *l.* thereof, and promiſed ſoon to pay more, the remaining 700 and odd Pounds have not been yet paid; that he (*Banks*) did about two Years ago file a Bill againſt *Paxton* in Chancery, to bring him to an Account; that in this Bill Mr *Lawton* was made a Defendant, and that *Lawton* in his Anſwer did ſwear, that he detained the 700 *l.* in his Hands, to reimburſe himſelf what was due to him from *Paxton*, and to ſecure the 200 *l.* ſtill unpaid to Mr *Maſterman* for his Bill.

Alſo of Mr Martin.

Mr *Leonard Martin*, an Attorney, and Partner with his Father-in-Law, Mr *Paxton*, being examined, ſaid that he has been concerned in ſeveral Suits about the Borough of *Colcheſter*, and that he had his chief Directions therein from Mr *Daniel*, an Attorney at *Coleheſter*, tho' Mr *Lawton* ſometimes interfered, and that ſoon after *Lawton's* Death, he received a Letter from *Daniel*, as annexed in the Appendix, (No. 9.) that he received 133 *l.* for Fines, to which the Proſecutors were entitled, that he believed he adviſed with *Lawton* about framing a Petition to the Treaſury for the King's remaining two Thirds of the Fine, that *Lawton* (who ſeemed very deſirous of Succeſs in the Affair of that Corporation) approved of it, and he believed *Lawton* might ſay he would ſpeak about it, that he (*Martin*) thereon drew the Draught of a Petition, and ſent it to *Daniel* to get ſigned, and on its Return he procured a Warrant from the Treaſury, directing *Paxton* to pay him 280 *l.* that the Warrant was dated the 10*th* of *July*, 1741, and that he received the Money on the 26*th* of *January* laſt, and did imagine theſe Proſecutions

ſecutions were with a View of influencing the Election, and to turn the Borough, and to get out the Mayor, and get the Returning Officer. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

By all this it appears that the Management of this Affair was lodged in the Hands of *Paxton*'s Partner and Son-in-Law, and the Expences attending it were in Part paid by the ſaid *Paxton* in Conſequence of a Warrant of the Treaſury. But tho' your Committee here met with a freſh Inſtance of the Sollicitor of the Treaſury intermedling in Matters relating to Elections, yet they did not think fit to examine him again, having little Reaſon to expect he would make any Diſcoveries after the other Houſe had rejected the Bill by which he would have been indemnified. And your Committee cannot determine what could induce the Earl of *Orford* to continue *Paxton* in his Office upwards of 11 Years, and to ſuffer him to defer accounting for any Part of the large Sums, which were from Time to Time iſſued to him till the 9*th* of *February* laſt, and then to account for two Years only in ſo precipitate a Manner, but muſt ſubmit to the Judgment of this Houſe, whether that Indulgence was owing to a criminal Neglect, or to a more criminal Confederacy.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you a Tranſaction relating to the Borough of *Weymouth*.

Examination of Mr Jordan, relating to the Borough of Weymouth and Melcomb Regis.

Mr *Richard Jordan* being examin'd, ſaid, That he was Mayor of *Weymouth* and *Melcomb Regis* in the Year 1740 That on the 16*th* Day of *June*, in that Year, Mr *Pearſe* and Mr *Olmius* came down to *Weymouth*; that Mr *Pearſe* applied to him (*Jordan*) and deſired his Vote and Intereſt for himſelf and Mr *Olmius*, and two others *in petto*, whom he did not name; and told him at the ſame Time, that there would be a Letter produced, obliging him and all the Officers in the Service to vote for Mr *Pearſe* and his Friends. That then Mr *Pearſe* deſired him to go with him in private: That when they were alone Mr *Pearſe* ſaid he was deſirous to have the Corporation filled up, and that a Hall ſhould be called for that Purpoſe. And he further requeſted, that he (*Jordan*) would meet him (Mr *Olmius*) and ſome other Friends; but Mr *Jordan* refuſed to meet Mr *Olmius*; and then Mr *Pearſe* left him. That on the 18th of *June* Mr *Pearſe* came to his Houſe about Noon, and told him, that if he would come into the Meaſures of him (*Pearſe*) and his Friends, and fill up the Corporation, in order to have a Returning-Officer, or Words to that Effect, he had it in Commiſſion to ſay, That he (*Jordan*) ſhould have the Collection of the Port of *Weymouth* in a Month's Time, and a Letter from Sir *Robert Walpole*, under his own Hand, to make good that Promiſe. Mr *Pearſe* then went from his Houſe, and return'd about Four of the Clock of the ſame Day, and brought to him a Liſt

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of ſuch of the Revenue Officers as were to be diſplaced. He took this Liſt, which was wrote in *Pearſe*'s own Hand, and read it over; and after Mr *Pearſe* was gone he wrote it down from his own Memory. And it appear'd to your Committee, by this and the ſubſequent Examinations, that ſeveral of the Perſons therein-named were diſplaced accordingly. And Mr *Jordan* farther ſaid, That on the ſame Day, as he thinks, Mr *Pearſe* told him he did not doubt of prevailing on Mr *Charles Fawer* and Mr *John Carſwell*, who were Aldermen, and others, that he ſhould wait upon them and convince them that they were going againſt their own Intereſts, the Intereſt of the Government, and their Duty to his Majeſty; and again preſſed him (*Jordan*) to fill up ſix of the Vacancies with Friends of his (*Pearſe*'s) who are moſt of them ſince provided for. That he farther told *Jordan*, that if he was ſure of the Returning-Officer, Sir *Robert Walpole* would ſend down two other Candidates. That Mr *Pearſe* ſoon after went to *London*, but return'd to *Weymouth* on the 30th of *June*, and ſent a Meſſage to him (*Jordan*) by Mr *Richard Arbuthnot*, deſiring to ſpeak with him at Captain *Tizzard*'s; but he (*Jordan*) told the Meſſenger, That Mr *Pearſe* knew very well where he lived, and he ſhould not go to the Captain's Houſe. That the Meſſenger reply'd, Mr *Pearſe* had a Letter from Sir *Robert Walpole* to ſhew him. That when Mr *Arbuthnot* found that he would not go to Mr *Pearſe* at Captain *Tizzard*'s, he told him he would go and fetch the Letter, and accordingly went and brought the Letter, which he (*Jordan*) read, and took it to be addreſs'd to Mr *Pearſe*; the Purport of which was, that whatever Mr *Pearſe* promiſed to him (*Jordan*) Sir *Robert Walpole* would make it good; and that *Jordan*'s Brother-in-Law, Mr *Franklin*, a Clergyman, ſhould have the firſt Living that fell, in the Gift of the Crown or the Seals, worth his Acceptance. That with much Perſuaſion he did meet Mr *Pearſe* at Mr *Tizzard*'s Summer-Houſe: That Mr *Pearſe* there ſhewed him this Letter again, and told him it was Sir *Robert Walpole*'s Letter, that it was ſigned *R. Walpole*, and he apprehends it was all wrote in the ſame Hand with the Signing. That at this Meeting Mr *Pearſe* told him, You have four Aldermen now abſent, I would have you call a Hall and fill up the Corporation: That he reply'd, He thought Mr *Pearſe* had been long enough acquainted with him to think that he would not be prevail'd upon by baſe Means to betray his Friends. And he further ſaid, That on the 19th of *September*, in the ſame Year, being two Days before the Election for Mayor came on, a Letter was produced to him from the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, importing, that his Deputation as a Land-waiter was ſuperſeded, and *Robert* the Brother of *Richard Arbuthnot*,

Arbuthnot, who firſt brought Sir *Robert Walpole*'s Letter to him, was to ſucceed him; and he ſaid he had been employed in the Cuſtom-Houſe ever ſince the Year 1712, and had been Land-waiter in the Port of *Weymouth* from the 4th of *May* 1729 to the Time of his Diſmiſſion. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

The Reverend *Mr Franklyn* being examin'd, ſaid, That on the 1ſt of *July*, 1740, *Mr Pearſe* being then at *Weymouth*, ſent for him to ſhew him, as he ſaid, how much he had his (*Franklyn*'s) Intereſt at Heart; but that he was ſorry to tell him he was afraid his Brother *Jordan* would ſpoil all his Endeavours to ſerve him, for that *Mr Jordan* had promiſed to come into his (*Pearſe*'s) Meaſures, but now attempted to evade his Promiſe; but, however, *Mr Pearſe*, to convince him what a Friend he intended to have been to him, ſhew'd him a Letter, which was ſign'd *R. Walpole*; the Purport of which was, 'You have given me ſo good a 'Character of *Mr Jordan*, that whatever Preferment you 'ſhall think reaſonable to offer him, ſhall be made good: 'And as for his Brother-in-Law, *Mr Franklyn*, he ſhall have 'the firſt Living that he will accept of which falls in the Gift 'of the Crown, or the Seals.' That *Mr Pearſe*, at the ſame time, told him, that he expected his Brother *Jordan* would call a Hall and fill up the Corporation; which he (*Franklyn*) took to be to get a Returning-Officer. And *Mr Pearſe* ſaid, ſince his Brother *Jordan* had refuſed him, he had nothing to truſt to unleſs he (*Franklyn*) could influence him; that he told *Mr Pearſe*, he did not like the Affair, and would not meddle with it, and *Mr Pearſe* then reply'd, if fair Means would not do, foul muſt; and he thought *Mr Pearſe* explain'd what he meant by foul Means, for he ſaid he muſt have at their Charter: And he thinks their Charter has been ſince attack'd; for three Months after *Mr Pearſe* attempted to ſet up a Mayor in a Manner contrary to the uſual Cuſtom of the Place, and *Mr Pearſe*'s Friends have filed ſeveral Informations in the King's Bench againſt the Corporation. And of the Rev. Mr Franklyn.

Thomas Pearſe, Eſq; being examined ſaid, that ſome time before the laſt general Election, *Mr Joſeux* of *Weymouth* was ſent up to *London* by his (*Pearſe*'s) Friends, with a Scheme for the Removal and Promotion of ſeveral Officers of the Revenue at the Port of *Weymouth*, without which Alterations, tho' he (*Pearſe*) himſelf might be choſe at the general Election, yet it was impracticable to carry all the four Members. Part of this Scheme was to remove *William Clapcott* Eſq; from being Governor of *Portland Caſtle*, and *Mr Richard Tucker* from being Receiver of the Hawkers and Pedlars, and Surveyor of the King's Quarries in *Portland*; which laſt with the Salary of 500 *l. per Annum*, and 40 *l.* for a Clerk, was to be divided between *Mr Tizzard*, the Alſo of Thomas Pearſe, Eſq;

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then Collector, and *Mr Bryor*, which Alterations took Place; that *Mr Olmius* generally tranſacted with Sir *Robert Walpole* every thing about the Election; that he (*Pearſe*) apprehended that all the Removes that were to be made were with a View to influence the Election; and *Mr Olmius* and he went together to Sir *Robert Walpole* to conſult on Meaſures for carrying on the Election, but he believes that the Scheme was not ſhewed Sir *Robert Walpole* but only talked over with him. He further ſaid, that when he was at *Weymouth* in the Summer 1740, he was told by *Mr Jordan*, the then Mayor, if he was made Collector in the Room of *Mr Tizzard*, that he would fill up the Corporation in order to chuſe a returning Officer againſt the general Election; but that he (*Jordan*) would not think of doing any ſuch thing unleſs he ſaw a Letter of it under Sir *Robert Walpole*'s own Hand: That when he came to *London* he did acquaint Sir *Robert* with the Deſire of *Mr Jordan*, and he (*Pearſe*) had a Letter from him, the Purport of which was, that whatever Friends Mr *Pearſe* ſhould recommend, he (Sir *Robert Walpole*) would endeavour to provide for: That he is well acquainted with Sir *Robert Walpole*'s Hand, and believes the Letter to be of his Writing: That Mr *Franklyn*, a Clergyman, Brother-in-Law to Mr *Jordan*, was particularly mentioned in the Letter; Sir *Robert Walpole* ſaying he would uſe his Endeavour to get him any Living that ſhould become vacant in the Gift of the Crown, or of the Lord Chancellor: That he (*Pearſe*) returned with this Letter to *Weymouth*, and did ſhew it to Mr *Franklyn*, and he believes to Mr *Jordan*, and he thinks it was in a Converſation he had with Mr *Jordan* in Mr *Tizzard*'s Summer-Houſe; but that Mr *Jordan* ſhew from the Propoſal, ſaying, Employments might be given one Day, and taken away the next; which much ſurpriſed him, and in a Day or two he quitted the Borough and came to *London*: That he did not know but after the Election was over he might ſay to Mr *Franklyn*, Have at your Charter: That he did not know what was become of Sir *Robert Walpole*'s Letter, but he believed he has ſince burn'd it. That when he returned from *Weymouth*, after Mr *Jordan*'s Refuſal, he call'd on Sir *Robert Walpole*, and told him he had been diſappointed in his Scheme; that Sir *Robert* encouraged him to proceed, and he was told by Mr *Olmius*, that Sir *Robert Walpole* had recommended to him (*Olmius*) Mr *Cholmondeley* and Mr *Plummer*, to join with him (*Olmius*) and that he (*Pearſe*) did join with them.

And of John Olmius, Eſq;

John Olmius, Eſq; being examined, ſaid, that there was a rough Scheme of Alteration in the Officers of the Revenue at *Weymouth*, which was talk'd over at Mr *Pearſe*'s, and was intended to facilitate the Election at *Weymouth*: That the Perſons who

who were mentioned to be advanced had all Intereſt in *Weymouth*; that he and Mr *Pearſe* were with Sir *Robert Walpole* to deſire that the Surveyor's Place might be given to Mr *Tizzard* and Mr *Bryor*, but he does not recollect if the whole Scheme was ſhew'd to Sir *Robert Walpole* or no; nor can he recollect Sir *Robert Walpole*'s Anſwer about the Scheme; but Sir *Robert Walpole* was very ſlow in promoting *Tizzard* and *Bryor*: That Mr *Olmius* had an old Servant whom he wanted to provide for, and he told Mr *Tizzard* and Mr *Bryor* that as he had ſo much Trouble to get them the Place, he expected they ſhould give his Servant 50 *l per Annum*, which they agreed to, but it has not yet been paid, for they have not as yet received their own Salaries: That Sir *Robert Walpole* ſaid one Day to this Examinant, that Colonel *Cholmondeley* and Mr *Plummer* were very good Men, on which Mr *Olmius* ſaid, he would give them all the Intereſt he could. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Your Committee find that tho' theſe Endeavours of the Earl of *Orford* to influence the Voters of *Weymouth*, and to procure a proper returning Officer by thus placing and diſplacing the Officers of the Revenue, did at that Time prove ineffectual; yet juſt before the Election came on, another Attempt was made of the ſame Nature, tho' with as little Succeſs as before.

Mr Pomeroy's Examination relating to the ſaid Borough.

For Mr *Ezekiel Pomeroy*, Chief Clerk to the Clerk of the Cheque at *Deptford*, being examined, ſaid, 'That on or about *Monday* the 27th of *April* 1741, Eight or Ten Days before the *Weymouth* Election came on, the Reverend Mr *Morgan* came to his Houſe at *Deptford*, between Five and Six o' Clock in the Morning, and asked him if he was willing to go on a particular Meſſage to Mr *Tucker* at *Weymouth*, which would be of ſingular Service to Mr *Tucker* as well as to him (*Pomeroy*); that he anſwered, he was willing to do any Thing which could be of any Service either to Mr *Tucker* or himſelf, but that he muſt have Leave to be abſent from Duty: Mr *Morgan* told him he was going to Town to wait on Sir *Robert Walpole*, and he would return as ſoon as poſſible; and about Two o'Clock in the Afternoon of the ſame Day *Morgan* returned to him again, and told him he had got Leave for him, for Sir *Robert Walpole* had written a Letter to Sir *Jacob Ackworth* for Leave, that Sir *Robert* had inquired much of *Morgan* who *Pomeroy* was, and if he might be ſafely depended on; and that *Morgan* ſaid he had anſwered to Sir *Robert Walpole* for his Fidelity; and between Three and Four o Clock in the Afternoon of the ſame Day, he (*Pomeroy*) came to Town with *Morgan*, who carried him to the *Crown-Tavern* behind the *Exchange*, where they met Mr *Olmius*, and they three dined together; and after Dinner Mr *Olmius* told him (*Pomeroy*) that

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that he found by *Mr Morgan* he was willing to go on a Meſſage to Mr *Tucker*; he (*Pomeroy*) then asked him, what the Meſſage was, and Mr *Olmius* told him, if he would go down to Mr *Tucker*, and tell him that if he would but agree to take him, (*Olmius*) Mr *Pearſe*, and another Friend who was not mentioned, he (*Olmius*) was commiſſioned by Sir *Robert Walpole*, to aſſure him (*Tucker*) that every Friend of his that had been diſplaced, ſhould have their Places again, or any others that Mr *Tucker* ſhould pleaſe to aſk; and as for Mr *Tucker* himſelf, he ſhould have any Thing he would be pleaſed to aſk, and that if he (*Tucker*) doubted of the Veracity of the Meſſage, and either he or his Brother would come to Town, they ſhould be fully ſatisfy'd of the Truth of it; and that he (*Pomeroy*) was not to communicate this Meſſage to any Perſons, but to the *Tuckers*, and his (*Pomeroy*'s) Father, who had been Poſt-maſter, but was then out; upon this he obſerved to Mr *Olmius*, that Mr *Pearſe*, who was his Patron, was then in *Dorſetſhire*, that he would wonder to ſee him, and would aſk him Queſtions; and he deſired to know if he might be at Liberty to acquaint him, (*Pearſe*) with the Meſſage. On this Mr *Olmius* ſaid he would write to Mr *Pearſe*, and he did write a Letter to him, which he gave unſeal'd to him, (*Pomeroy*) who read it two or three Times, and it was in Subſtance as follows.

Mr Olmius's Letter on that Occaſion.

'Sir, Mr *Pomeroy* comes on a ſpecial Meſſage from our 'good Friend *S. R. W.* (which he, *Pomeroy*, ſaid he un-'derſtood to mean Sir *Robert Walpole*) which Meſſage he is 'not to communicate to any Body, but thoſe to whom he is 'ſent, therefore aſk him no Queſtions; but be aſſured that 'Nothing ſhall be done or tranſacted but what ſhall be for 'your Intereſt, as well as for that of your humble Servant,

JOHN OLMIUS.

In Conſequence of this, he (*Pomeroy*) ſet out Poſt the next Morning, which was on *Tueſday*, for *Weymouth*, and arrived there on *Wedneſday* at Nine in the Morning; that he waited on Mr *Tucker*, and found him and his Brother both together; he told them the Particulars of the Meſſage from Mr *Olmius*, and he was anſwered by Mr *Tucker*, that a Propoſal of that Kind was abſolutely too late, that his Word and Honour was engaged, and he would not go from it for any Conſideration. He farther ſaid, that Mr *Tucker* aſked him if he had brought any Letter from Sir *Robert Walpole*, to which he ſaid, No. He farther ſaid, that Mr *Morgan* and Mr *Olmius* had often told him, that if Mr *Tucker* and his Friends refuſed to agree with Mr *Olmius*, and join their Intereſt to his, it would be the total Ruin of Mr *Tucker* and his Brother, and the Overthrow of the Charter.

John

John Olmius Eſq; being again examined, and not recollecting ſeveral Things which had been mentioned by Mr *Pomeroy*, Mr *Pomeroy* was called in, and he repeated the ſame Evidence which he had before given, and the Minutes taken by the Clerk of that Evidence were alſo read in the Preſence of Mr *Olmius*, who then recollecting himſelf confirmed the ſame: And further ſaid, that he did communicate to Sir *Robert Walpole* his Intention to ſend a Meſſage to Mr *Tucker*; that he told him he had got Mr *Pomeroy*, who was a Relation of Mr *Tucker*'s, to go down to uſe his Intereſt with him; that Sir *Robert* ſaid, by all Means do. That he told Sir *Robert Walpole* that if Mr *Tucker* came to Town, in Conſequence thereof, his (Sir *Robert*'s) Aſſiſtance would be neceſſary for the replacing of Mr *Tucker*'s Friends; * that Sir *Robert Walpole* ſaid, it was a very good Thought, that he would do every Thing that lay in his Power to ſerve him and his Friends; and that this was the Subſtance of what paſſed between them. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. Who is examin'd a ſecond Time.

The Reverend Mr *John Morgan* being examined, and not readily recollecting ſome Circumſtances mentioned by Mr *Pomeroy*, he was ordered to attend the Committee with Mr *Pomeroy*, who then repeating what he (*Pomeroy*) formerly ſaid on his Examination, Mr *Morgan* did then agree, that the principal Part of what he (*Pomeroy*) aſſerted to have paſſed between them, was true; and further and particularly ſaid, that Sir *Robert Walpole* did write a Letter in his Preſence to one of the Commiſſioners of the Navy, for Leave for *Pomeroy* to be abſent, which Letter he (*Morgan*) carried to Sir *Jacob Acklworth*. Examination of the Reverend Mr Morgan.

To ſuch notorious Attacks as theſe upon the Freedom of Elections, your Committee apprehend, are owing the great, and poſſibly unwarrantable Expences that particular Perſons may have been drove to engage in. Some Expences the Laws allow, by regulating the Manner of them; and thoſe who engage in illicit Expences, are ſubject to heavy penal Laws, but there are none particularly adapted to the Caſe of a Miniſter who clandeſtinely employs the Money of the Public, and the whole Power and profitable Employments that attend the collecting and diſpoſing of it, againſt the People; and by this Profuſion and criminal Diſtribution of Offices, in ſome Meaſure juſtifies the Expence that particular Perſons are obliged to be at, by making it neceſſary to the Preſervation of all that is valuable to a Free Nation. For in that Caſe the Conteſt is plain and viſible. It is, whether the Commons ſhall retain the Third State in their own Hands, whilſt this whole Diſpute is carried on at the Expence of the People; and The Committee's Obſervations on the Attacks made upon the Freedom of Elections, by the above Proceedings.

* Mr Pearſe and Mr Tucker were Members for Weymouth in the laſt Parliament; but upon the latter's accepting the Office of Surveyor of the King's Quarries in Portland, Mr Olmius was elected in his Room.

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but on the Side of the Miniſter, out of the Money granted to ſupport and ſecure the Conſtitutional Independency of the Three Branches of the Legiſlature.

This Method of Corruption is as ſure, and therefore your Committee apprehends as criminal a Way of ſubverting the Conſtitution, as by an armed Force. It is a Crime productive of a total Deſtruction of the very Being of this Government; and is ſo high and unnatural, that nothing but the Powers of Parliament reach it; and as it can never meet with parliamentary Animadverſions, but when it is unſucceſsful, it muſt ſeek for its Security in the Extent and Efficacy of the Miſchief it produces; and therefore your Committee apprehend it is the more neceſſary for your Conſideration, for while it wants of Succeſs, it leaves an Opportunity to preſerve and maintain your Independency for the future.

The E. of Orford's Conduct relating to Money for Secret Service.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*, with relation to the Quantity and Manner of iſſuing and receiving that Part of the Public Money, granted for the Support of the Civil Government, which has been employed in what is commonly called Secret Services.

Your Committee, having been informed that this Money had been iſſued under three different Denominations, called for an Account hereunto annexed, (No. 10.) of all the Sums iſſued for Secret Service, or for his Majeſty's immediate or ſpecial Service, (the Money iſſued to his Majeſty's privy Purſe excepted) or to reimburſe Expences during the laſt Ten Years in which *Robert* Earl of *Orford* was firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, *&c.* And the Account having been laid before them from the Auditor of the Exchequer's Office, there appeared to be iſſued under theſe three Heads only, including the annual Sum of 3000 *l.* paid to each of the Secretaries of State for Secret Services, the Sum of 1,453,400 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.*

Remarks of the Committee thereupon.

The iſſuing ſuch an immenſe Part of the Money, given for the Support of the Civil Government, to theſe particular Uſes, during a Time of profound Tranquility till the late Rupture with Spain, greatly alarmed your Committee, and put them upon examining what Sums had been iſſued for the ſame Services in a former Period of the like Number of Years. And your Committee beg Leave to repreſent to you that exorbitant as this Sum may ſeem, they would have ſuppreſſed this Part of their Report, if by the Compariſon they had entred upon, they could any Ways have reconciled their Silence upon this Head, to their Duty to this Houſe, and the Nation; and your Committee hope, that the Period they have pitched upon, will evince the Truth of this Intention, as it comprehends a general and moſt expenſive War Abroad, a Demiſe of the Crown, the happy Eſtabliſhment of the preſent Royal Family

Family upon the Throne, and an open and dangerous Rebellion at Home; in ſhort, every Event that can happen to juſtify extraordinary Expences in carrying on the Buſineſs of Government. And it is not eaſy to expreſs the Surprize of your Committee, when they found by the Account laid before them, which is annexed, (No. 11.) that from the 1ſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1707, to the 1ſt Day of *Auguſt* 1717, there was iſſued under the aforeſaid Heads, no more than the Sum of 337,960 *l.* 4 *s.* 5 *d.* halfpenny. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Your Committee, obſerving that the Sollicitors of the Treaſury for the time being, are the only Perſons to whom any of theſe Sums have been iſſued that are accountable for the ſame; and there having been iſſued to Mr. *Paxton*, the preſent Sollicitor 68,800 *l.* in the laſt ten Years, in which the Earl of *Orford* was firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and the Sum of 58,516 *l.* 2 *s.* 10 *d.* to Mr *Borret*, and Mr *Cratcherode* † ſucceſſively Sollicitors, between the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1707 and the firſt of *Auguſt* 1717. Theſe Sums ſubſtracted from their reſpective Totals, the Remainder will be 1,384,600 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d* iſſued for Secret Services, during the laſt ten Years, and 279,444 *l.* 11 *s.* 7 *d.* halfpenny, iſſued for the like Services from the Year 1707 to the Year 1717; by which it appears, that the Sum expended on theſe Services during the laſt Ten Years, amounts to near Five Times as much as what was expended for the ſame Services in the Ten Years ending the firſt of *Auguſt* 1717; and your Committee cannot ſee that any Exigency of Affairs, any Diminution of the National Debt, or Acceſſion of Wealth to the Nation, has happened to juſtify ſuch Profuſion.

And though your Committee very well apprehend, that no Form of Government can ſubſiſt, without a Power of employing publick Money for Services, which are, in their Nature, ſecret, and ought always to remain ſo; yet when ſuch exorbitant Sums are iſſued for thoſe Services, as by paſſing through the Hands of a Miniſter, may become dangerous to the Liberties of the People, your Committee thought themſelves indiſpenſably obliged to lay it before you in all the Lights which the very imperfect Evidence they have been able to procure, can throw upon this nice and dangerous Branch of Service.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you the Proofs that the Money iſſued under the Three Heads of Secret Service, of Special Service, and to Reimburſe Expences, were underſtood to mean one and the ſame Thing.

Chriſtopher Triſon, ‡ Eſq; a Clerk in the Treaſury, and who came into that Office in the Year 1684, ſaid on his Examination of Mr Talbot relating to Secret Service Money.

† Member for Leſkithiel.
‡ Member for Cricklade.

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mination, 'That he look'd on all theſe Monies to be of the ſame Nature; that they are all without Account except as to what relates to the Sollicitor of the Treaſury, nor is there any Entry in the Treaſury of the Application of any of theſe Sums of Money.'

And of John Shepherd.

John Shepherd, a Deputy-Meſſenger of the Treaſury, who has received very large Sums under each of theſe Three Heads, being examined, ſaid, 'That the Warrants upon which he received Money at the *Exchequer* under any of theſe Three Heads, whether in his own Name, or in the Name of other Perſons, were all without Account, and that he made no Diſtinction, whether the Orders were for Special, or Secret Service, or to Reimburſe Expences.'

But your Committee obſerve, that all the Money iſſued under the Head of Secret Service, is iſſued in the Name of *John Scrope*, Eſq; * Secretary of the Treaſury, but the Orders for the Sums which were iſſued under the Heads of Special Service, or to Reimburſe Expences, are payable to Mr *Lowther*, Mr *Richards*, and Mr *Shepherd*, Meſſengers of the *Exchequer*, and to a great Variety of other Names, for which Sums no Receipts appear to have been given; but none of thoſe to whoſe Names theſe Orders are payable, under either of theſe Three Heads, appear to have any Intereſt in the Sums thus iſſued.

And your Committee have the greateſt Reaſon to believe that many of the Orders for this Money were iſſued unknown to the Perſons to whom they were made payable; for

Alſo of Mr Geo. Campbell;

Mr *George Campbell*, Banker, in the *Strand*, did, on his Examination before the Committee declare, 'That he was deſired by the Earl of *Ilay* to go to the Treaſury, and take up an Order which he would there find iſſued in his own Name, and to carry it to the Earl of *Orford*; that he accordingly went to the Treaſury, where he received from one of the Clerks an Order for the Sum of 2231 *l.* 4 *s.* 6*d.* for Special Service; that he carried this Order to the Earl of *Orford*, and indors'd it; and then the ſaid Earl deſired the Examinant to leave it for him at the Treaſury; that he accordingly did leave it at the Treaſury with Mr *Lowe*, one of the Clerks; that being at the Treaſury about ſome other Affairs, in *February* laſt, he accidentally ſaw an Order that was made out in his Name for a Sum of Money, which he believes had been ſigned two or three Days before, but that he had no Notice from the Earl of *Ilay*, or any other Perſon, that ſuch an Order would be made out in his Name.

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And Mr *Abraham Farley* being examined in Relation to an

* Member for Lyme-Regis in this Parliament, and formerly one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland.

an Order in his Name for 1200 *l.* ſaid, 'That about the Month of *January* 1736, Mr *Lawton* told him that there was an Order made out in his Name, and bid him go and receive it; that he did receive it, but not for his own Uſe, for he paid it over immediately to Mr *Lawton*, and that he did not know what *Lawton* did with it, nor did he *(Farley)* know that any ſuch Order was made out, till Mr *Lawton* told him of it, and ſent him to receive it.' An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

And Mr *Edward Bryant*, formerly Under Door-keeper to the Treaſury, now Meſſenger, being examined before the Committee, in relation to two Orders, one for 3961 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* and the other for 2700 *l.* which were iſſued in his Name, ſaid, 'That Mr *Tilſon* called him to indorſe thoſe Orders, which he accordingly did, and then gave them to Mr *Tilſon*; and that this is all that he knew about it, for he never did receive the Money for thoſe, or for any other Orders at the *Exchequer*, nor does he know who did.' And of Mr Bryant.

And your Committee alſo obſerve, that there have been a great Number of other Orders, which do not appear to have been communicated to the Perſons whoſe Names were made Uſe of therein (if any ſuch Perſons there were) altho' their Names were indorſed on the Back of the reſpective Orders, as having received the Amount of the Sums therein ſpecify'd; for a Liſt of Perſons in whoſe Names Money was iſſu'd during the Term of the Enquiry, lying before the Committee, many of theſe Names were read over, (a Liſt of which is annex'd No. 12) to Mr *Tilſon*, Mr *Fane*, and Mr *Shepherd*, and they all declar'd they knew no ſuch Perſons, tho' Mr *Shepherd* in particular had received Money on many of thoſe Orders, and ſaid he has wonder'd he never ſaw the Perſons who endorſed for large Sums.' And tho' neither Mr *Tilſon*, Mr *Fane*, nor Mr *Shepherd* knew who theſe Orders were indorſed by, yet Mr *Fane* ſaid, 'That ſuch Orders where the Perſons were not known, have been ſometimes taken away by the Earl of *Orford*, and other Lords of the Treaſury, to be indorſed; and that they have often been ſent away to be indors'd, and when they were thus ſent away, it was generally to the Earl of *Orford*.

In the next Place your Committee lay before you, That though they have the greateſt Reaſon to believe, that the whole Sum of 1,384,600 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* (excepting the annual Allowance to the Secretaries of State for Secret Service) was under the ſole Direction and Diſpoſition of the Earl of *Orford*; yet in order to proceed with the utmoſt Care and Caution, they think it becomes them to diſtinguiſh to the Houſe thoſe Sums which they can trace into the Hands of particular Perſons, from thoſe which were evidently lodged

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with the ſaid Earl, or with Mr *Scrope*, Secretary to the Treaſury, and which your Committee have the ſtrongeſt Reaſon to believe, from collateral Proofs, (having not been able to obtain the direct ones) were deliver'd over by Mr *Scrope* to the ſaid Earl.

Account of 50,077 l. 18 s. paid to Political Writers, &c.

And they begin with Mr *Lowther*, to whom the Sum of 177,610 *l.* 11 *s.* 6 *d* has been iſſued within the Term of the Enquiry, which has been diſpoſed of by him, from Time to Time, purſuant to Minutes of the Treaſury, and he has paid in that Interval no leſs a Sum than 50,077 *l.* 18 *s.* to Authors and Printers of News-papers, ſuch as *Free-Briton*, *Daily Courants*, *Perſuaſives to Candour and Impartiality*, *Corncutter's Journal*, *Gazetteers*, and other political Papers, as appears by the Appendix (No. 13.) And your Committee leave it to the Judgment of the Houſe, whether this particular Sum was leſs under the Direction of the Earl of *Oxford* than if it had paſs'd through his own Hands.

Examination of Mr Middleton, relating to 30,119 l. 4 s. paid on the E. of Ilay's Account.

The next Sum to be ranged under this Head is a Sum of 30,119 *l.* 4 *s.* which has been paid to Mr *Middleton*, Banker in the *Strand*, on the Earl of *Ilay*'s Account, being 27,769 *l.* 4 *s.* iſſued in his own Name, and 2350 *l.* paid him by *Shepherd*. Mr *Middleton* being examin'd, ſaid, That all the Sums iſſued in his own Name, and what was paid him by *Shepherd*, was received by him on the Earl of *Ilay*'s Account, out of which about 1500 *l.* was paid for Fees: That the Earl of *Ilay* has kept Caſh with him for ſeveral Years; and that he keeps no Account of theſe Sums of Money diſtinct from his general Caſh-Account with the Earl of *Ilay*, and that theſe Sums were drawn out of his Hands in the ſame Manner with the reſt of the Earl of *Ilay*'s private Money. That perhaps 5 or 6000 *l. per Annum* of the Earl of *Ilay*'s Money may have paſs'd thro' this Examinant's Hands; that this Examinant cannot charge his Memory that any large Sums were drawn out at any Time, except for Purchaſes and buying of *India* Bonds; nor has this Examinant remitted any Money into *Scotland* for Lord *Ilay*, nor does he remember that Lord *Ilay* has drawn on him from *Scotland* for more than one Sum, which was about 400 *l.* payable to a Merchant; nor did any Perſons come to him for Money, according to the beſt of his Memory, but Servants and Tradeſmen.

In the next Place, your Committee lay before you an Account of a Sum iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, which tho' in itſelf not conſiderable enough to deſerve the Attention of the Houſe, yet is accompany'd with ſuch Circumſtances as make it their indiſpenſable Duty to take particular Notice of it.

For

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For Mr *John Lever*, High Bailiff of the City of *Weſtminſter*, having incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of this Houſe, by acting at the general Election in an illegal and arbitrary Manner, in prejudice of the Rights and Liberty of the Electors of the ſaid City, and in manifeſt Violation of the Freedom of Elections; and being in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this Houſe for the ſaid Offence, your Committee find that 1500 *l.* iſſued under the Head of Money to reimburſe Expences for his Majeſty's Service, was (during his being in Cuſtody) apply'd to the uſe of the ſaid *Lever*; for *John Shepherd* ſaid, That Mr *Scrope* ſent for him and pull'd out of his Pocket an Order for 1500 *l.* which was in his (*Shepherd*'s) Name, and told him he muſt carry it to Sir *Charles Wager* and endorſe it, and leave it with Sir *Charles*; that he went accordingly to Sir *Charles*, took the Order of him again, paſs'd it as uſual, and receiv'd the Money, and deliver'd the 1500 *l.* Nett-money, into Sir *Charles*'s own Hand. And *Francis Gaſhry*, Eſq; a Member of this Houſe being examin'd, ſaid, That Sir *Charles Wager* told him, that he was in Expectation of getting ſome Money for Mr *Lever*, the High-Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*. And when he (*Gaſhry*) one Day return'd from the Navy Board, Sir *Charles* told him, that in his Abſence 1500 *l.* had been brought him by one of the Treaſury, and Sir *Charles* deſir'd him to take the Money and pay it to Mr *Lever*; and that he receiv'd the 1500 *l.* from Sir *Charles* the 2d of *January* laſt, and has ſince paid it to the Uſe of the ſaid *Lever*, as will more fully appear by his Examination hereunto annexed (No. 14.)

Examination of Mr Shepherd relating to 1500 *l.* paid to the High Bailiff of Weſtminſter.

Mr Gaſhry's Examination relating thereto.

Beſides theſe Sums there are two other Sums of 428 *l.* 12 *s.* and 2,110 *l.* 13 *s.* to be added to this Account, iſſued to Mr *Le Heup*, which he ſaid were to anſwer Bills drawn from abroad. Theſe Sums already mentioned, together with the Money iſſued to the Secretaries of State for Secret Service, are all the Money which your Committee has been able to trace into the Hands of particular Perſons, and amount in the whole to the Sum 271,769 *l.* 0 *s.* 6 *d.* and this being taken from the Sum of 1,384,600 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* the whole iſſued under the three Heads for Secret Service, there remains the Sum of 1,112,831 *l.* 5 *s.* 9 *d.* which Sum your Committee conceive they have traced more immediately into the Hands of the Earl of *Orford* or Mr *Scrope*, and do now proceed to lay the Proofs thereof before you, as alſo the Circumſtances which induced them to believe that whatever Sums were paid into the Hands of Mr *Scrope*, were by him paid over to the Earl of *Orford*.

Examination of Mr Le Heup.

They firſt obſerve that this laſt Sum of 1,112,831 *l.* 5 *s.* 9 *d.* hath either been iſſued under the Head of Secret Service in the Name of Mr *Scrope*, or under the Heads of ſpecial Service

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from the Treaſury; and this for a Service formerly inconſiderable. Your Committee find, by Papers laid before them, that the firſt Payment of this Kind was in the Year 1718, and amounted to 446 *l.* 2 *s.* 0 *d.* and the ſucceeding Payments for ſome Years were about 750 *l. per Annum*, from whence it has gradually increaſed to 4700 *l.* the preſent annual Allowance; and the preſent Secretary, *John David Barbutt*, Eſq; being examined as to this Allowance, ſaid, 'That the greateſt Part of this Money is for defraying the Expence of a private Office for the inſpecting foreign Correſpondence; that he cannot ſay as to the firſt Eſtabliſhment of this Office, having been but three Years and an half in the Poſt-Office; but he apprehends there was always an Office of this Kind, and that it was defrayed formerly by the Secretaries of the State. The Eſtabliſhment in this Office ſeemed ſo extraordinary to your Committee, that they have added the Particulars, as contained in the Examination of Mr *Barbutt*, hereunto annexed, (No. 16.) Your Committee cannot but obſerve, that this Method of giving Warrants for Money, without Account, on the Offices, where any Part of the Civil-Liſt Revenue is received, is highly irregular, as it tends to diſguiſe the Sums iſſued for Secret Service, and may conceal the Amount of the Revenue itſelf; for if the Sums paid by ſuch Warrants are deducted from the Receipt of the Revenue before it is accounted for, and the Balance only paid into the Exchequer, the Revenue muſt appear to be leſs by ſo much as the Deductions amount to.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you the laſt Tranſactions of the Earl of *Orford*, as firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; by which it will appear that beſides the vaſt Sums they have already mentioned, he not only exhauſted the Remains of the Public Treaſure, which his former Profuſion had left in the Exchequer, but even preſumed to anticipate the Revenues of his Majeſty's Civil-Liſt for a conſiderable Sum, and by altering the regular Courſe of Exchequer-Payments, did avail himſelf of that Anticipation, and got a large Sum of Money into his own hands, diſguiſed under three different Orders. For on the 9th of *February* laſt, which was but two Days before he quitted his Employments, Orders were ſigned by him for the Payment of 23,641 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* for Secret Service, and to reimburſe Expences, beſides two other Orders payable out of the Civil-Liſt-Revenues, which he ſigned on the ſame Day, for 3047 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. there being then other Orders in the ſaid Revenue, ſtanding out and uncomplied with; for the Sum of 1562 *l.* 9 *s.* 8 *d.* amounting in the whole to the Sum of 30,257 *l.* 12 *s.* 11 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, notwithſtanding, that on that Day there was but 14,284 *l.*

1 *s.*

17 *s.* 0 *d.* ¾ in the Exchequer, applicable to the Uſes of his Majeſty's Civil Government, as appeared to your Committee, by a State laid before them of the Caſh of the Civil-Liſt-Revenues, on that Day; and in order to ſhew the Irregularity which the ſaid Earl was guilty of in the Courſe of this Affair, it is neceſſary to lay before the Houſe an Account of the regular Courſe of Payment at the Exchequer. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Account of the regular Courſe of receiving Money in the Exchequer.

John Shepherd being examined, ſaid, that the Courſe of receiving Money in the Exchequer, is thus: The King iſſues his Sign Manual for a certain Sum, which is counterſigned by the Lords of the Treaſury, and thereon the Lords of the Treaſury direct a Warrant, ſigned by them to the Auditor of the Exchequer, who on the Receipt of it makes out an Order, ſignifying that Order is taken that Payment ſhall be made; this Order is ſent to the Treaſury, and ſigned by the Lords, and then one of the Secretaries of the Treaſury ſigns a Letter to the Auditor, directing the Money to be iſſued when the before-mentioned Sign Manual, Warrant, and Order, are produced; that theſe Inſtruments, together with the Letter, are carried to the Auditor, who directs the Payment of the Order to one of the Tellers, and then ſends it to the Clerk of the Pells, in order to its being recorded, but keeps the Sign Manual and the Warrant till the next Morning, when upon applying to him he delivers them up to the Perſon who is to receive the Money, who carries them to the Clerk of the Pells, where they are compared with the Order, and then the Clerk of the Pells writes them upon the Order, under the Auditor's Direction, *Recorded* ſuch a Day; then the Order being carried to the Tellers, the Money is paid.

By this it appears that according to the regular Courſe of the Exchequer, there muſt be many Steps thro' the different Offices between the iſſuing of the Warrant and the Receipt of the Money from the Tellers, which were not obſerved in the caſe of the Sum, which the Earl of *Orford* did, on the 9*th* of *February*, get into his own Hands; for it appears, that this Sum was received in conſequence of two Warrants, iſſued in the Name of Mr *Scrope*, for Secret Services, one for 8442 *l.* and the other for 5969 *l.* and one other Warrant, iſſued in the Name of *Shepherd* for Special Service, for 3050 *l.* and was paid to the Earl of *Orford* on the very Day the Warrants were ſigned by him the ſaid Earl. This was effected by depoſiting the Orders with the Bank-Officer at the Exchequer, before they were properly directed by the Auditor, for Mr *Matthew Collet*, the principal Bank-Clerk, who attends at the Exchequer, being examined, ſaid, that he paid the Money for thoſe Orders to Mr *Fane*,

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on *Tuesday* the 9th of *February* laſt, that the Orders were not directed by the Auditor, till the 11th of *February* following; and he did not receive the Sums for thoſe Orders at the Exchequer, till the 17th; and Mr *Fane* being examined, ſaid, That he received on the 9th of *February* laſt the three Sums of 8442 *l.* of 5969 *l.* and 3050 *l.* as Secret Service Money. That it was from the Bank-Officer that he received the Money, and left the Orders with him, and that the ſame Day between the Hours of 11 and 1, he paid them altogether in one Payment to the Earl of *Orford* in his Cloſet at his Houſe in *Downing-Street*; that he took his Directions from the ſaid Earl, to prepare the Warrants for theſe three Sums, and was at the ſame time ordered to bring the Money to him; and he being again farther examined, ſaid, that on the *Thurſday* preceding the Earl of *Orford*'s Reſignation of his Employments, being the 4th of *February*, Mr *Scrope* ordered Mr *Fane*, to draw a Warrant for a Penſion of 4000 *l. per Annum* to the Lord *Orford*, during the joint Lives of the King, and of the Earl, which he accordingly did, and gave it to Mr *Scrope*, who returned it him the next Day, and ſaid, the Earl of *Orford* had peruſed it, and approved of it with ſome immaterial Alterations; and when it was wrote over fair, Mr *Scrope* took it again, and as Mr *Fane* believes, left it with the Earl of *Orford*.

Mr Fane's Account of 1746 *l.* paid by him to the E. of Orford as Secret Service-Money.

Examination of Major Forth relating to a Bill of 7000 *l.* drawn by the D. of Bolton on the E. of Orford.

It appears to your Committee, that one of the Orders, ſign'd by the ſaid Earl, on the 9th of *February*, was for 2000 *l.* payable to Major *Forth*, under the Head of reimburſing Expences for his Majeſty's Service.

And Major *Forth* being examin'd, ſaid, That he advanc'd a Sum of Money to the Duke of *Bolton*, for which he was to receive 7000 *l.* at 1000 *l.* each half Year; and that the Duke drew a Bill, directed to Sir *Robert Walpole*, which run thus: 'I deſire you will pay to Major *Forth* 1000 *l.* or 'his Order, every half Year, for three Years and a half, to 'commence from *Lady-Day* laſt, Value receiv'd, 16 *May* '1738.' That Sir *Robert Walpole* verbally accepted this Bill, but would not indorſe it: That he has receiv'd 5000 *l.* at five different Payments, from Sir *Robert Walpole*'s own Hands in Bank Notes; and that Lord *Orford* told him, about the 9th of *February* laſt, that a Warrant was ſign'd for the 2000 *l.* unpaid, which was the firſt Order that had paſs'd through the Treaſury.

Mr Tilſon's Account how Money iſſued for Secret Service was accounted for to his Majeſty.

Your Committee being further deſirous to inform themſelves in what Manner the vaſt Sums iſſued for Secret Service were accounted for to his Majeſty, ſent for Mr *Tilſon*, who being examin'd, ſaid, That when his Majeſty ſign'd a Sign Manual for the paying of any Sum of Money to Mr *Scrope*, for Secret Service, he alſo ſign'd at the ſame time

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a Receipt to Mr *Scrope* for the ſame Sum, but that there was always a Blank left for the Date, and the Dates are at the ſame time put in at the Treaſury to the Warrant, the Order, the Sign Manual, and the King's Receipt; and this is uſually done by the Entering Clerk, who wrote the Sign Manual, that it may all appear in the ſame Hand: That the Date of the Receipt is always made the ſame as the Date of the Order. And he produc'd to your Committee a Paper, the Copy whereof is here inſerted, and is as follows: An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

GEORGE R.

We acknowledge to have receiv'd of our truſty and well beloved John Scrope, *Eſq; the Sum of* 5969 l. *being the ſame Sum which in purſuance of an Order, bearing Date this Day, was iſſued to him, at the Receipt of Our* Exchequer *for Our Secret Service. Given at our Court of* St. James's, *the* 9th *of* February, 1741, *in the* 15th *Year of Our Reign.*

GEORGE R.

Examined. ORFORD.

And your Committee being inform'd, that the Paper deliver'd by Mr *Tilſon* was the Hand-writing of Mr *Thomas Wilkin*, ſent for him; and he being examin'd, ſaid, That the ſaid Paper was his Hand-writing, and was by him copied from a Paper deliver'd to him by Mr *Tilſon*, and he believ'd was an Original: That he has never ſeen the King write, but he has ſeen many Sign Manuals, and he thinks there was the ſame Hand to that Paper: That he has never ſeen the Earl of *Orford* write, but what was to the Paper, he copied, was like what he had ſeen for the Earl of *Orford*'s Hand: That he believes the Copy he made was not examin'd, but he copied it exactly, Word for Word, and took the Sums and Dates exactly, and he believes it was a true Copy. Examination of Mr Wilkin relating thereto.

Your Committee cannot but obſerve, that this Receipt is for one of thoſe very Sums which Mr *Fane* receiv'd, by Anticipation, of the Bank-Officer, the 9th of *February*, and which was not really iſſued at the Receipt of the Exchequer till the 17th of *February*, and never went into the Hands of Mr *Scrope*, but was immediately carried to Lord *Orford*.

Your Committee were at a Loſs to know, what was meant by thoſe Words, *Examined*, ORFORD, it being impoſſible to mean the witneſſing to his Majeſty's Receipt of it from Mr *Scrope* on that Day; for Mr *Scrope* never had the Mo-

An. 16 Geo. II. 1742.

ney, therefore could not pay it into his Majeſty's Hands, as that would imply. Nor have your Committee been able to inform themſelves, whether or no this is conformable to any antient and regular Way of diſcharging Perſons for the Receipt of ſuch Sums, or a modern Invention.

And of Mr Scrope.

And in order to clear up this, and other Matters of far greater Importance, your Committee apply'd to the Houſe for Leave to examine *John Scrope*, Eſq; in conſequence whereof he did attend on the 4th of *June* inſtant, when he did acquaint the Committee, That he had read the Oath and found it to be a ſtrong one, and deſir'd the Opinion of the Committee how he was to behave: That if they intended to examine him about the Secret Service Money, he doubted he could not anſwer without having his Majeſty's Leave: And he ſaid he was tender of doing any thing that might leave a Stain upon his Character; though he believes he can give no Information to the Committee more than what they have already got. And then he withdrew. And then Mr *Scrope* was again call'd in, and the Chairman inform'd him, That the Committee had conſider'd of what he had ſaid, and he was directed to acquaint him, that they did not think themſelves to be in a Situation to direct or adviſe in the Affair; but the Committee deſir'd to know, whether he would ſubmit to take the Oath or not? To which Mr *Scrope* anſwer'd, I hope you will give me Time to conſider of it, as being a Matter of great Conſequence; and then he withdrew: Upon which the Committee appointed him to attend on the 14th inſtant *June*; on which Day he did accordingly attend, and your Committee being inform'd, that he deſir'd to ſpeak with the Chairman and the Committee, he was call'd in and ask'd, What he had to ſay?

Whereupon Mr *Scrope* ſaid, He was extreamly ſorry that he ſhould give the Committee ſo much Trouble, for he did aſſure them, that his Refuſal was not premeditated, for he came the other Day reſolved to take the Oath, tho' he had then Doubts if he ſhould anſwer in what related to Secret Service Money, and he thought he might have made his Objections, when he was examin'd to it; and accordingly began to take the Oath; but when he came to the general Words, he found them to be ſo ſtrong, and general, that he doubted if he ſhould not be guilty of Perjury, if he ſhould take the Oath and not anſwer.

That he had improved the Time the Committee had been ſo kind to give him, and had conſulted with the ableſt Lawyers and Divines, and they have made his Scruples ſtronger; and that he did not do it to obſtruct the Enquiry, but could not as an honeſt Man, and with a ſafe Conſcience, take the Oath; that he had laid his Caſe before the King,

and

and was authorized to ſay, 'That the Diſpoſal of Money 'iſſu'd for Secret Service, by the Nature of it, requires the 'utmoſt Secrecy, and is accounted for to His Majeſty only, 'and therefore His Majeſty cou'd not permit him to diſcloſe 'any Thing on that Subject,'

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Who refuſes to take the Oath, and to anſwer certain Queſtions put to him on that Occaſion.

That he had well conſidered with himſelf, and conſulted other Perſons, and thinks he ſhould be criminal if he took a general Oath, when there were particular Queſtions which he did not intend to anſwer; that he hoped he ſhould not incur the Diſpleaſure of the Committee, for if the Oath was confined, he was ready to be examined.

Which Behaviour of Mr *Scrope* greatly ſurpriz'd your Committee, conſidering the Information they had received from the many Papers relating to the Secret Service, which had been laid before them, and from the Examination of the Meſſengers, and the moſt knowing and active Clerks in the Office where he is Secretary.

Remarks of the Committee thereupon.

Mr *Scrope* having thus refuſed to anſwer to this material Part of this Enquiry, your Committee beg Leave to obſerve, that thoſe Sums which are ſpecify'd to be for Secret Service, and which have always been iſſu'd in Mr *Scrope's* Name, are the only Money for which His Majeſty gives a Receipt, and may therefore be all that the Crown conceives to be iſſu'd without Account; for the ſpecious Titles of Special Service, and to reimburſe Expences, ſeem, from the very Phraſe, to imply ſome Account; and what is iſſu'd to the Sollicitor of the Treaſury, under the Head of reimburſing Expences, is actually accounted for, ſo that His Majeſty may poſſibly be led to believe, that all the Money iſſu'd under theſe Heads is accounted for, as he gives no Receipt for the ſame; and thus it may happen, that by the Artifice of a Miniſter, ſuch Sums of Money may be iſſu'd under the Heads of Special Service and to reimburſe Expences, as may endanger the publick Liberty, while the Crown may be ignorant of the ſame, and by attending only to what is ſpecify'd to be for Secret Service, may believe that Service is kept within reaſonable Bounds.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable Particulars that your Committee think proper to lay before you, relating to the Head of Secret Service, which, if it be conſidered either by Compariſon, or by its Conſequence, either by the Sum, or the Manner of its Iſſue and Receipt, are equally exorbitant, dangerous, and deſtructive.

If it be conſidered by the groſs Compariſon, then it ſtands as above; as 1,384,600 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* to 279,444 *l.* 1 *s.* 7 *d.* Halfpenny; if by deſcending into Particulars, then it will appear, the two remarkable Years 1733 and 1734, amount

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An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

to 312,128 *l.* 19 *s.* 7 *d.* being conſiderably more than the Total of the whole Ten Years, from 1707 to 1717.

And what is moſt aſtoniſhing, the Demands for Secret Services, in the ſix Weeks immediately preceeding the Reſignation of the Earl of *Orford*, amount to more than the whole Expence, upon that Head, in the Three Years ending *Auguſt* 1710, and the Draughts upon the *Exchequer* for that Uſe, in one Day only, being the 9th Day of *February* laſt (the laſt indeed he ſat at the Treaſury) amount to a greater Sum than was iſſued for that Service, in any one of the aforemention'd Three Years, ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed by repeated Victories.

And if the Conſequences of this Profuſion be conſidered, what can they be but the Alteration of a Government, which ſo lately was ſupported in that Branch for one fifth Part of the Expence upon the medium of the Ten Years. Your Committee have informed you how the Power, the Influence, the Offices of the Government have been imployed by him towards violating the Freedom of your Elections; and they apprehend they have juſt Grounds to ſuſpect that Part of theſe immenſe Sums have been expended for the ſame moſt pernicious Purpoſes; and the rather when they conſider from what Queſtion the obſtinate Silence of *Paxton* took its Riſe, as alſo what Sums have been given towards the defraying the Expences of the new Charter at *Radnor*, and to carry on the Proſecutions at *Colcheſter*, as alſo the ſtrong Probability of the ſame Practice being carried on with Reſpect to the Borough of *Orford*; beſides the remarkable Sum to *Lever*, as a Reward to a moſt unjuſt returning Officer, cenſur'd by, and actually under the Puniſhment of Parliament, as a Violator of the Liberties of his Country.

Nor are the Apprehenſions of your Committee at all leſſened when they conſider the Manner of iſſuing and receiving theſe great Sums; For here they find the regular Courſe and Order of the Exchequer was, on the 9th of *February* laſt, overturned by pawning the Orders to a Bank-Man for immediate Payment, by which Means the Earl of *Orford* got 17,461 *l.* into his own Hands, one of the laſt Days he remained in the Treaſury, which was diſguiſed in three Warrants, and was much more than there actually was in the Exchequer applicable to the Uſes of the Civil Government.

They alſo find the Sums iſſued under the two Heads of Special Services, and to reimburſe Expences for his Majeſty's Service, tho' they ſeem to imply open and determinate Uſes, yet they are iſſued without Receipt from his Majeſty as well as without Account, except what relates to the Solicitors of the Treaſury; ſo that it is poſſible the Sums under theſe two Heads,

Heads, amounting to 508,781 *l.* 1 *s.* 1 *d.* may be iſſued and imployed for Uſes, which the Crown itſelf may look upon as no ways making Part of the Article of Secret Service; and if a profuſe and deſigning Miniſter ſhould by theſe Means get a Power of ſquandering ſuch vaſt Sums of Secret Service Money upon his own arbitrary Deſigns, while the Crown may be miſled to imagine that this Branch of the Government is carried on at a moderate and juſtifiable Expence, your Committee apprehend that the King may be impoveriſh'd, the Civil Liſt exhauſted, the juſt Debts unpaid, and the People in Conſequence loaded with new Burthens to replace that Profuſion which may be ſo dangerous to their Liberties. An. 16. Geo. 1742.

Your Committee have now laid before you the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*, with relation to the Payment of the Troops, the Freedom of your Elections, and the Quantity as well as Manner and Conſequence of iſſuing and receiving the Publick Money, ſuppoſed to be imployed for Secret Services of the State, notwithſtanding the Obſtructions they have met with either for want of Power to compel or indemnify the unwilling Witneſs or Accomplice, and from their Inability to protect and ſupport thoſe who might have been more ready to do their Duty to the Publick.

Your Committee are now proceeding in the Examination of the Copies of the Papers and Letters, and Extracts of Letters relating to the Convention, referred to them by the Houſe, which they will report with all poſſible Diſpatch.

APPEN-

APPENDIX

TO THE

Farther REPORT of the *Secret Committee.*

NUMB. I.

NAVY-OFFICE, 15 *April*, 1742.

AN Account of all Sums of Money drawn by Bills from *Jamaica*, for the Service of his Majeſty's Fleet, ſince the Commencement of the War againſt *Spain*, and at what Rates of Exchange the ſaid Bills were drawn.

Account of Bills drawn from Jamaica for the Service of the Fleet.

Date of the Bills.	*By whom drawn.*	*Sum.* l.	s.	d.	*Exchange, per Cent.*
26 Oct. 1739.	Mr *George Hinde*, Naval Officer at *Jamaica*.	300	00	00	40
1 Dec.		300	00	00	
8 Jan.		400	00	00	
13 Ditto.		200	00	00	
18 Ditto.		100	00	00	
25 Ditto.		100	00	00	
14 Feb.		1071	8	7	
23 Ditto.		500	00	00	
24 March		474	5	8	
25 Ditto, 1740.		200	00	00	
26 Ditto		200	00	00	
27 Ditto.		200	00	00	
21 April		400	00	00	
23 Ditto.		200	00	00	
25 Ditto.		300	00	00	
21 May		100	00	00	
22 Ditto.		100	00	00	
23 Ditto.		100	00	00	
24 Ditto.		100	00	00	
26 Ditto.		100	00	00	
27 Ditto.		100	00	00	
28 Ditto.		100	00	00	
21 June		200	00	00	
23 Ditto.		300	00	00	
24 Ditto.		100	00	00	
25 Ditto.		100	00	00	

26 June

Date of the Bills.	*By whom drawn.*	*Sum.* l.	s.	d.	*Exchange per Cent.* 1st An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.
26 June, 1740.	Mr *George Hinde*, Naval-Officer at *Jamaica*.	200	00	00	
27 Ditto.		500	00	00	
2 July		100	00	00	
3 Ditto.		100	00	00	
4 Ditto.		200	00	00	
23 Auguſt		300	00	00	
25 Ditto.		300	00	00	
26 Ditto.		300	00	00	
29 Septemb.		200	00	00	
30 Ditto.		100	00	00	
1 October		200	00	00	
2 Decem.		100	00	00	
3 Ditto.		300	00	00	
Ditto.		100	00	00	
5 Ditto.		100	00	00	
6 Ditto.		100	00	00	40
8 Ditto.		100	00	00	
9 Ditto.		250	00	00	
10 Ditto.		500	00	00	
11 Ditto.		200	00	00	
Ditto.		200	00	00	
12 Ditto.		100	00	00	
16 Ditto.		100	00	00	
17 Ditto.		100	00	00	
18 Dec.		100	00	00	
26 Ditto.		70	00	00	
29 Ditto.		200	00	00	
30 Ditto.		100	00	00	
1 January		50	00	00	
2 Ditto.		60	00	00	
3 Ditto.		50	00	00	
6 Ditto.		182	00	00	
7 Ditto.		200	00	00	35
9 February		100	00	00	40
21 Ditto.		200	00	00	
3 March		250	00	00	
13 Ditto.		200	00	00	
17 Ditto.		200	00	00	
18 Ditto.		200	00	00	
19 Ditto.		100	00	00	35
14 Ditto.		50	00	00	
7 April 1741.		150	00	00	
11 Ditto.		100	00	00	
12 Ditto.		200	00	00	
13 Ditto.		200	00	00	
					14 Ditto.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.	*Date of the Bills.*	*By whom drawn.*	*Sum.* *l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*Exchange per Cent.*
	14 April 1741.	Mr *George Hinde*, Naval-Officer at *Jamaica*.	100	00	00	
	20 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	21 Ditto.		150	00	00	
	23 Ditto.		150	00	00	
	24 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	25 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	27 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	29 Ditto.		50	00	00	
	30 Ditto.		170	00	00	
	1 May		400	00	00	35
	19 Ditto.		600	00	00	
	22 Ditto.		150	00	00	
	23 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	24 Ditto.		150	00	00	
	26 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	27 Ditto.		248	00	00	
	28 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	30 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	31 Ditto.		400	00	00	
	15 June		600	00	00	
	16 Ditto.		150	00	00	
	13 July		130	00	00	
	14 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	17 Ditto.		150	00	00	
	18 Ditto.		160	00	00	
	19 Ditto.		150	00	00	
	29 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	6 Auguſt		70	00	00	
	11 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	12 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	15 Ditto.		70	00	00	
	18 Ditto.		70	00	00	
	19 Ditto.		162	11	06	40
	Ditto.		200	00	00	
	20 Ditto.		500	00	00	
	21 Ditto.		250	00	00	
	Ditto.		200	00	00	
	Ditto.		100	00	00	
	Ditto.		100	00	00	
	Ditto.		100	00	00	
	Ditto.		200	00	00	
	Ditto.		100	00	00	
	27 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	28 Ditto.		150	00	00	
	4 Sep.		150	00	00	

5 Sep.

Date of the Bills.	*By whom drawn.*	*Sum.* l.	s.	d.	*Exchange per Cent.*
5 Sep. 1741.	Mr *George Hinde*, Naval-Officer at *Jamaica.*	150	00	00	40
8 Ditto.		200	00	00	
14 Ditto.		1000	00	00	
Ditto.		400	00	00	
26 Oct.		800	00	00	
27 Ditto.		168	4	01	
29 Ditto.		200	00	00	
31 Ditto.		400	00	00	
3 Dec.		170	00	00	
21 Ditto.		2000	00	00	
Ditto.		100	00	00	
23 Ditto.		300	00	00	
22 January		300	00	00	
6 February		1000	00	00	
Ditto.		500	00	00	
Ditto.		200	00	00	
Ditto.		1000	00	00	
8 Ditto.		100	00	00	
9 Ditto.		1200	00	00	
29 Dec. 1739.	By *Robert Kerby*, Naval-Officer at Port *Antonio.*	200	00	00	40
18 March		100	00	00	
14 July, 1740.		90	00	00	
Ditto.		110	00	00	
23 Sept.		150	00	00	
27 Nov.		200	00	00	
14 April, 1741.		200	00	00	35
22 Ditto.		100	00	00	
24 Ditto.		100	00	00	
13 June		100	00	00	
22 Ditto.		100	00	00	40
28 Auguſt		100	00	00	
31 Ditto.		100	00	00	
3 Sept.		100	00	00	
13 Oct.		100	00	00	
19 Ditto.		100	00	00	

Richard Haddock, John Fowler, Ja. Ackworth, John Philipſon *, *Thomas Pearſe* †.

* Member for Harwich in this Parliament.

† See the Report, p. 25.

…t of the Sums of Money drawn by Bills from *Jamaica*, for the Service of his Majesty's Ordnance, since …mmencement of the War against *Spain*, and at what Rates of Exchange the same were drawn.

	Drawers.	*Dates.*	*Rate of Exchange.*	*Sum Sterling.* l.	s.	d.	f.
Commanders of his Majesty's Ships.	Capt. William Douglas	1739 Dec. 28		31	14	10	
	Thomas Broderick	Feb. 23	140 per Cent.	21	1	8	¼
	George Berkeley	21		48	13	6	¼
	Charles Windham	23		16	4	1	¼
	Edward Boscawen	March 1	In Sterling.	170	00	00	
	P. Percival	19		86	1	3	
	Thomas Watson	22	140 per Cent.	46	15	8	½
	Digby Dent	1740 May 8		61	8	10	
	Charles Knowles	30		127	12	00	½
	Edward Boscawen	1739 Feb. 3	In Sterling.	9	12	00	
	Charles Windham	1740 May 8		16	19	3	¼
	George Burrish	1739 Dec. 20		11	19	3	¼
	Edward Boscawen	1740 June 21		37	4	5	
	P. Mayne	Aug. 20		17	13	6	¾
	Thomas Trevor	20		22	11	7	¼
	William Knight	25	140 per Cent.	37	7	9	¼
	George Berkeley	Sept. 4		10	00	00	
	Digby Dent	23		1	8	6	¾
	William Douglas	Oct. 8		11	15	3	
	M. Stapylton	June 19		23	15	10	

				l.	s.	d.
John Rogers, Storekeeper at *Jamaica*.	1740	Oct. 1	140 per Cent.	100	00	00
		Jan. 3		300	00	00
	1741	June 26	135 per Cent.	500	00	00
John Turner, Commissary and Pay-Master to the Train of Artillery.	1741	June 26	130 per Cent.	1400	00	00
		17		500	00	00
		17		700	00	00
		Dec. 18	140 per Cent.	200	00	00
		18		100	00	00
		18		200	00	00
		18		400	00	00
		16		100	00	00
		17		100	00	00
		Oct. 26		182	10	00
		Nov. 9	137 : 10 per Cent.	100	00	00
		Dec. 18	140 per Cent.	200	00	00
		Jan. 26		400	00	00
		Feb. 9		295	18	6
		9		75	00	00
		9		200	00	00
		9		80	7	9
		9		134	00	00
		9		365	3	9
		9		250	00	00
		9		500	00	00

All the foregoing Bills are drawn from *Jamaica*. No Bills have been remitted to *Jamaica*.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Received Advice of the following Bills drawn from *Jamaica*, but as they are not yet arriv'd, the Rates of Exchange are not known.

Drawers.	*Dates.*	*Sum Sterling.*		
		l.	*s.*	*d.*
John Turner.	1741 Oct. 27	100	00	00
	28	429	10	00
	28	174	00	00
	Dec. 4	150	00	00
Major *Jonathan Lewis.*	May 18	600	00	00

Office of Ordnance,
April 17, 1742.

W. R. Earle (*a*), Clerk of the Ordnance.

Numb. II.

Capt. Wilſon's Examination relating to the Method of paying the Troops ſent to the Weſt Indies.

Capt. *Alexander Wilſon* being examined in the moſt ſolemn Manner, this 21ſt Day of *April*, 1742, ſaid, That he was an Agent to Lord *Cathcart* when he was preparing for his Expedition to the *Weſt Indies*. That in or about *May* or *June*, 1740, Lord *Cathcart* received from Mr *Pelham* (*b*) a rough Draught of Inſtructions, which Mr *Pelham* propoſed to give to his Deputy Pay-Maſter, that was to attend the Troops under Lord *Cathcart*. That this Examinant peruſed the ſaid Draught together with Lord *Cathcart*. That it contained Directions to the Deputy to pay the Troops at *Jamaica*, at ſuch a Rate of Exchange, as ſhould appear to Lord *Cathcart* and the ſuperior Officers, to be moſt advantageous to them. That this Rate of Exchange ſhould be conſtant and invariable; and that the ſaid Deputy ſhould keep an Account current of what he thus paid; and if any Advantage accrued from the Currency thus ſettled, the Publick were to be entitled to it; but if there was any Loſs, the Publick were to make it good; And it was alſo propoſed, that the Deputy ſhould carry with him a Sum of Money for this Purpoſe, and ſhould be authorized to draw the neceſſary Bills on the Paymaſter-General. That Lord *Cathcart* approved of theſe Inſtructions; but on or about the latter End of *June*, or the Beginning of *July*, 1740, it was intimated to the Lord *Cathcart* from the Pay-Office, or by Meſſieurs *Burrell* (*c*) and *Briſtow* (*d*), that the Trea-

(*a*) Member in this Parliament for Malmsbury.
(*b*) Member in this Parliament for the County of Suſſex.
(*c*) Member in this Parliament for Haſlemere.
(*d*) Member in this Parliament for St Ives.

Treaſury were of Opinion, that the Troops were not to be left to the Uncertainty of finding Money Abroad, ſince Merchants might make their Advantages of the Neceſſities the Troops might ſometimes be under, and that in Conſequence of this Opinion, a Contract for paying the Troops at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Money, for 100 *l. Sterl.* was then depending before the Treaſury. That Lord *Cathcart* immediately on this Information, applied, by this Examinant, to Mr *Williams* (*e*) and Mr *Monſon*'s (*f*) Offices for a Meeting. His declared Purpoſe in procuring this Meeting, was, if poſſible, to get the Troops paid in a more advantageous Manner, for he did not apprehend that the Contract was already paſs'd, but only that it was then depending. That at this Meeting, which was at Mr *Williams*'s Office, between the 4th and 13th of *July*, 1740, there were preſent Lord *Cathcart*, Mr *Hanbury Williams*, Paymaſter of the Marines, Mr *Burrell*, Mr *Briſtow*, and this Examinant; Mr *Pelham* was then in *Yorkſhire* with Mr *Arundel*, as he believes. Lord *Cathcart* took Notice of the Inconveniences which might ariſe by paying Men only 120 *l. Jamaica* Money for 100 *l. Sterl.* when, by the concurring Reports from *Jamaica*, and of Merchants, the Exchange was at 135 to 140. That he hereupon mentioned what he had obſerved in Armies Abroad, particularly what happened at *Ghent* and *Bruges* in 1712, where the Troops mutiny'd on Account of ſome ſmall Deductions for Camp Neceſſaries and Bread, which were taken from ſome Regiments and not from others. That this Examinant ſaid at the ſame Time, that as the Troops from *North America*, under Colonel *Blakeney*, were paid at the full Currency of the Exchange in thoſe Parts, he apprehended, that if they received leſs Money, when they join'd Lord *Cathcart*, than what they had before, they might begin a Mutiny, and by informing Lord *Cathcart*'s Men, might occaſion Diſcontents and Mutiny amongſt them alſo. The Contractors anſwered to this, that the Difference of Currency in the North Provinces of *America*, from whence Colonel *Blakeney*'s Troops came, was rather more to the Advantage of thoſe Troops than the intended Payment of 120 *l per Cent* That the Contractors explained themſelves on this Particular, in a Manner that this Examinant could not anſwer, nor indeed underſtand. That Lord *Cathcart* was ſilent. The Contractors reckoned up ſeveral Articles of the Charge it would be to them, ſome of which were the Inſurance of the Money, the Freight, the Commiſſion which they were to pay their Correſpondents in *Jamaica*, with other incident Charges which

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(*e*) Member in this Parliament for the County of Monmouth.
(*f*) Member in this Parliament for Lincoln.

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which this Examinant cannot remember. All theſe together, they ſaid, was the Cauſe why they could not contract for leſs Profit, than what they ſhould get by paying 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l. Sterl.* There was ſome other Talk upon this Affair, which all ended in Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow* (but thinks it was Mr *Burrell*) declaring, that they had made an Agreement with the Treaſury already upon theſe Terms, and that they could not do it for leſs Profit. That this Declaration of Mr *Burrell*'s put an End to the Debates, and the Meeting, for Lord *Cathcart* acquieſced in what the Treaſury thought fit, as he was under Orders. He was a polite Man, and did not chooſe to fignify his Diſapprobation when it was of no Conſequence: So, on the ſaid Declaration, he ſaid he was to be determined by ſuperior Powers; but in private Converſation afterwards with this Examinant, he wiſhed it had been better. That this Examinant cannot, of his own Knowledge, ſay what Steps had been taken with the Treaſury with Relation to the firſt intended Inſtructions, nor does he know of any publick Notice given by the Treaſury for receiving Propoſals, nor has he heard of any Propoſals from others but Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*; But he is not in the Way of Treaſury Affairs.

Being further examined on the 27th Day of *April* 1742, in Relation to the rough Draught of the Inſtructions mentioned above, ſaid, That Mr *Pelham*, in Converſation with Lord *Cathcart*, when this Examinant was preſent, delivered it as his Opinion, that the Troops might be ſupplied in the Manner there laid down, eſpecially as he ſuppoſed that Money would be brought into *Jamaica* by taking of Prizes. That the rough Draught was delivered to Lord *Cathcart* after theſe Converſations. That it began with the Style of Inſtructions, in the ſame Manner as was cuſtomary to give to all Deputy Pay-maſters Abroad, impowering him to take up, and draw Bills for the Supply of the Troops, *&c.* That it was written in a running Hand, and, as he thinks, in two Sheets of Paper, Folio-way, but all the Sides were not filled. That as it was to be peruſed by Lord *Cathcart* as a Plan, on which, if approved of, Inſtructions were to be formed, there was Room left for Additions and Alterations; but that Lord *Cathcart* finding, that ſo far as it related to himſelf, it was complete, and wanted none, neither Lord *Cathcart* nor this Examinant made any therein, but returned it to the Pay-Office unaltered. That this Examinant believes Lord *Cathcart*'s Secretary carried it back, or perhaps Mr *Pelham*'s Deputy might call for it. That this Examinant ſaw the final Inſtructions given to the Deputy Pay-

Pay-maſter, but he only looked over it tranſiently; however he read ſo much as to be ſure, that the Power of drawing upon the Pay-maſter in Caſe of Neceſſity or Diſappointment, was therein contained, tho' he cannot expreſsly ſpeak to thoſe Words. This Examinant adds, That he has been informed by one of the Clerks of Mr *Williams*'s Office, that Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow* did enſure the Money they ſent to *Jamaica*, but he does not know at what Rate.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ALEXANDER WILSON.

NUMB. III.

Peter Burrell, Eſq; * being examined in the moſt ſolemn Manner, this 30th Day of *April*, 1742, ſaid, That about the latter End of the Year 1739, going down Stairs from the Houſe of Commons, he was asked by Sir *Robert Walpole*, if he, this Examinant, or his Acquaintance, had any Money in the Northern Colonies. That about Three Weeks or a Month afterwards, he told Sir *Robert* that he could not meet with any Perſons, whom he could depend on, who had. And Sir *Robert* then replied, he believed there would be no Occaſion for any. That as ſoon as it was publickly known that Troops were going to *Jamaica*, this Examinant took Occaſion from this Incident to apply to Sir *Robert Walpole*, and to acquaint him, that as he, this Examinant, had Correſpondents in *Jamaica* on the *South-Sea* Company's Account, who were Men of Credit at *Jamaica*, and who had the greateſt Command of Money of any in the Place, this Examinant thought he could ſupply the Government as well as any Body, if Money was wanted there: To which the Examinant then received no poſitive Anſwer. That after this, this Examinant conſidering with himſelf the great Importance of this Affair, he thought it too much Hazard for himſelf alone, and thereupon asked Mr *Briſtow*, if he thought it could be undertaken without a great Riſque. That when they had conſulted together, they agreed on the Forms on which they would propoſe it, and about the Month of *June*, the Parliament being then prorogued, they waited on Sir *Robert Walpole* at *Chelſea*, and made an Offer of furniſhing any ſuch Sums as might be wanting for the Payment of the Troops, on the ſame Conditions, which were afterwards agreed to by the Treaſury. That Sir *Robert Walpole* asked them, if thoſe were the loweſt Terms, and hoped they would not ask more than what was reaſonable, nor what any Body ſhould complain of. And the Exami-

Examination of Mr Burrell relating to a Contract for the Payment of thoſe Troops.

* Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company.

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nant aſſured him, that, upon the beſt Calculation, they had not. That he would not take it upon himſelf, but deſired them to make their Propoſals to the Treaſury. That a few Days after this Converſation with Sir *Robert Walpole*, they did lay this Propoſal before the Treaſury, without any Thing elſe paſſing between them and Sir *Robert Walpole* in the Interval; nor had the Examinant any Converſation with any other Lord of the Treaſury before he offered his Propoſal to the Board. That on Delivery of theſe Propoſals, he does not recollect whether he was called in or no, nor can he ſay when he received the firſt Notice of his Propoſal being accepted, nor by whom he was informed of it; but he thinks, if any Thing particular had happened on this Occaſion, he muſt have remembered it; nor does he recollect of meeting Mr *Hanbury Williams* the Morning this Propoſal was delivered. This Examinant does indeed remember that he one Morning met Lord *Catheart*, or Capt. *Wilſon*, who deſired a Meeting at Mr *Hanbury Williams*'s Office, but he is not ſure that this was the Day of his Contract's being agreed to, but rather believes it was a Week or a Fortnight after. That the ſame Day this Meeting was deſired, Mr *Briſtow* and this Examinant met Lord *Catheart* and Capt. *Wilſon*, and Mr *Hanbury Williams*, who came after. That this Examinant does not conceive, that Lord *Catheart* would deſire a Meeting, or could have any Thing to do with this Examinant and his Partner, but as Contractors; and therefore he thinks this Meeting was after the Contract was paſſed; and that he ſuppoſes the Intention of this Meeting was, that Lord *Catheart* might be ſatisfied, that the Troops would not be diſappointed, but that due Care would be taken to ſupply them with Money when Abroad. That at this Meeting Lord *Catheart* talked to Capt. *Wilſon* of the Manner in which the Troops were to be paid; ſaying to them, that if the Troops going to *Jamaica* were not paid at the ſame Rate of Exchange as thoſe from *North America*, it might occaſion Diſcontents, as he remembered a Mutiny had like to have happened in *Flanders*, on the like Account: That they ſaid they had nothing to do with the paying of the Troops, what they had contracted for, was to deliver the Money at ſuch a certain Rate. That this Examinant takes it for granted, that Lord *Catheart* by his Enquiry, wanted to know in what Specie the Troops ſhould be paid, and not at what Rate the Money was to be furniſhed to the Deputy Pay-maſter. That this Examinant does not remember there were any Diſputes at this Meeting, whether the Contract was a good or a bad Contract, or indeed whether there was Mention made about it; and he believes at the Beginning of the Converſation Lord *Catheart* knew of the Contract being paſſed;

paſſed; and he is perſuaded that Capt. *Wilſon* knew it, be- An. 16. Geo. II.
cauſe the Gentleman who is gone over Deputy Pay-maſter, 1742.
was informed by the Examinant with every Step taken in this Affair, and he was intimate with Capt. *Wilſon*. That this Examinant does not remember to have told Capt. *Wilſon* that the Contract was paſſed, but if he had met him, he believes he ſhould have told him, but he takes it for granted, that it was underſtood to be done in their whole Converſation at that Meeting; and he does not remember that either Lord *Cathcart* or Capt. *Wilſon* ſhewed any Surpriſe at that Time, on hearing it was done; and that he thinks that this Meeting with him and Mr *Briſtow*, was on the Footing of their being Contractors for the Money. That Lord *Cathcart* asked them how they would ſupply the Money; and they told him they would ſend Foreign Gold; but this Examinant cannot remember if there was any Talk about Inſurance, Freight, or other Items. That in this Converſation, which he does not know laſted half an Hour, many Things of another Nature were talked of between Lord *Cathcart* and Capt. *Wilſon*, as about the Embarkation of the Troops, *&c.* That tho' this Examinant had contracted at 120 *l.* he does not recollect, that the Rate was mentioned at this Meeting. The Reaſon for fixing the Price at 120, was upon the Conſideration of the probable Fall of the Exchange at *Jamaica*, when ſo great a Demand muſt be made, upon the Payment of ſo large a Body of Troops. That as the Exchange had advanced ſince the laſt War from 111 to 135, during which Time, there not having been any extraordinary Demand for Money in that Iſland, the Reverſe might reaſonably be expected when a Demand of Money was made, that greatly exceeded the natural Currency. This plainly appeared upon Col. *Blakeney*'s Arrival with but 3000 Men, who, with great Difficulties, raiſed between 9 and 10,000 *l.* at 120, and could not have procured more at above 110, at leaſt that was the Demand from thoſe who had Money by them. In regard to the Par of Exchange between *Jamaica* and *London*, I am not informed by what Rule that Calculation is made, unleſs it be from the Value they have ſtamp'd on the Silver Specie of this Kingdom, a Shilling paſſing there current for Fifteen Pence, which anſwers to the Exchange of 125 *l.* for 100 *l.*

From the Uncertainty of obtaining Money at *Jamaica*, I deſired Mr *Colebrooke* to enquire at what Rate he could procure Bills on that Place; and he informed me, he could not get Bills at any fixt Rate, not even at 120 *l.* nor any other Price, than what ſhould appear the current Exchange of the Iſland, as the ſame ſhould happen to be, at the Time their Bills ſhould appear there. We had then no other Reſort,

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but to ſend out ſome Specie to ſupply the Want of Currency in *Jamaica*, and in that there was no Certainty as to its Value, as whatſoever was the nominal Price there appeared no Act of Council to oblige any one to receive it; and the Valuation is ſo out of Judgment that no Man could conceive it to be made but by Chance, as a Moida of 27 *s.* is above 3 *per Cent.* higher than a Moida of 36 *s.* in proportion to the intrinſick Value of each; which determined us to buy heavy *Portugal* Money of the Bank, not only to prevent any Complaint, if received by Tale, but to anſwer their full Value, if received by Weight. The firſt Parcel ſent being heavy Money of 36 *s.* each, which if had been obliged to ſell at *Jamaica* by the Ounce, would have rendered Loſs inſtead of Profit to the Contractors. The Inſurance of this Money was at 2 ½ *per Cent.* which went by the Men of War with the Troops, but we apprehend we had the Riſque of a Deviation, if the Ships had been ordered to *Carthagena*, or any other Port but to *Jamaica*, which would have thrown the Riſque on us; but if from any Accident the Ship where our Money was had not arrived with the Troops, we had then been at the Mercy of the Inhabitants, and in ſuch a Caſe, I would willingly have compounded for 10 *per Cent.* Loſs. We agreed for one *per Cent.* Freight, for all but what we ſent with the Troops, but we are informed one of the Captains has ſued our Agents for a Freight of 2 ½ *per Cent.* The Charge of Shipping is put at one *per Cent.* for the Expence of Guards, Iron Cheſts, Servants, and Coaches to attend it, and for the Riſque and Charges of ſending the Money in a Boat from *Portſmouth* to *St. Helens*.

That in regard to the nominal Value of the Gold Species at *Jamaica*, at a Medium, deducting the Commiſſion and Charges, we allow there doth not remain a Profit of 3 *per Cent.* upon the preſent Contract. That no other Perſons but Meſſieurs *Burrel* and *Briſtow* were conſulted or concerned in the Contract, when they firſt engaged in it; that after the firſt Imbarkation, and this Examinant believes after the ſecond, but before the Contract was raiſed to 125 *l.* Sir *Robert Walpole* ſpoke one Day to this Examinant and told him, that Mr *Hanbury Williams* had deſired him to aſk the Contractors, that a Friend of his, a *Weſt India* Merchant, might have a Share in the Remittances. But he added, 'You are 'to do juſt as you pleaſe: I don't aſk you to let any Body 'in; for the Contract is your's.' That ſome little Time afterwards Mr *Hanbury Williams* ſpoke to this Examinant and Mr *Briſtow*, telling them, that he had a Relation, one Mr *Hanbury* a *Weſt India* Merchant, to whom he had Obligations, and as he had Money and Effects at *Jamaica*, he deſired he might be concerned, for the Future, one fourth Part

Part with them: And ſince that Time he has been accordingly concerned one fourth Part in what relates to the Payment of the Troops in Mr *Hanbury Williams*'s Office. That Mr *Hanbury* had wrote, as he told the Examinant, to his Correſpondents at *Jamaica*, that in Caſe any Money was wanting, he might pay it into the Hands of their Agents, and receive their Bills for the ſame; but the Examinant ſaid, that though Mr *Hanbury* wrote, no Uſe has been made of it. That before this Sir *Robert Walpole* never recommended any Perſon to be concerned with the Contractors, nor had any Knowledge of any one that was; but that ſome Time after the Contract was paſſed, he (the Examinant) aſked Mr *Monſon*, Deputy Pay-maſter to Mr *Pelham*, whether he would take one fourth Part of it; telling him, that though the Profits might not be great, yet unleſs ſome unforeſeen Accident happened the Loſs could not be much. That Mr *Monſon* accepted of it, and has one fourth Part of the Contract, as far as it relates to the Payment of the Troops in the Office where he is Deputy. And being aſked if Mr *Monſon* had any Effects at *Jamaica*, he ſaid he could not tell; nor had he any there himſelf, nor has he (Mr *Monſon*) advanced any Money, nor has had any Share or Trouble of the Management, but is to ſtand his Share in the Profit or Loſs; and beſides theſe, no Perſon elſe is concerned with them, to the Knowledge of this Examinant; that this Examinant did offer half his own Share to his Brother, and a Gentleman engaged in Buſineſs with him; but they thought it too great a Riſque for them to run. He likewiſe mentioned it to another Gentleman, who would not accept of it. That theſe Refuſals were very early, before any Thing was done in it, more than paſſing the Contract; and that he mentions them to ſhew that he thought he had no great Bargain of it. A Copy of a Minute of the Treaſury lying before the Committee, dated the 29th of *January* 1740 [1]. relating to the Refuſal of the Agents of the Contractors at *Jamaica* to ſupply the Troops under Col. *Gooch* and *Blakeney* with a Sum of Money, being read to the Examinant, and it being therein ſaid that Mr *Burrell* agrees, that thoſe Troops were always underſtood and intended as contained and included in his and Mr *Beſtow*'s Propoſal to the Treaſury; this Examinant ſaid, that Minute had miſtaken their Meaning; for their Agreement was for the Troops under Lord *Cathcart*, and thoſe he ſhould find at *Jamaica*; and that this Examinant never underſtood, that the Troops under Col. *Gooch* and Col. *Blakeney* would be included in the Contract before the Arrival of Lord *Cathcart* at *Jamaica*. That this Examinant believes, that it was about *June* or *July* 1741, that he had the firſt Account from *Jamaica* of the Refuſal of his Agent's to comply with the Demands

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Demands of the Deputy Pay-maſter. That the Contractors having Advice from *Jamaica*, that there was no Money in the Iſland, and that it was propoſed, that Notes of Hand ſhould have a Currency, they had applied to the Treaſury for the Advance of a ſecond Sum; and that in *December* following there being a ſecond Imbarkation, they procured a third Sum from the Treaſury on Account of the Convenience they had of ſending it.

And being further examined, this 15th Day of *June*, he ſaid, That Mr *Colebrooke*, the Deputy Pay-maſter, who went with Lord *Cathcart*, ſupplied the Place of an Agent for the Examinant and the other Contractor; and that Mr *Colebrooke* had a Commiſſion of one *per Cent.* only. And, he added, that there never had been any Money advanced to the Contractors, without their delivering a Memorial to the Treaſury.

June 23. *P. Burrell.*

Examination of Mr Briſtow, relating to the ſaid Contract.

John Briſtow, Eſq; † being examined in the moſt ſolemn Manner, this 30th Day of *April*, 1742, ſaid, That the firſt Notice he had, relating to the Remittances, was from Mr *Burrell*, who told him, that probably there would be a Contract for ſupplying the Troops under Lord *Cathcart* with Money; and he thinks Mr *Burrell* mentioned his having talk'd with Sir *Robert Walpole* about it, but he cannot be poſitive. That Mr *Burrell* aſked him, (this Examinant) if he would be concerned. To which he agreed; and then, between them, formed a Propoſal to be laid before the Lords of the Treaſury. That previous to their laying of it before the Treaſury, they waited on Sir *Robert Walpole*, who was then at *Cheſſea*, the Seſſions, as this Examinant believes, being ended. That in this Propoſal, he thinks, they mentioned 120 *per Cent.* as the Rate at which, they would agree to furniſh the Money. Sir *Robert* ſaid, that he expected they ſhould offer it at a reaſonable Profit, that the Publick may be well ſerved. That this Examinant cannot recollect any other Converſation that paſſed, either with Sir *Robert Walpole*, or any Body elſe, before their Propoſal was communicated to the Treaſury, nor does he believe that they ſpoke about it to any other Lord of the Treaſury. That when it was laid before the Treaſury, he does not remember whether they went with the Propoſals themſelves, but is inclined to believe they did, and that they delivered it to ſome Perſon in Office, who carried it in. That he cannot remember, whether there were any Debates about it, nor whether he was called in or no; but from a Copy of a Minute of Treaſury lying upon the Table before the Committee, he thinks the Propoſals were immediately accepted; and he is pretty ſure he had Notice of

† Deputy Governor of the South-Sea Company.

of it when it was accepted, though he cannot ſay by whom, nor can he be ſure that at that Time he acquainted Mr *Hanbury Williams* he had agreed. That he remembers the Meeting of Lord *Catheart*, Mr *H. Williams*, and Capt. *Wilſon*, at Mr *H. Williams*'s Office, where Mr *Burrell* was likewiſe preſent; but he is pretty ſure no Body from Mr *Pelham*'s Office was there, and believes it was in *July* 1740, and believes it was after the Contract was paſſed, tho' he cannot ſay if it was that Day; nor can he remember who firſt propoſed this Meeting, tho' he believes Lord *Catheart*; nor where or when the Agreement to meet was made. That the Subſtance of the Converſation, at this Meeting, was the Manner in which the Troops were to be paid. That Lord *Catheart* talked about the Pay of the Troops, but this Examinant cannot tell if Lord *Catheart* ſuppoſed the Contract to be paſſed, or to be only a Propoſal, though he apprehends that the Contract was then made, and that Lord *Catheart* knew it was made, becauſe otherwiſe they, as Contractors, could have nothing to do with Lord *Catheart*. That this Examinant believes it might be poſſible Lord *Catheart* might except to the paying of the Troops at a low Rate. That this Examinant and his Partner ſaid in Subſtance, that the Rate the Troops were to be paid at was no Concern of theirs. That their Buſineſs was only to ſupply the Money at a certain Rate; but this Examinant does not apprehend, that the Troops were to be paid at a lower Rate than what they had contracted for. That this Examinant thinks Lord *Catheart* deſired to know in what Specie they intended to ſend out their Money. That they told him in *Portugal* Gold. That the Contractors propoſed the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Money, for 100 *l.* Sterling, for the following Reaſons; that they were to furniſh Money in a Place where there was not much; that therefore in caſe a conſiderable Sum was demanded at once, the Owners of the Money would make the moſt Uſe of it they could, and lower the Exchange under the Rate of 120 *l.* at which they had contracted; for that Colonel *Blakeney*, before Lord *Catheart*'s Arrival, drew on the Pay-Office for a ſmall Sum, and this with Difficulty, as he has heard, at or under 120; and had he wanted a larger Sum, he muſt have doubtleſs drawn even ſtill lower. That this put them under a Neceſſity of ſending out Funds or Money to ſupply the Want of Currency in that Place. That as Men of Buſineſs, it was natural for them to conſider the ſeveral Species of Money, which might be proper to ſend thither. That in this they found a great Variety. That they could not find there was any Law to ſettle the Currency of different Species of Coin, and the different Species of Coin were actually at different Proportions of Value in their Currency;

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rency; the Guinea in particular being at a lower Rate than the Thirty-Six Shilling Pieces, and both theſe lower than the Twenty-ſeven Shilling Pieces. That this Examinant is not ſure, that any conſiderable Sum of Moidores or Thirty-ſix Shilling Pieces were there before; and they were apprehenſive, that the Sum ſent out by the Contractors, which was the greateſt Part in Thirty ſix Shilling Pieces, and the reſt in Moidores, might on its Arrival at *Jamaica*, be reduced to an Equality with Guineas; and in order to prevent in ſome Meaſure the Loſs, which muſt attend an Alteration in the Value of theſe ſeveral Species, which was not improbable, when the Diſproportion ſhould come to be conſidered in the Iſland of *Jamaica*, the Contractors ſent the major Part of the Supply by the Fleet under Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, in weighty *Portugal* Gold of Thirty-ſix Shilling Pieces, that at all Events they might be the Value in Gold. That the Contractors ſent their Money on board three Men of War, and inſured it; but notwithſtanding this, they were liable to many Riſques and Accidents; for had the Men of War been ordered to any other Place, this would have been a Deviation from the Voyage, and would have vacated the Inſurance; and that the very Want of Money at *Jamaica*, or even what was on board one Ship only, though it had not been loſt, would have ſunk the Exchange; and that this was no improbable Accident, for three or four of the capital Men of War were actually ſeparated from the Fleet and driven to *Lisbon*; and had the Money been on board either of theſe Ships, the Contractors would have been under great Diſadvantages, as they muſt have rais'd it at *Jamaica*, at a great Loſs; and as it was, all the Money ſent out had, upon the Arrival of the Fleet, no more Effect than to raiſe the Exchange to 130, and ſmall Sums ſoon after got up to 135 and 140. Soon after which the Contractors came to a new Agreement at 125. That they have been told lately that the Victualling and Navy have drawn at 135 and 140; but this being for Stores, and Proviſion is not like Money, but is really no Exchange at all. And this Examinant did not inform himſelf of the Rates at which the Navy and Victualling drew, when he was deliberating about his own Contract. He added, that he has ſince been told, that the Independant Companies at *Jamaica* are paid at 125. That he believes, that he might communicate a Memorial, containing the Reaſons for fixing the Currency at 120, to Lord *Orford*, before this Examinant's Memorial of the 5th of *Febuary* laſt was laid before the Treaſury. That ſoon after Lord *Cathcart*'s Arrival, Meſſrs. *Meriwether* and *Manning*, their Correſpondents, from a Miſunderſtanding, did refuſe to furniſh Money for the Troops, but the Deputy Paymaſter, Mr *Cottbrooke*, drew on Mr

Mr *Pelham*. That this Examinant believes, that the Reaſon of the Refuſal of their Agents, was their thinking they could make a greater Advantage of their Money from the Neceſſity of the Public, than what they could get by complying with our Commiſſion. The Reaſon urged by them, was the indefinite Demand of Mr *Colebrooke*, who refuſed to ſpecify either the Sums, or the Times when they would be wanted. That as the Contractors were to pay the Difference of theſe Bills drawn on Mr *Colebrooke*, if they had been under 120 or 125 *per Cent.* they thought they had a Right to thoſe Bills, when drawn at a higher Rate, and they accordingly took them up and paid them as ſoon as due, with Money they received from the Pay-Office; but theſe Bills are ſtill in Diſpute, and our Contract does not ſubſiſt any longer; for the Lords of the Treaſury have within this Day or two given Order to the Deputy at *Jamaica* to draw on the Paymaſter: That no Perſons were concerned with them in their Contract 'till after it was made; but that now Mr *Monſon*, Deputy Paymaſter to Mr *Pelham*, and Mr *Hanbury*, a Merchant, are Sharers. Mr *Monſon* has One fourth Part of what is paid in the Office where he is Deputy; Mr *Hanbury* has from a certain Time been intitled to One fourth Part of what relates to the Marines, which are paid in Mr *H. Williams*'s Office. That the Offer to Mr *Monſon* was made jointly by the Contractors, on their own Motion, and without the Deſire or Knowledge, as he believes, of any other Perſon whatſoever, and before any Remittances were made; and he never offered a Share to any Perſon but Mr *Monſon*. That as to Mr *Hanbury*, Sir *Robert Walpole* mentioned to them, that Mr *H. Williams* deſired his Relation, Mr *Hanbury*, ſhould have a Part. That Sir *Robert* had been ſpoke to by Mr *Williams* about it; but he (Sir *Robert*) told the Contractors, he left it to themſelves; and it is moſt probable Sir *Robert Walpole* mentioned this to the Contractors before Mr *H. Williams* ſpoke to them. That neither Mr *Monſon* nor Mr *Hanbury* have advanced any Money on this Affair, nor indeed have the Contractors themſelves properly advanced any Money; for on delivering their Bills drawn at Sight on *Jamaica* to the Paymaſter here, he furniſhed the Money for them, as is the conſtant Practice of the Pay-Office, whenever Bills of Exchange are furniſh'd payable in foreign Parts by the Drawers of ſuch Bills, or by Draughts from *Jamaica* on the Pay Office, to make good ſuch Sums, as are raiſed for the Service in the Iſland.

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And being further examined this Twenty-ſecond Day of *June* 1742, ſaid, that the Contractors allowed to Mr *Colebrooke*, who carried out the Money ſent with Lord *Cathcart*, one *per Cent.* Commiſſion; but the further Sums, which have

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been ſince ſent out, and all other Tranſactions relating to this Affair, have been managed by their Agents at *Jamaica*, to whom they are to pay two *per Cent.*

And further ſaid, that an Action has been brought againſt their Agent at *Jamaica* by Capt. *Knowles* for 2 ½ *per Cent.* Freight, for the Money which he carried out at the Time of Lord *Cathcart*'s going on the Expedition, for which, as the Examinant is informed, Capt. *Knowles* has obtained a Verdict; which if the Contractors ſhall be obliged to pay, will be a Precedent for other Captains of Men of War, by whom Money was ſent out at the ſame Time.

JOHN BRISTOW.

Examination of Mr Hanbury Williams, relating to the ſaid Contract.

Charles Hanbury Williams, Eſq; being examined in the moſt ſolemn Manner, this 30th Day of *April*, 1742, ſaid, That on the 9th Day of *July* laſt, as he thinks, being in his Chariot, he met Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, who told him, that they had made an Agreement with the Treaſury for remitting Money to pay the Troops, at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Money for 100 *l.* Sterling. That after meeting Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, he went to the Treaſury, and he thinks he ſaw Lord *Cathcart* in one of the Rooms of the Treaſury, and thinks he talked of what Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow* had told him to Lord *Cathcart*, but he is not poſitive. That the ſame Day there was a Meeting at his Office in *Scotland-Yard*, at which were preſent Lord *Cathcart*, Capt. *Alexander Wilſon*, Mr *Burrell*, Mr *Briſtow*, and this Examinant, but he cannot ſay any one elſe in particular: He cannot ſay Mr *Monſon* was preſent. That this Meeting was deſired that Morning either by Lord *Cathcart*, or by Capt. *Wilſon*, at his Inſtance, but he cannot tell which. He thinks they all met at the Treaſury, and went from thence to the Office. That the Converſation, which laſted two Hours, turned on the proper Means of carrying Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*'s Contract into Execution, and preventing the Troops from being diſappointed for want of Money. That he inclines to imagine, that Lord *Cathcart* knew that the Agreement was made. This Examinant aſked Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow* what Money they had ſent over, and what Credit they had eſtabliſhed for this Purpoſe; but that this was a Queſtion ariſing from his own Care and Curioſity only. That he believes Lord *Cathcart* ſaid, he had heard, that the Exchange in the City was 130 or 135; that if the Troops were paid at 120, the Difference might occaſion an Uneaſineſs amongſt them. That what Lord *Cathcart* ſaid, was rather repining and diſliking the low Rate of Exchange they had agreed for, than diſputing about it. That in conſequence of this Diſlike of Lord *Cathcart*'s, Meſſieurs *Burrell*

Burrell and *Briſtow* entered into a Detail about Exchanges, endeavouring from thence to ſhew, that they could not afford to remit cheaper; but this Examinant did not underſtand all they ſaid upon this Head. That Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow* talked of their Agreement as made, but whether at the Beginning or End of the Meeting he cannot ſay. That he cannot ſay or remember, that Mr *Burrell*, at the End of the Converſation told them, he had agreed with the Treaſury; nor can he ſay, that he heard Lord *Cathcart* mention the *American* Troops, as then paid at a higher Rate of Exchange. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

N. B. Charles Hanbury Williams, Eſq; being now at *Bath*, could not ſign his Examination, but it was read over to the Committee twice, and was found to be agreeable to the Minutes then taken.

NUMB. IV.

James Knight, Eſq; being examined in the moſt ſolemn Manner this Third Day of *May*, 1742, ſaid, That he lived many Years in *Jamaica*, from whence he came to *England* about five Years, and that he has many Effects, Rents, and a Plantation in that Iſland. That when he lived there, he acted as a Factor to the *Guinea* Merchants, and has ſold ſeveral Cargoes of Negroes to the *South-Sea* Company, which were paid for in Bills of Exchange at *London*, and had, by his Employments, the Means of being acquainted with the Remittance from that Iſland, both in Specie and in Bills. That the Exchange between *Jamaica* and *London* has, for ſeven Years paſt, varied very little, being from 140 to 135, but generally 140, very few Bills being drawn under that Rate, excepting particular Contracts in the Sales of Negroes, Eſtates, or other Effects, when the Exchange has ſometimes been agreed on at 35, and ſometimes at 37 ½, the Difference in Exchange being conſidered in the Purchaſe. The *South-Sea* Company in particular ſettled their Exchange at 35 *per Cent.* at which Rate they drew for conſiderable Sums; and in Conſideration of the Exchange, and the Number of Negroes they bought, they had them at a Price accordingly, the Planters paying 35 and 36 *per* Head, in Bills at 40 *per Cent.* and 28 and 40 *l.* in Sugars, or other Produce of the Iſland; when the Company, by Means of their Bills being at a lower Exchange, furniſhed the Merchants at 31 and 32 *l. per* Head, *Jamaica* Currency. That he has now a Bill of 600 *l.* drawn on the Ordnance at 140, and he has had two others of 500 *l.* each drawn on the ſame Office, and other publick Bills as well as private, at the ſame Rate. Examination of Mr Knight relating to the Rate of Exchange between Jamaica and London.

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Rate, within the laſt twelve Months. That the Independant Companies conſtantly draw at 140, as he has heard and believes, except one or two Officers, who have had Credit. That he believes, before the War, the Bills remitted from *Jamaica* to *England*, including thoſe drawn by the *South-Sea* Company, may have amounted to 100,000 *l. per Annum*. That there are beſides great Sums ſent from thence to *England* in Specie. That before the War, it was common for ſingle Men of War to bring 40 or 50,000 *l.* from thence; and he believes, including the Money ſent over by the *South-Sea* Company, upwards of 500,000 *l. per Annum* in Specie, was uſually remitted from *Jamaica* at a Medium before the Commencement of the War. That the Specie in *Jamaica* conſiſts chiefly in *Spaniſh* Coin: There are ſome *Spaniſh* Piſtoles and Doubloons. That there is a Law in *Jamaica*, made about the Year 1681, which aſcertains the Currency of *Spaniſh* Money, and makes it Felony to diminiſh or falſify it; tho' he has known Perſons tried upon the Law, yet it is not, in general, much obſerved, the Coin being commonly clipt, and diminiſhed of its true Weight, and the *Portugal* Money is not included in it, becauſe there was then none upon the Iſland. That when this Examinant heard that the Troops were going to *Jamaica*, he enquired how they were to be paid; and on being told, that the Treaſury would contract with private Perſons for that Purpoſe, he did himſelf intend to make an Offer for the furniſhing of the Money neceſſary; but in very few Days he heard, that the Treaſury had agreed with Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſlow*, at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Money, for 100 *l. Sterl.* That this Examinant does not believe, that the Treaſury ever gave Notice, that they intended any ſuch Contract. That indeed he does not know, that a formal, publick Notice has ever been given by the Treaſury on ſuch Occaſions; but he has heard, that in Queen *Anne*'s War, the Treaſury, when they had ſuch Contracts in View, have communicated their Intentions to Merchants, which was, in Effect, the ſame Thing, and was what this Examinant expected in the preſent Caſe; and had this been done, this Examinant believes, that ſeveral others beſides himſelf, would have propoſed to have furniſhed the Government with Money at *Jamaica*. That this Examinant would have furniſhed the Money at 130 *per Cent.* provided he could have obtained the ſame Advancement, which he has heard was made to Meſſieurs *Burrel* and *Briſlow*; for in Proportion to his Advancement, he propoſed to have made his Offer of furniſhing the Troops with Money, otherwiſe he could not have afforded ſuch an Exchange, and ſhould have thought it a good Bargain. That he ſhould have thought himſelf ſecured againſt any Diſappointment for the

the Want of Currency at *Jamaica*, by ſending over in Specie one third Part of what he might be ſuppoſed to want in Six Months Time; for that he apprehends the only Difficulty would have been at firſt, when the People there, on the Arrival of ſo great a Number of Troops, might endeavour to lower the Exchange; that afterwards he does not doubt, but he could have contracted with People on the Iſland, to have furniſhed the Money at the Rate of 137 ½ *per Cent.* or by other Means provided the Money to anſwer the Occaſion. That if the whole Money was advanced to him here beforehand, and he was only to ſend it over, and ſo furniſh the Money at *Jamaica* at the Rate of 130 *per Cent.* he ſhould think that he might make 12 or 15 *per Cent. per Annum*, of the Money which he thus ſupplied, becauſe he could return the ſame Money twice in the Compaſs of one Year. He added, that he believes the Inſurance of Money on Men of War from *London* to *Jamaica* might be done at 2 *per Cent.* to pay 84. That the Commiſſion which he pays to his Agents at *Jamaica* for tranſacting his Affairs, is 5 *per Cent.* but if he was to negotiate 30 or 40,000 *l.* for the Government, he would have done it, when at *Jamaica*, for 2 ½ *per Cent.* with all his Heart; and doubts not but other Perſons of Credit and Reputation in *Jamaica*, would have undertaken the ſame for the like Commiſſion, or leſs.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

JAMES KNIGHT.

NUMB. V.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury,

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

MR *Burrell*, one of the Contractors for the Remittances for the Marines to *Jamaica*, hath delivered the Letter hereunto annexed, into the Office of the Paymaſter of the Marines; wherein he propoſes that a farther Sum of 9,500 *l.* may be iſſued for Subſiſtance to the Marines going on the intended Expedition. I humbly pray your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to order the ſaid Sum to be iſſued to the Pay maſter of the Marines, for the Uſes hereafter to be appointed, *viz.*

Repreſentation from the Deputy Paymaſter of the Marines to the Lords of the Treaſury, for 9,500 l.

	l	*s.*		*l.*
On the Order for	118,214	1	——	7125
On the Order for	33,429	0	——	2375
				——
Pay Office, 23 Sept. 1740.			*L.*	9500

All which is humbly ſubmitted.

EDMUND JONES, *Deputy.*

SIR,

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SIR,

Mr Burrell's Letter on the ſame Occaſion.

THE Troops under the Command of Lord *Cathcart* being detained ſo long at *Portſmouth*, that the Money ſent by them will become due before they can arrive at *Jamaica*; we therefore beg Leave to repreſent to you, that we apprehend it will be for his Majeſty's Service, that an additional two Months Pay may be ſent by them, that at all Events they may be ſecured from any poſſible Diſappointment.

We therefore beg Leave to requeſt, that a further Sum of 9,500 *l.* may be advanced to us, for the better enabling us to forward ſuch Supply.

We are, for Mr John Briſtow *and Self*,

Your moſt Humble Servants,

PETER BURRELL.

To the Hon. Charles Hanbury Williams, *Paymaſter of the Marines.*

London, Sept. 23, 1740.

WHITE-HALL, Treaſury-Chambers, *Sept.* 24, 1740.

PRESENT,

Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord *Sundon* *, Mr *Earle* †.

Order for the Payment thereof.

ISSUE alſo out of the ſaid Funds to the Paymaſter of the Marines the Sum of 9,500 *l.* upon Account for the Subſiſtance of the ſaid Regiments, to anſwer the Value of Bills of Exchange to be given by Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, according to their Agreement in that Behalf, for their furniſhing Money at *Jamaica* for the Expedition under Lord *Cathcart*.

To the Right Honourable the LORDS COMMISSIONERS of His MAJESTY'S Treaſury,

The PROPOSAL of *Peter Burrell* and *John Briſtow*.

Propoſal of Meſſ. Burrell and Briſtow to the Lords of the Treaſury.

THAT the Forces under the Command of the Lord *Cathcart* intended for an Expedition to the *Weſt Indies*, having been detained ſo long at *Portſmouth* by contrary Winds, it is apprehended, that upon their Arrival at *Jamaica*,

* Then Member for Weſtminſter.

† Then Member for Malmesbury.

maica, a farther Sum will be wanting, than what is already remitted for that Service to the 24th of *December* 1740. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

That they are ready to furniſh their Bills for 12,000 *l.* Sterling, for the Subſiſtance of his Majeſty's Forces under the Command of the Lord *Cathcart*, from the 25th of *December* 1740, to the 23d of *February* following, at the Rate of 100 *l.* Sterling for every 120 *l.* paid at *Jamaica* in the Currency of that Iſland.

Which is humbly ſubmitted to your Lordſhips,

For John Briſtow *and Self,*

PETER BURRELL.

London, Sept. 25, 1740.

WHITE-HALL, Treaſury-Chambers, *Sept.* 26. 1740.

PRESENT,

Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord *Sundon*, Mr *Earle*.

MY Lords, upon reading a Memorial from the Paymaſter of the Forces, dated the 25th Inſtant, for carrying on the Subſiſtance of the Forces under the Lord *Cathcart*, from the 25th of *December* 1740, order 11,024 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.* ½ to be iſſued to the ſaid Paymaſter on the Order in his Name, for Part of the 200,000 *l.* appropriated to the Extraordinaries of the War, to be appointed towards the Service of the Expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*. Order for Paying them 11,024 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.*

WHITE-HALL, Treaſury-Chambers, *Dec.* 19, 1740.

PRESENT,

Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr *Winnington* *,
Lord *Sundon*, Mr *Treby* †.

MY Lords agree to a Propoſal now read, of *Peter Burrell* and *John Briſtow*, dated the Inſtant, for ſupplying a further Sum of 21,000 *l.* at *Jamaica*, for the Pay of his Majeſty's Forces gone upon the Expedition with Lord *Cathcart*, finding that the Rate of their Bills is the ſame as was agreed to upon their Propoſal of the 9th of *July* laſt, *viz.* in Bills payable in *Jamaica* at Sight, at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling. And their Lordſhips order a Copy of this Minute to be tranſmitted to the Paymaſter of his Majeſty's Forces and Marines, ſo as the ſaid Sum of 21,000 *l.* may be iſſued for the ſaid Bills accordingly. And alſo 21000 *l.* more.

NUMB.

* Then Member of Parliament for Droitwich.
† Then Member of Parliament for Plympton.

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NUMB. VI.

Extracts and Copies of Letters from Brigadier General Wentworth *and Mr* Colebrooke.

(*A*)

Extract of a Letter from Brigadier General Wentworth, *to his Grace the Duke of* Newcaſtle.

Jamaica, Jan. 20, 1740-1

I Muſt beg Leave to repreſent to your Grace †, that the fixing of the Payment of the Troops at 120 *Jamaica* Currency, will, I apprehend, be attended with Inconveniencies. Upon the Money's being tendered to the Paymaſters, great Diſcontent was expreſſed by the Officers, and ſome actually refuſed to receive it; of which being immediately apprized, I have taken Meaſures to put a Stop to any further Complaints. But as we ſhall have a Detachment from the Independant Companies who are paid at 125 *per Cent.* I believe it will be difficult to prevent the Diſcontent from getting amongſt the private Men. As the Exchange is always fluctuating, the Payment of the Troops according to the exact Currency, when their Pay ſhould become due, would be attended with great Inconveniencies. But was there a proper Medium fixt, (even ſo low as 125 *per Cent.*) I believe all would be made eaſy.

(*B*)

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM* *.

SIR, *Kingſton, Jamaica, Feb.* 20, 1740-1.

YOU will certainly have learnt from Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, before this Time, that their Correſpondents, *Mercwether* and *Manning*, had declined executing their Orders to pay to the Deputy Paymaſter ſuch Sums of Money, as thoſe Gentlemen had by their Contract with the Lords of the Treaſury agreed to furniſh here for the Service of the Expedition; but it is probable thoſe Gentlemen were not informed, that the Motive of that Refuſal was, that theſe Factors had a View of appropriating the Profits to ariſe

† One of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.
* Pay-maſter General of his Majeſty's Forces.

arise by such Supply, to themselves. What Reasons they may have given to their Principals, I cannot say; but at this Place, to justify, or at least excuse, so uncommon a Procedure, they say Messieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow* did not propose to allow them a sufficient Commission or Provision; that it was not worth their while to undertake it for a Consideration of One *per Cent.* to each of them. The Truth is, they were dazzled with the Prospect of getting 15 or 20 instead of 2 *per Cent.* and reckoning that a much greater Sum than those Gentlemen receiv'd from the Treasury, in *July*, would be due to the Forces before they arrived here, finding *November* almost out, they made their Calculation, that they should be able to set their own Price upon what they imagined the Deputy Paymasters would be under a Necessity of taking from them. But the further Supply you issued to Messieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow* in *September*, and for which they gave their Bill upon me, has put me in a Condition to answer all Occasions hitherto, and disconcerted all their Measures. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

I perceived the General inclined to think favourable of the Intentions of these Persons, and yet it was not till the 25th of *January*, that he appeared convinced that they never intended to furnish Money upon the Account of the Gentlemen in *England*; at which Time Mr *Manning* declared in express Terms, in the Presence of General *Wentworth*, Mr *Stewart*, Lieutenant Governor of this Island, and other Gentlemen, that they would not answer Messieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*'s Credit. This was the 16th Day after I delivered Messieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*'s Letters of Credit to them, and made my Demand on them. What past between me and them, and with General *Wentworth*, in that Interim, you will please to see by the Copies of the Letters I send herewith.

Upon the Refusal of *Merewether* and *Manning* to furnish Money, General *Wentworth* desired me to stay in this Place, and endeavour to raise Money for the Use of the Troops, which I have undertaken, pursuant to the Instructions you have honoured me with; and I hope my Zeal for His Majesty's and your Service, will receive your Approbation.

I have Reason to think, that as *Merewether* and *Manning* expected to supply what Money the Troops might have Occasion for, at an immoderate Profit to themselves, that I shall meet with all possible Opposition from them and their Adherents, otherwise I could not have failed of finding all the Money I can possibly want for Bills. What the Event will be I cannot say with sufficient Certainty, more than that my Endeavours will be faithful, and, I hope, effectual.

Messieurs *Merewether* and *Manning* acquainted me the 9th of *January*, that they had so long ago as the End of *November*,

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vember, wrote to Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, to tell them, that whatever Sums were wanted here for the Forces, muſt be ſent in Specie from *England*. They knew that an Anſwer to thoſe Advices could not well come back to this Iſland till *April* or *May*, and expected in the mean Time to have ſupplied Money to the Troops upon their own unjuſt Terms. This faithleſs Treatment of their Principals, muſt have aſtoniſhed and deceived Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, till the Truth comes to be developed by ſubſequent Letters; and upon what you will have heard from them, you have certainly been induced to ſend over more Specie, a Thing that would have in no Caſe been neceſſary, if theſe Perſons had not enter'd into the moſt ungrateful and unnatural Combination, to diſcredit their Benefactors, and diſtreſs the publick Service; and inſinuating to Brigadier *Blakeney*, that themſelves only were in a Condition to ſupply the Troops, which, for the Sake of the Service, as an Act of great Merit, they would find Means to do at the Rate of 110, this Currency, for 100 *l. Sterl.*

(C)

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM.*

Kingſton, Feb. 24, 1740.

SIR,

I Gave Notice that I had Occaſion for a Supply of Money for the Service, and offered my Bills at 130 *Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l. Sterl.* and notwithſtanding ſeveral Things combine to make Money ſcarce, I have made a Beginning, and paſſed Bills upon you for 1250 *l. Sterl.* as is noted at the Foot.

L. 500 to *John Hamilton*, Eſq; Value of the ſame.
200 to *Robert Wilſon*, Value of *John Hamilton*.
300 to *John Eaſt*, Value of *Samuel Spofforth*.
100 to *Samuel Spofforth*, Value of the ſame.
150 to *Jacob Mendes da Coſta*, Value of *David Bravo*.

L. 1250 all under this Day's Date, payable at three Days Sight. Which Sum of 1250 *l. Sterl.* at the Rate of 130, making 1625 *l. Jamaica* Currency, I paſs to the Credit of the Right Hon. *Henry Pelham*, Eſq;

Mr

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

(D)

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM.*

SIR, *Kingſton, Jamaica, March* 23, 1740.

I Have now the Pleaſure to acquaint you, that the Combination that had been formed here to reduce the Price of Bills for the Publick Service to 110, is entirely diſſipated. The Confederates lately made a new Effort to put a Stop to the Supplies of Money, which they found coming into my Hands, by endeavouring to borrow all the Money they could hear of; but I have now happily overcome all Oppoſition, and can aſſure you on good Grounds, that whatever Money may be neceſſary to be raiſed for the Service, will be found here for Bills on you at 130 and upwards. I ſay this with Confidence from the State and Courſe of the Trade here; and I dare venture to adviſe you not to ſend any more Money from *England* in Specie, upon Account of any Doubt of my finding all that can poſſibly be wanted for the Uſe of his Majeſty's Forces; and I think I am not miſtaken in my Concluſion, if a War ſhould break out with *France*, I ſhall find Money at 140 this Currency, for every 100 *l. Sterl.* becauſe the Riſque of ſending Money Home will be greater, the *Premium* of Inſurance muſt riſe in Proportion, and People will give a greater Price for ſuch Bills of Exchange, as they find by Experience are regularly diſcharged.

Here-under is an Account of all the Bills I have paſſed upon you; the 24th of *February*, for 1250 *l.* at 130, is 1625 *l.* the 9th of *March* for 2420 *l.* at 130, is 3146; and the 18th of *March*, for 1285 *l. Sterl.* at 130, is 1670 *l.* 10 *s.* for all which Sums I make myſelf Debtor according to the reſpective Dates.

Bills drawn by John Colebrooke. *for the Uſe of his Majeſty's Forces in* America, *upon the Right Hon.* Henry Pelham, *Eſq; Pay-Maſter General of his Majeſty's Forces.*

Feb. 24. N°. 1. 500 *l. Sterl.* Order *John Hamilton*, Eſq; Value of the ſame.
2. 200 *l.* Order *Robert Wilſon*, Value of *John Hamilton*, Eſq;
3. 300 *l.* Order *John Eaſt*, Value of *Samuel Spoſforth.*
4. 100 *l.* Order *Samuel Spoſforth*, Value of the ſame.
5. 150 *l.* Order *David Mendes da Coſta*, —— Value of *David Brazo.*
1250 *l Sterl* at 130, makes *Jamaica* Currency — 1625 *l.*

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. *March* 9. N°. 6. 500 *l. Sterl.* Order *Edward Trelawn* Eſq; Value of the ſame.

7. 120 *l.* Order *John Hamilton*, Value of the ſame.

8. 250 *l.* Order *Pat. Taylor*, Value of the ſame.

9. 200 *l.* Order *John Deuce*, Value of *John Peete.*

10. 500 *l.* Order *Juda Supino* and Son, Value of *Jac. Pareira Mendes.*

11. 500 *l.* Order *James Douglas* of *London*, Value of *Murray Crimble.*

12. 300 *l.* Order *James Murray*, Value of the ſame.

13. 50 *l.* Order *Joſ. Nott*, Value of the —— ſame.

2420 *l. Sterl.* at 130, makes Currency at *Jamaica*, —— 3146 *l.*

Mar. 18. No. 14. 200 *l. Sterl.* Order *Strachan* and *Wilſon*, Value of the ſame.

15. 200 *l.* Order *Papillon* and *Benjamin Ball*, Value of *Murray Crimble.*

16. 200 *l.* Order *John* and *James Porter*, Value of the ſame.

17. 100 *l.* Order *Robert de Lap* and Comp. Value of the ſame.

18. 80 *l.* Order *James Taylor*, Value of the ſame.

19. 130 *l.* Order *Alexander Barclay*, Value of *David Barclay.*

20. 325 *l.* Order *Robert* and *John Hamilton*, Value of the ſame.

21. 50 *l.* Order *Matthew Cleveland*, Value —— of *Robert* and *John Hamilton.*

1285 *l. Sterl.* at 130, makes *Jamaica* Currency — 1670 *l.* 10 *s.*

Total 6441 : 10

(*E*)

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM.*

SIR, *Kingſton, Jamaica, May* 1, 1741.

I Adviſed you of the 23d of *March*, of having drawn upon you 21 Bills of Exchange, under ſeveral Dates, amounting to 4955 *l. Sterl.*

I

I have ſince drawn 7757 *l.* 11 *s.* 2 *d.* in other 24 Bills, as here-under, and make myſelf Debtor for the reſpective Sums under each Date. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

I am now quite ſure of raiſing Money at 130 *l.* and upwards, to any Amount that ſhall be required, provided a proper Notice is given.

Account of BILLS *drawn by* John Colebroke, *upon the Right Honourable* Henry Pelham, *Eſq; Pay-maſter General, for the Uſe of the preſent Expedition.*

1741.	No.	*L.*		
March 24.	22	300	Sterl.	to *Alexander Campbell*, Value of the ſame.
1500 *l.*	23	100		to *Ditto* —— *Ditto*
	24	100		to *Abr' Van Hoorn, John Hamilton.*
	25	1000		to *David Tavares* himſelf.
April 6.	26	500		to *Pandoſo* and *Paniero* themſelves.
	27	200		to *John Ferguſon, Tho. Stratton.*
	28	50		to *John Hamilton* himſelf.
	29	100		*Ditto* —— *Ditto.*
	30	150		*Ditto* —— *Ditto.*
	31	400		*Daniel Dias Fernandes, A.* and *S. Dias Fernandes.*
	32	300		*Aaron Louſada, J.* and *B. Louſada.*
l. s. d.				
5407 11 2	33	450		*Samuel Stork, John Curtin.*
	34	1000		*Iſaac Fuertado* himſelf.
	35	200		*Ab. de Fonſeca, M.* and *A. La Mera.*
	36	150		*Pereira & Lima, A. La Mera.*
	37	207 11 2		*Jacob Brandon* himſelf.
	38	800		*Daniel Mendes da Coſta* himſelf
	39	500		*Juda Supino* and Son, *Iſaac P. Mendes.*
	40	200		*Pat. Taylor* himſelf.
	41	200		*Ditto* —— *Ditto.*
April 24.	42	100		*William Groves* himſelf.
	43	200		*Jac. Mendes da Coſta, David Bravo.*
850 *l.*	44	350		*Joſ. Polander* himſelf.
	45	200		*Taylor* and *Jackſon* themſelves.

Which Sums of 1500 *l.* Sterling, drawn the 24th of *March*, and 5407 *l.* 11 *s.* 2 *d.* the 6th of *April*, and 850 *l.* the

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. the 24th of *April*, I paſs to the Credit of the Right Honourable *Henry Pelham*, Eſq; at the Rate of 130 *Jamaica* Currency for 100 *l.* Sterling, in his Account of Exchanges, under the reſpective Dates.

JOHN COLEBROOKE.

(F).

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM.*

SIR, Dated *Sept.* 1, 1741.

IN purſuance of your Command, in the ſecond Paragraph of your Letter of the Twenty-fifth of *May*, about the Diſcontent of the Troops, on Occaſion of their being paid at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l.* Sterling, it is my Duty to acquaint you, that the Par of Money between *England* and *Jamaica* is,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
Piſtoles at	0	16	8	Sterl.	1	3	9	*Jamaica*	142 1/2
Guineas at	1	1		——	1	8	9	——	138 1/2
Moedas	1	7		——	1	18	9	——	143 1/2
Portugal Pieces	1	16		——	2	10		——	138 1/2

To which adding 6 *per Cent.* for Freight and Inſurance from *Jamaica* to *London*, the Medium upon Gold is 149

Pieces of 8, 7 *s.* 3 *d.* per Ounce *Jamaica* 5 *s.* 6 *d. London* Par. —— 139 1/2

Small Pieces 7 *s.* 2 *d.* —— 5 *s.* 6 *d.* 134 1/2

Medium 135; to which adding 6 *per Cent.* for Freight and Inſurance as before upon Silver, is —— 143

I mentioned in my laſt of *September* 12, that the Officers of the Independent Companies here draw for their Pay according to the Courſe of Exchange, now 140, and pay the private Men at 125.

I have learnt, that when the Regiments of *Cope* and *Hay* arrived in this Iſland, the Aſſembly, in Conſideration of the Dearneſs of all Neceſſaries, then paſſed an Act to make them an Allowance of Proviſions at the Country's Expence; and I am well informed, that Proviſions are at this Time fifty *per Cent.* dearer than they were then.

I confirm, that the Officers of the Independent Companies, have an Allowance of twenty Shillings, and each private Man five Shillings per Week, for which 10,000 *l.* is raiſed annually by the Aſſembly.

My Duty requires me to ſecond your Zeal in his Majeſty's Service to the utmoſt of my Ability, in the Department

An. 16 Geo. II. 1742.

ment you have pleaſed to honour me with; and it is with Joy that I can inform you, that by Occaſion of the great Sum of Money iſſued by you, and brought to this Place in Specie, the Combination entered into to diſtreſs me in raiſing Money for the Uſe of the Troops by lowering the Exchange, has been entirely broken; and from thence, and the State of the Trade to the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, there is Reaſon to be aſſured that the Exchange will keep up to 140, not without a Probability of its being raiſed higher by proper Management; and as this favourable Circumſtance may be the Means of producing very conſiderable Relief to the Troops, by paying them at a higher Rate hereafter; I hope you will look upon it as an Inſtance of my Ambition to make my Services agreeable to you, that I offer myſelf to undertake to draw Bills upon you at the beſt Courſe of the Exchange.

The Intereſt of the Merchants ſending Goods to *Jamaica* is againſt the Riſe of the Exchange, but I perſuade myſelf I ſhall be as ſucceſsful in this Attempt, as I have been hitherto in your Service; and I am ſo well aſſured of what I advance, that ſhould you preſer the having a certain Price fixt, I am ready to furniſh any Sum of Money wanted for his Majeſty's Forces at 135 certain Price, without any Charge, and that my Bills bear no leſs Term than four Months after Date, or ſixty Days after Sight; and that I will not trouble the Office with ſmall Bills, but paſs one in two Months, or one Month the oftenell

I ſent farther to Mr *Pitt*, for the Uſe of the Forces on *Cuba* 6285 *l.* 15 *s.* by the *Defiance*, Capt. *Trevor*, which ſailed Yeſterday. *I am, Sir,*

Your moſt Obedient, and
moſt humble Servant,
JOHN COLEBROOKE.

Kingſton, Jamaica,
Sept. 1, 1741.

(G)

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM.*

SIR, Dated *Jamaica, Sept.* 7, 1741.

THE Diſſatisfaction of the Officers receiving their Pay at 120 this Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling, increaſes every Day, and now I have found Means to bring the Exchange to 140, they complain of it as a very great Hardſhip. I had formerly repreſented to the General upon this Occaſion, that the Price of 120 was fixed by Contract of the Treaſury with Meſſrs. *Burrell* and *Briſtow*. That your

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

your Inſtructions to me to pay the Troops at that Rate was in Conformity to that Contract, under the Suppoſition that it was the moſt that could be obtained.

That it was not to be imagined, that you could order the Troops to be paid at a higher Exchange than the Price fixt with the Contractors; but that as the Contract was not anſwered by the Agents of *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, I thought it probable I might receive your Orders to pay the Troops at a higher Rate, when you were informed of my Succeſs in raiſing the Exchange.

This I have happily executed, contrary to the Inclination and Intereſt of ſome Perſons, and to the Opinion and Apprehenſions of others; not only unaſſiſted by the Perſons, whoſe particular Stations required their ſupporting my laudable Attempt, but oppoſed and obſtructed in my Meaſures.

(*H*)

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM*.

SIR, *Kingſton, Jamaica, Sept.* 12, 1741.

I Have the Mortification to acquaint you, this Diſcontent of the Troops increaſes every Day, the more, as they come to underſtand that the Exchange is brought to 140, and that the private Men of the Independent Companies here are paid one Royal, or 7 ½ Pence this Currency for 6 *d.* Sterling, which anſwers to 125 Currency for 100 *l.* Sterling, and the Officer draws his Bills according to the Exchange, which is now at 140. Beſides which, the Aſſembly in Conſideration of the Dearneſs of all Neceſſaries, allows every Capt. and Lieut. 20 Shillings Currency, and every private Man 5 *s.* a Week additional Pay, called here Country Subſiſtance.

This puts the Condition of theſe Independent Companies on ſo much better Footing than the Forces on the Expedition, that theſe latter are continually expreſſing their Uneaſineſs on the Compariſon.

I can now aſſure you, that you may depend upon my keeping up the Exchange to 140, and raiſing whatever Sum may be wanted for his Majeſty's Forces, and that Bills upon you will have the Preference of all private Bills.

Mr

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

(*J*)

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM.*

Kingſton, Jamaica, Oct. 8, 1741.

SIR,

THere is nothing talked of ſo much among the Officers of the Army, as the Hardſhip of being paid at 120, when the Exchange is at 140. Every one of them is become a Calculator, and complains, that he loſes 16 *l.* 6 *s.* on every 100 *l.* For 120 *Jamaica* Currency is paid with 62 Moidores at 38 *s.* 9 *d.* each; which 62 Moidores is no more than 83 *l.* 14 *s.* Sterling, and I have been told, that moſt of them have wrote to their Friends at home to apply for Redreſs, finding themſelves very much ſtraitened in a Place, where every Neceſſary is exceſſive dear.

As the General ſeems not inclined to order the Payment of the Troops, otherwiſe than Sums of Money upon Account, notwithſtanding his ſtrict Injunctions to me to be always ready, it is probable I may not be obliged to take up Monies ſoon; which I ſhall be very glad of, that I may be inſtructed by you, whether I am to receive Money from Meſſieurs *Gray* and *Woolley*, as they now offer, at 125, or paſs my Bills to the Publick at 140; on which Price, and my finding all the Money that may be wanted for the Service, you may hence-forward depend.

(*K*)

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM.*

Kingſton, Jamaica, 12 *Feb.* 1741 2.

I Have received the Honour of two of your Letters of the 18th of *July*, and the 1ſt of *Oct.* with a Copy of the Lords of the Treaſury's Agreement with Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*. Your Order that it be complied with, has been already executed, and the Additional 5 *per Cent.* upon all Payments for Subſiſtance from the 24th of *April*, has been paid to the reſpective Paymaſters, and the Payments ſince the 25th of *Dec.* made at 125 *l.*

I have this Day paſſed my Bill on you for 4800 *l.* No. 93, at 30 Days Sight, payable to *Peter Burrell* and *John Briſtow*, Eſqrs. for Value of Meſſ. *Gray* and *Woolley*, at 125, is 6000 *Jamaica* Currency.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

(*L*)

Extract of a Letter to the Pay-maſter of the Marines, from his Deputy in Jamaica, Aug. 22, 1741.

GEneral *Guiſe* has wrote to Mr *Colebrooke*, that it is his Opinion, he ought not to take the Money from Mr *Gray* at 120 for 100 *l.* Sterling, when he can draw at 130 and 135. That as the Agents of *Burrell* and *Briſtow* would not ſupply Money according to the Contract with the Treaſury, that it is void; and that he ought to keep drawing till he hears from Mr *Pelham*. There is great Murmuring amongſt the Troops being paid at 120. I think if it had been ſettled at 125 *l.* it would have done better, which would have anſwered to the Currency of Silver here, 7 ½ for 6 *d.* Sterling.

I don't doubt, but if I was to take all Opportunities for drawing, but I could be always ſure of ſupplying at 130 *l. &c.*

NUMB. VII.

Mr Pelham's Memorial to the Treaſury, relating to the Contract with Mr Burrell, &c.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

I Humbly beg Leave to lay before your Lordſhips, Copies of three Letters lately received from Mr *John Colebrook*, at *Jamaica*, the Perſon deputed by me to pay the Troops employ'd upon the Expedition to *America*, relating to the Exchange of Monies between *London* and *Jamaica*; which I thought proper to communicate to your Lordſhips, with a Repreſentation of this Affair, as the ſame appears to me.

That your Lordſhips were pleaſed, by Minute of the 9th of *July* 1740, to contract and agree with Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, to furniſh Money for the Payment of the ſaid Troops, at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling; in Purſuance whereof, my Deputy was inſtructed to take up Money from the Agents of the ſaid Contractors or Remitters at *Jamaica*, and draw his Bills upon me payable to them for the ſame.

That upon a Repreſentation from Major General *Wentworth*, Commander in Chief of the Forces upon the ſaid Expedition, ſetting forth the Diſcontent among the Troops, occaſioned by their receiving no more than 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling; your Lordſhips were pleaſed, by Minute of the 5th of *June*, 1741, to make a new Agreement with the ſaid Meſſieurs *Burrell* and *Briſtow*, that the Money ſhould be furniſhed by them, at the Rate of

125

125 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling, and that the Troops ſhould be paid at the ſame Rate. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

That my Deputy, upon his Arrival at *Jamaica*, did apply to Meſſieurs *Merewether* and *Manning*, Agents for the Contractors, who refuſed to ſupply the Money that might be wanted for the Service of the Expedition, at 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l.* Sterling; and that the ſaid Contractors did upon notice thereof, in the Room of Meſſieurs *Merewether* and *Manning*, appoint Mr *John Gray*, their Agent, who made an immediate Offer of all Sums as were or ſhould be wanting for His Majeſty's Service; but, previous thereto, my Deputy, apprehending a Combination was enter'd into, among ſome monied Men of the Iſland, to prevent his getting any more than 110 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l.* Sterling, found himſelf under a Neceſſity of making uſe of the Credit and Power given him by his Inſtructions, to draw Bills upon me, as Pay-maſter-General, at the beſt Rate of Exchange that he could obtain; and hath actually drawn Bills upon me to the Amount of 29,216 *l.* 5 *s.* 3 *d.* at 130, 135, and ſome at 140 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l.* Sterling, and makes no doubt but he ſhall be able to draw for all Monies that ſhall be wanted for the Service of the Troops, for the future, at 140 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling; which is confirmed by Brigadier-General *Guiſe*, as his Opinion alſo, in a Letter of the 4th of *September*, a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed.

That he hath kept a diſtinct Account of the Profit of Difference between the Rate, at which the Troops have been paid, and the Rate at which his ſeveral Bills have been drawn according to his Inſtructions; but that the ſaid Remitters have been furniſhed with Money from my Office, to take up, and diſcharge the Bills ſo drawn by my Deputy upon me; they concluding, that by Virtue of their Contract with your Lordſhips, they have a Right to the ſaid Profits or Difference, and expect that the ſame ſhould be carried to their Account, and paid over into the Hands of their Agents at *Jamaica*.

I therefore humbly pray your Lordſhips Orders and Directions, whether the ſaid Profit, or Differences, ariſing by Exchanges, ſhall be accounted for and paid to the Agents of the ſaid Contractors, or reſerved in the Hands of my Deputy, for the Uſe and Benefit of the Publick.

Which is humbly ſubmitted to your Lordſhips.

Pay Office, Horſe Guards,
15th *Dec.* 1741.

H. PELHAM.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Brigadier *GUISE* to Mr *PELHAM.*

Kingſton, Jamaica, Sept. 4th 1741.

SIR,

AFter the Expedition of *Carthagena*, I arrived in this Place, and had a violent Fit of Sickneſs, that I was not in a Condition to ſerve in the Expedition in the Iſland of *Cuba*. I find that Mr *Colebrooke* can have Money enough at 140 Currency, at 60 Days Sight.

We have had great Number of Officers ſick here, and 'tis incredible the Expence they have been at; and they flatter themſelves, that ſince Money can be had at ſo eaſy a Rate, they may reap the Benefit of it. I am, with great Reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

J. GUISE.

NUMB. VIII.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips.

Meſſieurs Burrell and Briſtow's Repreſentation to the Treaſury relating to their Contract.

WE having received, by Order of your Lordſhips, a Copy of a Memorial from the Paymaſter-General of his Majeſty's Forces, dated the 15th of *December* laſt, containing a State of the Tranſactions at *Jamaica*, relating to the Exchange, and Pay of the Troops there, and referring to ſeveral Letters from his Deputy in that Iſland, dated the 1ſt, 7th, and 12th of *September* laſt; alſo a Letter from Brigadier General *Guiſe*, dated the 4th of *September*, to all which your Lordſhips are pleaſed to require our Anſwer; in Obedience thereto, we beg Leave to lay before you, in the firſt Inſtance, the Reaſons upon which our Contract was founded in its original Price of 120, and Augmentation afterwards to 125. The Rule for fixing any Price of Exchange could only be found by the Probability of the Rate at which Money might be raiſed in *Jamaica*; and in order to attain that Knowledge, we endeavoured to procure Bills here on *Jamaica*, but could not ſucceed even at 120 *l.* It is well known the Iſland of *Jamaica* has no Species of its own, but is ſupplied chiefly, if not entirely, by what it draws from the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* for Balance of Trade, and of this a very ſmall Quantity does or can remain in the Iſland; for this Reaſon, becauſe Silver, in which that Balance is paid, bears a higher Price in *England*, in Proportion to the Exchange, than it does at *Jamaica*; and the Currency of the Iſland

Iſland is ſo inconſiderable, that it is extremely difficult to recover Debts of any Kind, but in Sugar, or ſome other Produce of the Plantation. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

The Par of Exchange between *England* and *Jamaica* is deemed to be 125 *l.* for every 100 *l. Sterl.* but as the Exchange between any two Places depends upon many Contingencies and Incidents, no fixt Price or Courſe can be aſcertained, but as more or leſs Money is to be paid at one Place or the other, it muſt eternally vary. The Exchange might be at 125 or higher, whilſt the Iſland of *Jamaica* remained on the ſame Footing with regard to *England*, which it had been for many Years; but the Moment *England* was obliged to pay ſo large a Sum in *Jamaica*, for Subſiſtence of the Troops, the Caſe muſt alter, as it did with regard to Colonel *Blakeney*, who, before the Arrival of the Forces under General *Wentworth*, could, with Difficulty, raiſe a ſmall Sum for Subſiſtance of the *American* Regiment at 120; and had not this inevitable Conſequence been foreſeen by us, and the Money for the Whole to have been raiſed upon the Iſland, no Man can ſay at what Rate the Perſons in Poſſeſſion of the Currency would have given it, or what Price the Exchange would have fallen to; but if a Judgment may be formed from the above Inſtance, it muſt have been greatly under 120. The Pay of an Independent Company cannot bear a Parallel with the preſent Caſe, as there is no Proportion in the Sums to be raiſed. Upon theſe Conſiderations it became incumbent on us, for the publick Service, as well as for our own Safety, to remove the Difficulties, which attended the raiſing the Money there. And the only Expedient left to avoid the Impoſition of the Perſons, who were in Poſſeſſion of the Currency, was to provide a new one, in ſome Meaſure, independent of them. This we did, by ſending out, at our own Riſque and Charge, the proper Funds for that Purpoſe. And your Lordſhips were pleaſed to direct the Payment of a Sum of Money to us, upon our furniſhing the Paymaſter-General our Bills at *Jamaica* for the Amount; which was accordingly done, and the Bills punctually diſcharged. The Receipt of this Money at *Jamaica* had the deſired Effect, as it broke a Combination, which was actually entered into, to lower the Exchange and diſtreſs the Service, and by which Monies were ſoon raiſed by Draughts from thence at 130, which enabled us to alter the Price from 120 to 125.

And as this Money was the ſole Cauſe of ſupporting the Exchange in the Beginning, ſo to that, together with what has been ſince ſent out, and the great Reduction of the Pay from the fatal Mortality among the Troops, muſt be attributed the further Riſe of the Exchange to 135, and 140.

And

An. 16. Geo. II. 1743. And we beg Leave to remark, that had the Money ſent out by us miſcarried, the Exchange muſt have been governed by the arbitrary Will of the Perſons poſſeſſed of the Currency of the Iſland.

Meſſieurs *Merewether* and *Manning*, whom we appointed our Agents at *Jamaica*, did refuſe to comply with a Demand made on them by Mr *Colebrooke*, for the immediate Payment of a Sum of Money, and alſo what might be further wanted for the Service of the Expedition, at 120; and the Reaſon alledged for this Refuſal was, Mr *Colebrooke*'s abſolute Denial of their Requeſt to be informed what Part of the Money brought out by the Deputies, had been iſſued, what Sums were then wanted, and what Sums would be neceſſary from Time to Time to be raiſed for carrying on the Service. This Denial of Mr *Colebrooke*, and his peremptory Demand without Limitation, we conceive muſt have been calculated to deter our Agents from the Execution of our Orders, and he thereby get the Tranſaction of the whole Affair into his own Hands.

As ſoon as we received Notice of what had happened between the Deputies and Meſſieurs *Merewether* and *Manning*, we made an Alteration in our Agency, acquainting your Lordſhips therewith, and in the Room of the former appointed Mr *John Gray* our Agent, who made an immediate Offer of all ſuch Sums as were or ſhould be wanting for his Majeſty's Service, at 125, agreeable to a new Engagement we had entered into with your Lordſhips.

As Mr *Colebrooke* could no longer pretend Refuſal on the Part of our Agents, of the Payment of any Sum of Money which he ſhould require, he pleads the want of Orders, and that our Contract was at an End, notwithſtanding Notice was given him of the new one made with your Lordſhips at 125, and under theſe Pretences he refuſed to accept of the Offer made him by our Agent, and continues to draw himſelf on the Paymaſter-General.

The Aſſurance that Mr *Colebrooke* gives to the Paymaſter-General, that the Exchange muſt be kept up at 140, appears to us moſt extraordinary, as we think nothing in Nature can be more precarious or uncertain than the Courſe of that Exchange.

The Computations made by Mr *Colebrooke* in his Letter of the 1ſt of *September* are erroneous in Part, and extremely fallacious in the whole. Piſtoles, inſtead of the Price which he mentions of 16 *l.* 8 *d.* are not to be bought under 17 *l.* 2 *d.* and Moidores of 27 *l.* not to be found for any large Sum, the Non Coinage of this Particular Specie for many Years having render'd it very ſcarce. The Addition of 6

per

per Cent. to this Computation for Freight and Insurance from *Jamaica* to *London*, is placed directly contrary to what it ought to be. It is a neceſſary Charge upon the Remitter, who ſends it from hence, and at whoſe Expence it got thither, and by which Means alone the Exchange bears any Price at all. His Computation on Silver is equally erroneous; the Price which he mentions to be 5 *s.* 6 *d.* in *England*, has been, ſince the Commencement of the War with *Spain*, and will probably remain ſo during the Continuance of it, from 5 *s.* 7 *d.* to 5 *s.* 7 ½ *d.* for Pieces of Eight, and ſo in Proportion for ſmall Pieces, which upon a Medium of 7 *s.* 3 *d.* and 7 *s.* 2 *d.* *Jamaica* Currency, forms an Exchange of about 128 ⅜ *per Cent.*

Mr *Colebrooke*, to complete the whole, ventures, in his Letter *September* 7, to write to the Pay-maſter General, that by his Succeſs, his Majeſty's Troops had been ſupplied 20 to 30 *per Cent.* better or cheaper than they would have been by our Agents. In order to give your Lordſhips all the Light in our Power, we beg leave to lay before you the real State of the following Species mentioned in Mr *Colebrooke*'s Letter, in reſpect to their Price here, their Value in *Jamaica*, and what the Produce is to the Remitter, after Deduction of the Charges they paid for the ſame, *viz.*

Piſtoles at 17 *s.* 2 *d.* each Sterl. paſs in *Jamaica* at 1 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* is for 100 *l.* Sterl. ——— ——— 108 ⅓

Jamaica Currency.

Guineas at	1 *l.*	1 *s.*	Ditto.	1 *l.*	8 *s.*	9 *d.*	136 ½
Moedas at	1	7	Ditto.	1	18	9	143 ⅓
Ports	1	16	Ditto.	2	10		138 ½

The Medium of the above Species produce for every 100 *l.* Sterling *Jamaica* Currency about ——— 139 ½

Deduct there out the following Charges paid by us on Remittances to *Jamaica*:

L. 1 *per Cent.* Shipping and other Charges in *England*.
2 ½ *per Cent.* Inſurance.
1 *per Cent.* Freight to *Jamaica*.
3 *per Cent.* Commiſſion we pay in *Jamaica*.

L. 7 ½ *per Cent.* Computed on 139 ½ the above Medium is about ——— ——— ——— 10 ½

129

The Price contracted for now being 100 *l.* Sterling for 125 *Jamaica*, deduct the ſaid ——— ——— 125

Then their remains a Profit, *Jamaica* Currency the Sum of 4 *l.* on 130 ½ not quite 3 *per Cent.* which we preſume will not be thought by your Lordſhips unreaſonable, conſidering

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ſidering the Truſt we are obliged to put in Agents, at that Diſtance, and the great Hazard that attends all Tranſactions in thoſe Parts; to which we muſt again repeat, that as the Riſe of the Exchange was entirely owing to the Money ſent only by us, had that Money miſcarried, we muſt have felt the Inconveniency of a want of Currency for the Subſiſtance of the Troops, and been expoſed to the Mercy of thoſe Perſons, who were engaged in a Combination to make their Advantage of it, and the Profit now made, no way equal to what we muſt in that Caſe have ſuffered. And this leads us to take Notice of what the Paymaſter General deſires in his Memorial, that your Lordſhips will give Orders, and Directions, for diſpoſing of the Profits for Difference by Exchange, on the Bills drawn upon him by his Deputy. As we humbly conceive by our Contract with your Lordſhips, we engaged and obliged ourſelves to furniſh the Pay of the Troops, at a certain Rate, and had the before-mentioned Combination taken Effect, and the Exchange thereby fallen under that Rate, or the Funds ſent out been attended with Loſs, ſuch Difference or Loſs muſt neceſſarily have been borne by us. Therefore we humbly ſubmit it to your Lordſhips, that we are in Equity entituled to the Profit, that ſhall ariſe from ſuch Draughts, and that the ſame be carried to our Account and paid over to our Agents at *Jamaica*.

Peter Burrell.
John Briſtow.

NUMB. IX.

Mr Daniel's Letter relating to the Corporation of Colcheſter.

SIR,

INcloſed is the Affidavit as deſired. I ſhould be glad to know how the Petition ſucceeds for Coſts out of the Juſtices Fines.

I am exceeding ſorry for the Death of Mr *Lawton*. Where to have ſuch another for publick Affairs, I am at a Loſs. Sure I am, had he been living and well, our Commiſſion of Juſtices would have been determined one way or other, e'er this Time. If you have any Intereſt, I beg you would preſs it ſtrongly. With it, the Corporation is our's; without it, it is hazardous, and will be attained (if ever) with great Difficulty.

I beg you'd proceed no farther in any of the Motions you and I are and have been concerned in, than Mr *Brookbank* anſwers Payment for both to you, and me, who am,

SIR, Your humble Servant,

WILLIAM DANIEL.

My Clerk was in *London*, when I firſt received your Letter for the Affidavit.

Colcheſter, *Jan.* 17, 1740.

NUMB. X.

An ACCOUNT of all Sums iſſued for Secret Service, or for his Majeſty's Immediate or Special Service, the Money iſſued to his Majeſty's Privy Purſe excepted, or to reimburſe Expences for his Majeſty's Service, diſtinguiſhing the Cauſe aſſigned for iſſuing the ſame, the Time when, and Perſons to whom the ſame has been iſſued, from the 10th Day of *February* 1731, to the 10th Day of *February*, 1741, *viz.*

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service			Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or ſpecial Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
			10000	0	0				5 July 1739	Richard Allen
			2000	0	0				29 Aug. 1741	Robert Adams, Gt.
						600	0	0	27 Mar. 1732	Thomas Bowen
						600	0	0	20 Apr. 1733	ditto
						739	12	0	5 Aug. 1732	Samuel Buckley
						75	11	0	15 Jan. 1732	ditto
						1228	19	8	27 June 1733	ditto
						497	10	0	13 July 1734	ditto
						285	4	0	30 Sep. 1738	ditto
						112	6	0	15 Dec. 1736	John Barnaby
						224	12	0	30 Sep. 1738	ditto
			199	11	6				23 Dec. 1736	William Blair
			3961	6	8				23 Aug. 1737	Edward Bryant
			2700	0	0				6 Sep. 1737	ditto
			2000	0	0				14 Oct. 1741	Tho. Burton, Eſq;
			10500	0	0				6 Apr. 1734	William Catton
			427	17	0				7 Feb. 1739	Abraham Caſtres
			2231	4	6				5 Feb. 1740	Geo. Campbell, Gt.
			3000	0	0				21 July 1741	Henry Carleton
			2000	0	0				4 Jan. 1741	George Denton
			5000	0	0				26 Oct. 1737	John Egerton
			2000	0	0				4 Jan. 1741	Francis Edwards
			615	18	4				27 Apr. 1734	Thomas Ford
			1200	0	0				17 Jan. 1736	Abraham Farley
			2110	11	6				29 Apr. 1738	Will. Frazier, Gent.
			11000	0	0				22 Jan. 1738	Andrew Forſter
			3000	0	0				22 Apr. 1734	William Farmer
			2000	0	0				14 Oct. 1741	Will. Framming-ham, Eſq;
						2010	6	0	9 July 1739	Thomas Gibſon
			5538	18	6				14 May 1737	John Hall, Eſq;

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.	Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſue
l. s. d.	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*		
	12000 0 0		30 Mar. 1738	Joſeph Hardiſty
	743 19 0		15 Dec. 1738	Will. L. Harringto
	2000 0 0		4 Jan. 1741	Rich. Harriſon, Eſq
	5000 0 0		26 Oct. 1737	Robert Jackſon
	3800 0 0		12 Jan. 1739	William Johnſon
	4000 0 0		13 May 1740	Will. Jefferſon, Eſq
	1981 4 6		26 June 1740	Will. Jackſon, Eſq
	428 12 0		6 Sept. 1737	Peter Leheup, Eſq
	2110 13 0		11 April 1739	ditto
		500 0 0	11 Mar. 1731	Thomas Lowther
		1000 0 0	22 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	29 dit. 1732	ditto
		1000 0 0	20 April	ditto
		1000 0 0	15 May	ditto
		500 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	8 June	ditto
		500 0 0	1 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	27 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	9 Auguſt	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	20 September	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	6 November	ditto
		500 0 0	11 December	ditto
		1000 0 0	30 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	12 January	ditto
		1000 0 0	8 February	ditto
		1000 0 0	28 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	22 March	ditto
		1500 0 0	17 Apr. 1733	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 June	ditto
		500 0 0	19 ditto	ditto
		2500 0 0	30 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	2 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	14 Auguſt	ditto
		1000 0 0	15 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	11 September	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	19 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	16 November	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	15 December	ditto
		1000 0 0	4 January	ditto

Sums

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service.			Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or special Service.			Sums issued to reimburse Expences.			The Time when issued.	Persons to whom issued.
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
						2000	0	0	17 January	Thomas Lowther
						1000	0	0	26 ditto	ditto
						1000	0	0	22 February	ditto
						2000	0	0	26 Mar. 1734	ditto
						2500	0	0	11 April	ditto
						2000	0	0	3 May	ditto
						2000	0	0	13 ditto	ditto
						1000	0	0	10 July	ditto
						2500	0	0	18 ditto	ditto
						500	0	0	7 August	ditto
						1000	0	0	24 September	ditto
						1000	0	0	8 October	ditto
						1000	0	0	25 ditto	ditto
						1000	0	0	6 November	ditto
						1000	0	0	12 Decemb.	ditto
						1500	0	0	4 January	ditto
						1500	0	0	17 February	ditto
						1500	0	0	26 ditto	ditto
						1000	0	0	19 April	ditto
						3000	0	0	16 May	ditto
						1500	0	0	14 June	ditto
						2000	0	0	10 July	ditto
						1500	0	0	20 August	ditto
						2500	0	0	27 ditto	ditto
						2000	0	0	5 September	ditto
						1000	0	0	26 ditto	ditto
						1000	0	0	20 October	ditto
						2000	0	0	7 November	ditto
						1000	0	0	29 December	ditto
						2000	0	0	3 February	ditto
						2000	0	0	5 ditto	ditto
						1500	0	0	4 Mar. 1735	ditto
						1500	0	0	16 April 1736	ditto
						1500	0	0	5 June	ditto
						1500	0	0	9 ditto	ditto
						1000	0	0	30 ditto	ditto
						1500	0	0	11 August	ditto
						1500	0	0	6 October	ditto
						2000	0	0	10 November	ditto
						1000	0	0	18 December	ditto
						1500	0	0	18 January	ditto
						1000	0	0	19 February	ditto
						1500	0	0	29 Mar. 1737	ditto

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.	Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l. s. d.	*l. s. d*	*l. s. d.*		
		1500 0 0	14 May	Thomas Lowther.
		2000 0 0	9 July	ditto
		2300 0 0	22 Sept.	ditto
		2000 0 0	5 Oct.	ditto
		1500 0 0	7 Nov.	ditto
		1500 0 0	31 Dec.	ditto
		2000 0 0	1 Feb.	ditto
		1000 0 0	22 Mar.	ditto
		2000 0 0	19 Ap. 1738	ditto
		1000 0 0	4 May	ditto
		1000 0 0	10 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	22 June	ditto
		2000 0 0	12 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	16 Aug.	ditto
		2600 0 0	25 Oct.	ditto
		1000 0 0	7 Dec.	ditto
		1200 0 0	17 Jan.	ditto
		1000 0 0	24 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	3 Feb.	ditto
		1000 0 0	28 ditto	ditto
		1200 0 0	7 Apr. 1739	ditto
		1500 0 0	12 May	ditto
		1500 0 0	20 June	ditto
		3500 0 0	11 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	22 Aug.	ditto
		1000 0 0	5 Sept.	ditto
		3500 0 0	3 Nov.	ditto
		2000 0 0	23 Jan.	ditto
		1500 0 0	15 Feb.	ditto
		2000 0 0	8 March	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 April 1740	ditto
		1500 0 0	22 ditto	ditto
		1200 0 0	22 May	ditto
		1500 0 0	3 July	ditto
		1300 0 0	22 ditto	ditto
		3110 11 6	29 ditto	ditto
		2000 0 0	23 Auguſt	ditto
		2000 0 0	19 Sept.	ditto
		1000 0 0	6 Novemb.	ditto
		1500 0 0	22 Dec.	ditto
		1000 0 0	9 February	ditto
		1500 0 0	28 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	13 March	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.	Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l. s. d.	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*		
		1500 0 0	15 Apr. 1741	Thomas Lowther.
		1500 0 0	21 May	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 July	ditto
		500 0 0	4 ditto	ditto
		2000 0 0	10 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	20 Auguſt	ditto
		1500 0 0	1 September	ditto
		2000 0 0	30 Dec.	ditto
		2000 0 0	21 January	ditto
	2400 0 0		2 July 1733	George Middleton.
	5000 0 0		30 Apr. 1734	ditto
	1675 0 0		22 Apr. 1735	ditto
	1966 12 0		20 Oct. 1735	ditto
		2090 19 0	3 July 1736	ditto
	2090 19 0		23 Dec. 1736	ditto
	2090 19 0		11 May 1737	ditto
	2090 19 0		28 Jan. 1737	ditto
	2090 19 0		27 July 1738	ditto
	2090 19 0		3 Feb. 1738	ditto
	2090 19 0		19 May 1739	ditto
	2090 19 0		25 Oct. 1739	ditto
		500 0 0	11 Aug. 1735	William Marſhal.
	3030 0 0		4 Mar. 1736	Thomas May.
		243 0 0	7 June 1740	Horatio Mann, Eſq;
		532 18 0	30 Sept. 1735	James Payzant.
	638 16 6		23 Oct. 1736	Daniel Prevereau.
	96 0 6		19 Jan. 1736	ditto
		256 15 0	4 Oct. 1738	J. Burnaby Parker,
		469 0 0	5 Sept. 1741	ditto [Eſq;
		1000 0 0	4 Mar. 1731	Nicholas Paxton.
		1500 0 0	24 Apr. 1732	ditto
		1000 0 0	17 June 1732	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 Auguſt	ditto
		1200 0 0	4 October	ditto
		2000 0 0	22 January	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 June 1733	ditto
		1000 0 0	25 ditto	ditto
		1200 0 0	30 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	25 October	ditto
		1000 0 0	20 November	ditto
		1200 0 0	4 January	ditto
		1000 0 0	7 March	ditto
		1000 0 0	9 May 1734	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.	Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l. *s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*		
		1000 0 0	26 July	Nicholas Paxton
		500 0 0	2 October	ditto
		1200 0 0	6 November	ditto
		1000 0 0	27 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	22 Apr. 1735	ditto
		1000 0 0	17 May	ditto
		1000 0 0	10 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	8 Nov.	ditto
		1000 0 0	29 December	ditto
		1500 0 0	18 February	ditto
		1500 0 0	11 March	ditto
		1000 0 0	12 June 1736	ditto
		1000 0 0	17 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	31 Auguſt	ditto
		1000 0 0	4 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	3 November	ditto
		1000 0 0	3 February	ditto
		2000 0 0	15 March	ditto
		2500 0 0	30 Apr. 1737	ditto
		1500 0 0	12 July	ditto
		1500 0 0	24 September	ditto
		1000 0 0	6 December	ditto
		1500 0 0	1 February	ditto
		1500 0 0	23 June 1738	ditto
		1500 0 0	12 July	ditto
		1500 0 0	4 October	ditto
		2000 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	19 February	ditto
		1000 0 0	4 March	ditto
		1500 0 0	26 May 1739	ditto
		1500 0 0	11 Auguſt	ditto
		1000 0 0	26 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	31 March	ditto
		1500 0 0	30 May 1740	ditto
		1500 0 0	7 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	13 December	ditto
		2000 0 0	4 July 1741	ditto
		1000 0 0	18 Auguſt	ditto
		2000 0 0	19 Jan. 1741	ditto
	800 0 0		8 Mar. 1731	William Richards
	[illegible] 0 0		15 April 1732	ditto
	[illegible] 0 0		5 Auguſt	ditto
	2100 0 0		31 October	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.			Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or ſpecial Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
			2065	0	0				22 Feb. 1732	William Richards
			3000	0	0				5 May 1733	ditto
			2700	0	0				16 Aug.	ditto
			15000	0	0				28 ditto	ditto
			2000	0	0				17 September	ditto
			1000	0	0				21 November	ditto
			3800	0	0				9 Mar. 1733	ditto
			3722	0	0				12 July 1734	ditto
						300	0	0	30 July	ditto
						1276	10	6	8 January	ditto
			428	12	0				13 February	ditto
						1812	0	0	27 ditto	ditto
						3004	0	0	22 April 1735	ditto
						6000	0	0	19 May	ditto
						1476	0	0	5 July	ditto
			862	16	0				7 November	ditto
5452	0	0							25 Feb. 1731	John Scrope, Eſq;
5810	0	0							22 March	ditto
4800	0	0							19 Apr. 1732	ditto
5990	0	0							2 May	ditto
6700	0	0							13 ditto	ditto
6800	0	0							2 July	ditto
6678	0	0							28 ditto	ditto
5000	0	0							16 Auguſt	ditto
5905	0	0							17 ditto	ditto
2000	0	0							16 September	ditto
7255	0	0							19 October	ditto
10000	0	0							31 ditto	ditto
7600	0	0							23 December	ditto
1200	0	0							19 January	ditto
6222	0	0							5 February	ditto
5160	0	0							2 March	ditto
5450	0	0							7 Apr. 1733	ditto
4800	0	0							5 May	ditto
7100	0	0							23 ditto	ditto
7700	0	0							8 June	ditto
5400	0	0							21 ditto	ditto
11500	0	0							28 ditto	ditto
7610	0	0							2 Auguſt	ditto
10000	0	0							14 ditto	ditto
10000	0	0							22 ditto	ditto
5493	0	0							19 September	ditto
6399	0	0							10 October	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.			Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or ſpecial Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued	Perſons to whom iſſued
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
6876	0	0							10 Nov. 1733	John Scrope, Eſq
6067	0	0							22 Decemb.	ditto
6009	0	0							12 January	ditto
6850	0	0							19 ditto	ditto
7328	19	0							11 February	ditto
7822	0	0							9 March	ditto
10300	0	0							13 Apr. 1734	ditto
7650	0	0							22 ditto	ditto
2000	0	0							2 May	ditto
5250	0	0							6 June	ditto
6800	0	0							12 July	ditto
6732	0	0							26 Auguſt	ditto
6000	0	0							13 Sept.	ditto
4518	0	0							3 October	ditto
6621	0	0							6 Nov.	ditto
6059	1	10							10 December	ditto
5750	0	0							5 Feb.	ditto
5600	0	0							27 ditto	ditto
1500	0	0							26 Mar. 1735	ditto
5300	0	0							22 April	ditto
8150	0	0							12 May	ditto
3600	0	0							19 ditto	ditto
7000	0	0							28 June	ditto
6000	0	0							6 Auguſt	ditto
7200	0	0							16 ditto	ditto
6500	0	0							30 ditto	ditto
7500	0	0							30 Septemb.	ditto
5165	0	0							20 October	ditto
5000	0	0							8 Novemb.	ditto
6471	17	0							16 Dec.	ditto
7000	0	0							3 January	ditto
6400	0	0							25 Feb.	ditto
6600	0	0							29 Mar. 1736	ditto
8000	0	0							17 April	ditto
8725	13	4							13 May	ditto
7750	0	0							27 ditto	ditto
5300	0	0							3 July	ditto
6450	0	0							6 Auguſt	ditto
3000	0	0							15 Septem.	ditto
5000	0	0							15 October	ditto
4837	10	0							6 Nov.	ditto
5792	0	0							4 Dec.	ditto
3850	0	0							17 January	ditto

Sum

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.			Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or ſpecial Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
1000	0	0							1 Feb. 1736	John Scrope, Eſq;
4390	0	0							4 March	ditto
6320	0	0							9 April 1737	ditto
8250	0	0							27 May	ditto
7790	0	0							20 June	ditto
6200	0	0							7 July	ditto
8050	0	0							17 Aug.	ditto
5000	0	0							5 September	ditto
2523	0	0							30 December	ditto
3557	10	0							26 October	ditto
4690	17	0							3 Dec.	ditto
2861	0	0							22 ditto	ditto
12000	0	0							7 January	ditto
4560	0	0							11 February	ditto
3941	0	0							8 March	ditto
5244	12	0							12 Apr. 1738	ditto
6950	0	0							10 May	ditto
7250	0	0							31 ditto	ditto
4300	0	0							7 July	ditto
8000	0	0							10 Auguſt	ditto
5800	0	0							30 September	ditto
11000	0	0							13 October	ditto
6890	0	0							6 November	ditto
5200	0	0							23 December	ditto
6000	0	0							27 February	ditto
8159	16	0							31 Mar. 1739	ditto
12000	0	0							2 May	ditto
8900	0	0							30 ditto	ditto
6620	0	0							23 June	ditto
3220	0	0							5 July	ditto
7800	0	0							9 Auguſt	ditto
7200	0	0							15 September	ditto
6414	15	5							23 October	ditto
7795	0	0							24 November	ditto
4250	0	0							29 December	ditto
8700	0	0							12 January	ditto
6600	0	0							4 March	ditto
7850	0	0							28 Apr. 1740	ditto
8000	0	0							13 May	ditto
5666	13	0							5 June	ditto
6000	0	0							28 ditto	ditto
6000	0	0							16 Aug.	ditto
6000	0	0							10 September	ditto

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.			Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or Special Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued	Perſons to whom iſſued
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
6000	0	0							13 October	John Scrope, Eſq;
6000	0	0							7 Novemb.	ditto
8000	0	0							25 ditto	ditto
7250	0	0							31 December	ditto
8474	0	0							24 January	ditto
7233	16	4							3 March	ditto
7718	18	10							20 Apr. 1741	ditto
7300	0	0							9 May	ditto
5000	0	0							6 June	ditto
5000	0	0							8 July	ditto
5000	0	0							8 Auguſt	ditto
5000	0	0							25 ditto	ditto
5000	0	0							15 October	ditto
5000	0	0							1 Dec.	ditto
7994	5	5							11 Jan.	ditto
8544	0	0							23 ditto	ditto
2000	0	0							4 Feb.	ditto
			5000	0	0				4 May 1732	James Sarkey
						4160	0	0	21 June 1733	Francis Smith
						2900	0	0	9 Jan. 1734	John Shepherd
						1500	0	0	10 Jan. 1735	ditto
						2000	0	0	21 ditto	ditto
			2900	0	0				4 Feb.	ditto
			3269	15	7				25 ditto	ditto
			4000	0	0				7 Apr. 1736	ditto
						2820	0	0	26 June	ditto
			2000	0	0				11 Auguſt	ditto
			2979	18	0				3 Septem.	ditto
			2900	0	0				15 October	ditto
						1400	0	0	17 Decemb.	ditto
			640	0	0				13 Jan.	ditto
			2900	0	0				30 Sept. 1737	ditto
			3054	0	0				29 Aug. 1738	ditto
			5286	7	3				16 Dec.	ditto
			2000	0	0				17 March	ditto
			2583	16	0				7 June 1739	ditto
			2983	6	0				23 ditto	ditto
			1321	2	0				3 Oct.	ditto
			2900	0	0				7 Nov.	ditto
			1900	0	0				29 Dec.	ditto
			1321	3	6				8 Jan.	ditto
			3600	0	0				17 Mar.	ditto
			1322	3	6				3 Apr. 1740	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.	Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l. *s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*		
	1322 3 6		6 May 1740	John Shepherd
	739 6 6		22 ditto	ditto
	2715 8 10		8 Auguſt	ditto
	1059 7 0		23 February	ditto
	1584 19 0		21 March	ditto
	3600 0 0		4 Apr. 1741	ditto
	2350 0 0		21 May	ditto
	2900 0 0		30 ditto	John Scrope, Eſq;
		795 11 0	21 July	ditto
		1500 0 0	4 Jan	ditto
	323 5 0		7 ditto	ditto
	3112 1 6		18 ditto	John Shepherd
	3650 0 0		17 Feb. 1738	William Sperrin
	2141 2 2		19 May 1739	John Smith
	541 16 8		10 Mar. 1741	Arthur Stert, Eſq;
	500 0 0		1 Feb. 1741	Geo. Stephens, Eſq;
	4150 0 0		2 June 1732	Henry Wilton
		389 10 3	7 July 1733	John Waſſe
	79 18 0		23 Mar. 1733	ditto
	532 18 0		3 Jan. 1734	ditto
		533 8 6	12 June 1736	ditto
		658 6 0	28 Apr. 1737	ditto
		692 8 6	21 Jan. 1737	ditto
		131 0 0	5 Feb. 1739	ditto
	10000 0 0		4 Apr. 1734	John Williams
	1963 8 8		7 July 1737	ditto
	849 2 0		15 Feb. 1734	Joſias Wordſworth
	5000 0 0		26 Aug. 1734	Edw. Williamſon
	5058 0 0		16 Aug. 1735	Henry Walters
	2000 0 0		20 Oct. 1735	Andr. Wilſon, Eſq;
		500 0 0	3 Nov. 1735	Geo. Wilkins, Eſq;
		10000 0 0	4 July 1738	Daniel White
		323 9 0	3 Sep. 1741	Tho. Wilkins, Gent.
	1000 0 0		4 Jan. 1741	Cha. Watſon, Gent.

Memorand'

THere is iſſued to the two Principal Secretaries of State, by Privy Seal, the Sum of 3000 *l. per Annum* each, payable Quarterly, for his Majeſty's Secret Service.

Exchequer,
April 19, 1742.

J. DAWSON.

NUMB

NUMB. XI.

An ACCOUNT of all Sums iſſued for Secret Service, or for the Immediate or Special Service of the Crown, the Money iſſued for the Privy Purſe excepted, or to reimburſe Expences for the Service of the Crown, diſtinguiſhing the Cauſe aſſigned for iſſuing the ſame, the Time when, and the Perſons to whom the ſame has been iſſued, from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1707, to the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1720, *viz.*

Sums iſſued for Secret Service	Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l. *s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*		
	1339 15 0		11 Nov. 1713	Daniel Arthur, Eſq;
	1032 2 6		16 Jan.	ditto
	1135 15 0		3 Apr. 1714	ditto
	1237 5 0		13 May	ditto
	193 13 0		16 June 1716	Moſ. Berenger, Eſq;
	300 0 0		7 Aug.	ditto
	1500 0 0		6 July 1717	ditto
	546 6 6		16 Nov.	ditto
	217 8 2		29 Jan.	ditto
	500 0 0		13 March	ditto
	861 0 0		13 Dec. 1716	Samuel Buckley
	6000 0 0		11 Jan. 1717	Henry Bendyſh
	127 10 0		22 Jan. 1716	Gerge Bubb, Eſq;
	500 0 0		19 July 1708	Henry Baker
	150 0 0		23 July 1719	Jac. de la Motte [Blagny
		500 0 0	23 Sept. 1707	William Borret
		500 0 0	6 Dec.	ditto
		400 0 0	4 Feb.	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 May 1708	ditto
		500 0 0	25 Nov.	ditto
		500 0 0	7 Jan.	ditto
		500 0 0	4 May 1709	ditto
		500 0 0	7 July	ditto
		500 0 0	27 Aug.	ditto
		500 0 0	21 Nov.	ditto
		200 0 0	5 Apr. 1710	ditto
		300 0 0	10 May	ditto
		150 0 0	14 June	ditto
		350 0 0	12 July	ditto
		500 0 0	26 Oct.	ditto
		500 0 0	14 Mar.	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for Secret Service.	Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l. s. d.	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*		
		500 0 0	28 July 1711	William Borret
		500 0 0	18 Aug.	ditto
		500 0 0	23 Nov.	ditto
		250 0 0	7 Mar.	ditto
		250 0 0	27 Mar. 1712	ditto
		300 0 0	19 April	ditto
		200 0 0	9 May	ditto
		500 0 0	2 July	ditto
		500 0 0	31 Oct.	ditto
		500 0 0	29 Nov.	ditto
		500 0 0	31 Jan.	ditto
		500 0 0	6 May 1713	ditto
		700 0 0	14 Aug.	ditto
		1000 0 0	11 Nov.	ditto
		500 0 0	1 Feb.	ditto
		500 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	29 Apr. 1714	ditto
		500 0 0	22 June	ditto
		500 0 0	1 Sept.	ditto
		500 0 0	13 ditto	ditto
		100 0 0	17 ditto	ditto
		300 0 0	2 Oct.	ditto
		600 0 0	11 ditto	ditto
		[illegible] 0 0	12 Nov.	ditto
		177 7 6	16 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	6 Dec.	ditto
		6000 0 0	17 Feb.	ditto
		1000 0 0	5 May 1715	ditto
	83 5 0		16 July 1719	Col. Ralph Congreve
1500 0 0			27 Aug. 1715	Will. Cadogan, Eſq;
	1706 10 0		4 May 1717	Will. Lord Cadogan
	406 10 0		7 April 1718	ditto
530 4 10			25 May 1717	James Craggs.
	16300 0 0		25 June 1719	Geor. Clifford, Eſq;
	27000 0 0		2 July 1720	ditto
	441 8 6		10 Aug. 1709	Charles Callmell.
	500 0 0		16 June 1715	Anth. Cratchrode.
	1738 15 4		22 July	ditto [Eſq;
	500 0 0		22 ditto	ditto
	500 0 0		22 Oct.	ditto
	500 0 0		10 Nov.	ditto
	500 0 0		1 Dec.	ditto
	1500 0 0		24 ditto	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for Secret Service.	Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued
l. s. d.	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*		
	1000 0 0		18 Feb. 1715	Anth. Cratchrode,
	2000 0 0		9 Mar.	ditto [Eſq
	1000 0 0		11 May 1716	ditto
	2000 0 0		7 June	ditto
	2000 0 0		6 July	ditto
	1000 0 0		25 Aug.	ditto
	2000 0 0		24 Sept.	ditto
	3000 0 0		19 Nov.	ditto
	2000 0 0		7 Jan.	ditto
	4000 0 0		11 Feb.	ditto
	2500 0 0		4 May 1717	ditto
	1000 0 0		15 June	ditto
	1000 0 0		13 July	ditto
	2000 0 0		8 Aug.	ditto
	1500 0 0		17 Dec.	ditto
	1500 0 0		31 Mar. 1718	ditto
	1000 0 0		17 May	ditto
	500 0 0		10 July	ditto
	1000 0 0		9 Aug.	ditto
	1000 0 0		21 ditto	ditto
	1000 0 0		24 Sept.	ditto
	1000 0 0		11 Dec.	ditto
	1000 0 0		5 Jan.	ditto
	2000 0 0		9 March	ditto
	1000 0 0		25 June 1719	ditto
	2000 0 0		10 Oct.	ditto
	800 0 0		29 Feb.	ditto
	500 0 0		21 May 1720	ditto
	500 0 0		31 ditto	ditto
	1000 0 0		4 June	ditto
	1300 0 0		11 Dec. 1711	John Drummond,
		1237 10 0	24 Apr. 1712	ditto [Eſq;
	1038 0 0		14 May	Matt. Decker, Eſqr
	1038 0 0		20 Auguſt	ditto
	389 18 3		30 Oct.	ditto
	1038 0 0		4 Feb. 1713	ditto
	2064 5 0		13 May 1714	ditto
	34 0 0		28 Mar. 1716	Geor. Dumereſque
		100 0 0	21 Mar. 1709	Char. Harriſon, Gt.
		100 0 0	10 May 1710	ditto
		200 0 0	19 July	ditto
		100 0 0	10 Sept.	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for Secret Service.			Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
						100	0	0	3 Jan. 1710	Char. Harriſon, Gt.
						50	0	0	4 Sep. 1711	ditto
						100	0	0	19 March	ditto
						100	0	0	31 Jan. 1712	ditto
						100	0	0	7 Oct. 1713	ditto
						200	0	0	11 Nov. 1714	ditto
			3600	0	0				7 Jan. 1715	Sir Joſ. Hodges, Bt.
			1320	0	0				15 Dec. 1710	Charles Johnſon
			500	0	0				19 July 1716	Will. Leathes, Eſq;
			352	17	0				11 Apr. 1717	ditto
			263	14	6				11 June 1718	ditto
500	0	0							2 Aug. 1707	Will. Lowndes, Eſq;
1000	0	0							3 Septemb.	ditto
1500	0	0							26 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							21 October	ditto
2000	0	0							19 Novemb.	ditto
1657	16	1½							25 ditto	ditto
2161	12	10½							27 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							27 Mar. 1708	ditto
500	0	0							15 April	ditto
1000	0	0							4 May	ditto
1000	0	0							12 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							19 June	ditto
1000	0	0							6 July	ditto
1000	0	0							21 Auguſt	ditto
500	0	0							3 Sept.	ditto
500	0	0							9 ditto	ditto
500	9	0							16 ditto	ditto
500	0	0							7 October	ditto
500	0	0							14 ditto	ditto
500	0	0							27 ditto	ditto
500	0	0							30 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							11 Decem.	ditto
1000	0	0							27 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							10 February	ditto
1000	0	0							22 ditto	ditto
2000	0	0							1 Apr. 1709	ditto
838	7	1½							30 ditto	ditto
161	12	10½							10 May	ditto
750	0	0							19 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							30 June	ditto
1000	0	0							13 July	ditto
500	0	0							3 Auguſt	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for Secret Service.			Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſ
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
1500	0	0							12 Aug. 1709	Will. Lowndes, E
1500	0	0							3 Sept.	ditto
2000	0	0							1 October	ditto
1000	0	0							16 ditto	ditto
500	0	0							12 Nov.	ditto
500	0	0							3 Decemb.	ditto
1000	0	0							29 ditto	ditto
700	0	0							22 March	ditto
2000	0	0							5 Ap. 1710	ditto
2000	0	0							3 May	ditto
1000	0	0							10 ditto	ditto
2000	0	0							14 June	ditto
888	7	1½							21 ditto	ditto
1611	12	10½							28 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							19 July	ditto
500	0	0							9 Auguſt	ditto
1000	0	0							9 Sept.	ditto
2000	0	0							27 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							19 Oct.	ditto
1000	0	0							24 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							3 Novemb.	ditto
4000	0	0							13 Decemb.	ditto
1000	0	0							10 Jan.	ditto
650	0	0							17 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							3 Feb.	ditto
1350	0	0							15 ditto	ditto
1200	0	0							7 March	ditto
1000	0	0							24 ditto	ditto
688	7	1½							26 Ap. 1711	ditto
1000	0	0							ditto	ditto
2000	0	0							28 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							12 June	ditto
1000	0	0							30 ditto	ditto
3000	0	0							4 July	ditto
2000	0	0							26 ditto	ditto
500	0	0							18 Auguſt	ditto
1200	0	0							6 Sept.	ditto
1000	0	0							13 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							20 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							26 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							11 October	ditto
1000	0	0							21 Novemb.	ditto
2500	0	0							24 ditto	ditto

Sum

Sums iſſued for Secret Service			Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
800	0	0							4 Dec. 1711	Will. Lowndes, Eſq;
1200	0	0							11 ditto	ditto
1500	0	0							15 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							24 ditto	ditto
1500	0	0							17 Jan.	ditto
1250	0	0							8 May 1712	ditto
1000	0	0							14 ditto	ditto
1500	0	0							20 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							4 June	ditto
1000	0	0							18 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							25 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							9 July	ditto
1250	0	0							18 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							12 Auguſt	ditto
500	0	0							20 ditto	ditto
1500	0	0							6 September	ditto
1000	0	0							25 ditto	ditto
1800	0	0							22 October	ditto
1200	0	0							30 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							12 November	ditto
1000	0	0							24 December	ditto
1000	0	0							22 January	ditto
1650	0	0							12 February	ditto
1500	0	0							19 ditto	ditto
500	0	0							25 ditto	ditto
1600	0	0							30 May 1713	ditto
2000	0	0							10 June	ditto
1000	0	0							2 July	ditto
1000	0	0							8 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							16 ditto	ditto
1700	0	0							28 July	ditto
1200	0	0							14 Auguſt	ditto
1000	0	0							19 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							29 ditto	ditto
650	0	0							10 September	ditto
1000	0	0							16 October	ditto
2500	0	0							12 November	ditto
1000	0	0							17 December	ditto
1000	0	0							19 ditto	ditto
1000	0	0							29 ditto	ditto
2500	0	0							13 January	ditto
1200	0	0							29 ditto	ditto
3500	0	0							11 March	ditto
1500	0	0							23 ditto	ditto
1742	0									Sums

Sums iſſued for Secret Service.		Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l.	*s. d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
3000	0 0							8 May 1714	Will. Lowndes, Eſq;
500	0 0							13 July	ditto
1000	0 0							17 ditto	ditto
4287	0 0							24 ditto	ditto
10000	0 0							20 Auguſt	ditto
1000	0 0							17 Dec. 1715	ditto
5000	0 0							10 March	ditto
10000	0 0							6 June 1716	ditto
5000	0 0							19 Nov.	ditto
2500	0 0							7 Dec.	ditto
3500	0 0							11 Jan.	ditto
2500	0 0							8 Feb.	ditto
5000	0 0							6 Apr. 1717	ditto
2000	0 0							11 May	ditto
800	0 0							24 ditto	ditto
1000	0 0							1 June	ditto
1000	0 0							13 July	ditto
3000	0 0							22 ditto	ditto
2000	0 0							6 Aug.	ditto
1000	0 0							5 October	ditto
2200	0 0							23 Nov.	ditto
1000	0 0							9 Jan.	ditto
3000	0 0							18 ditto	ditto
2500	0 0							8 Feb.	ditto
2000	0 0							10 Mar.	ditto
7150	0 0							18 ditto	ditto
2067	0 0							27 ditto 1718	ditto
800	0 0							31 ditto	ditto
833	16 4							7 April	ditto
1000	0 0							17 ditto	ditto
1600	0 0							21 June	ditto
1520	0 0							23 July	ditto
1850	0 0							12 Aug.	ditto
2900	0 0							16 ditto	ditto
500	0 0							29 ditto	ditto
2200	0 0							15 Sept.	ditto
10600	0 0							3 Nov.	ditto
3270	0 0							18 ditto	ditto
500	0 0							29 ditto	ditto
4600	0 0							10 Jan.	ditto
3875	0 0							7 Feb.	ditto
7600	0 0							3 Apr. 1719	ditto
2000	0 0							6 Aug.	ditto
2500	0 0							2 ditto	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for Secret Service.			Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.			Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.			The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*		
5000	0	0							12 Dec. 1719	Will. Lowndes, Eſq;
6550	0	0							22 Feb.	ditto
4650	0	0							12 March	ditto
1525	0	0							21 April 1720	ditto
500	0	0							21 June	ditto
28250	0	0							1 July 1720	ditto
						322	6	0	28 Apr. 1709	Thomas Lowther
						224	18	0	1 Sept.	ditto
						338	4	0	3 June 1710	ditto
						154	3	0	24 Jan.	ditto
						569	14	6	28 Sept. 1711	ditto
						412	5	0	3 Jan.	ditto
						187	15	6	27 Feb.	ditto
						744	3	6	18 March	ditto
						761	4	6	28 ditto 1713	ditto
						175	17	10	7 November	ditto
						764	0	0	5 Feb.	ditto
						416	13	0	29 July 1714	ditto
						1000	0	0	7 December	ditto
						1000	0	0	9 April 1715	ditto
						1607	10	0	23 May	ditto
						1000	0	0	12 July	ditto
						500	0	0	17 Sept.	ditto
						500	0	0	7 Nov.	ditto
						500	0	0	19 December	ditto
						500	0	0	18 Jan.	ditto
						500	0	0	10 March	ditto
						500	0	0	14 May 1716	ditto
						500	0	0	28 June	ditto
						1000	0	0	2 Aug.	ditto
						156	19	0	8 September	ditto
						500	0	0	31 Dec.	ditto
						500	0	0	18 Feb.	ditto
						1000	0	0	6 April 1717	ditto
						500	0	0	27 May	ditto
						500	0	0	13 July	ditto
						500	0	0	3 Aug.	ditto
						500	0	0	25 September	ditto
						500	0	0	23 November	ditto
						1000	0	0	17 December	ditto
						1000	0	0	31 January	ditto
						500	0	0	8 March	ditto
						1000	0	0	20 ditto	ditto
						3000	0	0	26 ditto 1718	ditto

Sums

Sums iſſued for his Majeſty's Secret Service.	Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l. *s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*		
		1000 0 0	16 May 1718	Thomas Lowther
		500 0 0	15 Auguſt	ditto
		500 0 0	20 Nov.	ditto
		500 0 0	13 Dec.	ditto
		500 0 0	5 Jan.	ditto
		500 0 0	30 Apr. 1719	ditto
		500 0 0	14 July	ditto
		1500 0 0	20 Auguſt	ditto
		300 0 0	7 Nov.	ditto
		1000 0 0	6 Jan.	ditto
		500 0 0	16 Jan.	ditto
		500 0 0	4 Feb.	ditto
		1000 0 0	29 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	23 March	ditto
		2500 0 0	ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	16 Apr. 1720	ditto
		500 0 0	14 June	ditto
		1500 0 0	5 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
500 0 0			16 Mar. 1714	Ja. D. of Montroſe
317 10 0			16 May 1715	ditto
	1781 15 0		2 July 1708	Sir Da. Nairne, Kt.
	522 0 0		12 Oct. 1709	ditto
	2408 0 0		19 Feb. 1714	Matt. Prior, Eſq;
	519 16 6		17 Jan. 1716	Will. Robinſon, Eſq;
	260 0 0		15 Nov. 1710	John Robinſon, Eſq;
	1038 0 0		1 Oct. 1715	John E. of Stair
	1358 15 0		28 July 1716	ditto
	1465 5 4		3 Dec.	ditto
	979 17 8		25 Feb.	ditto
	5000 0 0		4 May 1717	ditto
	1369 10 3		27 ditto	ditto
	703 0 0		12 October	ditto
	1050 0 0		9 Dec.	ditto
	1910 0 0		21 May 1718	ditto
	1337 0 0		16 Auguſt	ditto
	1067 0 0		4 March	ditto
	901 0 0		9 May 1719	ditto
	211 16 6		26 Jan. 1716	Auguſtus Samſon
	200 0 0		4 May 1717	John Scot
	2564 0 0		19 June 1718	Sir Robert Sutton
	100 0 0		13 Dec. 1718	Alex. Stevenſon
	500 0 0		29 Dec. 1719	TempleStanyan, Eſq

Sums

Sums iſſued for Secret Service.	Sums iſſued for Service, or ſpecial Service.	Sums iſſued to reimburſe Expences.	The Time when iſſued.	Perſons to whom iſſued.
l. *s.* *d.*	*l* *s.* *d.*	*l.* *s.* *d.*		
	1000 0 0		12 Nov. 1718	F. Louis de St. Saphorin
	785 0 0		23 July 1719	ditto
	800 0 0		14 Dec. 1719	ditto
	2364 4 0		7 Aug. 1718	Chriſtopher Tilſon
	2518 9 0		28 Jan.	ditto
	2441 11 6		1 July 1719	ditto
	2441 11 6		1 July 1720	ditto
	500 0 0		27 Aug. 1715	Leon. Welſted, Gt.
	200 0 0		6 April 1716	Horatio Walpole
	300 0 0		31 May	ditto
	65 11 4		25 May 1717	ditto
	11900 0 0		18 Jan. 1717	To Henry Kellfall to buy 10000 *l.* S. SeaStock, to be tranſferr'd to his Majeſty.
	12000 0 0		10 May 1718	To ditto to reward good Services to his Majeſty perform'd.

Exchequer, May 5, 1742.

JOHN DAWSON.

NUMB. XII.

THE Names of the Perſons for which Orders were made out of the Exchequer for large Sums of Money, from the 10th of *February* 1731, to the 10th of *February* 1741, which being read over to *Chriſtopher Tilſon*, *Henry Fane*, Eſqrs, and *John Shepherd*, were to them unknown.

Richard Allen,
Robert Adams,
Thomas Barton,
William Catton
Henry Carleton
George Denton,
John Egerton
Francis Edwards,
William Frazier,
Andrew Forſter,
William Farmer
Will. Framingham,
John Hall,
Joſeph Hardeſty,
Richard Harriſon,
Robert Jackſon
William Johnſon
William Jefferſon
William Jackſon,
Thomas May
James Startkey,
Francis Smith
William Sperrin,
John Smith
Henry Wilſon
John Williams
John Williams,
Edward Williamſon
Henry Walters,
Andrew Wilſon,
Daniel White,
Charles Watſon,

NUMB.

NUMB. XIII.

Money paid by Mr *Lowther* of the Treasury to the following Persons, for Printing, publishing, and writing of News-Papers, *&c.* by them delivered at the General Post-Office in *London*, between, *Feb.* 10, 1731, and *Feb.* 10, 1741, *viz.*

William Arnal for Free-Britons, and Writing.				John Walthoe for printing and publishing Daily Courants.				John Walthoe, for printing and publishing Corn-Cutter's Journals.				William Wilkins, for London Journals, and Writing.				John Peele, for Money expended on his Majesty's Service.			
1732				1731-2															
13 April	538	6	8	21 Feb.	243	15	0					4 May	276	13	4				
13 July	730	0	0	22 May	243	15	0					5 Nov.	284	3	4				
12 Oct.	584	0	0	22 Aug.	257	10	0												
11 Jan.	750	0	0	21 Nov.	276	5	0												
				20 Feb.	276	5	0												
1733																			
12 April	785	0	0	19 May	283	6	8												
12 July	835	0	0	19 June	108	18	0					9 March	258	6	8	25 May	300	0	0
11 Oct.	860	0	0	21 Aug.	300	0	0	25 Dec.	163	6	8	26 May	289	11	8	21 Nov.	733	6	8
10 Jan.	955	0	0	22 Nov.	395	16	8					8 Dec.	360	16	8				
				22 Feb.	614	10	8												
1734																			
11 April	955	0	0	21 May	647	10	0	25 March	213	6	8								
11 July	955	0	0	22 Aug.	693	6	8	25 June	222	1	8								
5 Sept.	250	0	0	21 Nov.	710	0	0	24 Sept.	247	1	8					23 July	633	6	8
11 Oct.	850	0	0	22 Feb.	738	6	8	24 Dec.	238	6	8								
11 Feb.	950	0	0																
1735																			
17 May	600	0	0	28 June	990	0	0	25 March	238	6	8	30 June	1416	5	0	6 Sept.	1750	0	0
23 Feb.	400	0	0	30 Sept.	846	13	4												

tween June & Sep. 1735											
30 Dec.	868	6	8								
1736											
30 March	881	5	0								
29 June	894	2	6								
30 Sept.	916	10	4								
30 Dec.	909	3	4								
1737											
30 June	1820	0	0					3 Jan.	250	0	0
1738											
6 May	1000	0	0								
13 July	1000	0	0								
27 Oct.	1600	0	0								
29 Sept.	1008	6	8								
25 Dec.	894	3	4								
1739											
25 March	942	10	0					5 Nov.	521	5	0
24 June	942	10	0								
25 Dec.	925	0	0								
28 Feb.	1039	3	4								
1740											
25 March	975	0	0								
24 June	975	0	0								
29 Sept.	1025	3	0								
25 Dec.	970	0	0								
1741											
25 March	981	13	4								
L.	28193	16	2	*L.*	1322	10	0	*L.*	2955	16	8

Totals *L.* 10997 6 8 *L.* 4187 18 4

	William Arnal, for Free Britons and Writing.	John Walthoe, for printing and publishing Daily Courants.	John Walthoe, for printing and publishing Corn Cutters Journal.	William Wilkins, for London Journals and Writing.	John Peele, for Money expended on his Majesty's Service.	Annual Totals.
1732	2602 6 8	1297 10 0		560 16 8		4460 13 4
1733	5435 0 0	1702 12 0	163 6 8	908 15 0	1033 6 8	7243 0 4
1734	3960 0 0	2789 3 4	920 16 8		633 6 8	8303 6 8
Gazetteers begun.						
1735	1000 0 0	2705 6 0	238 6 8	1486 5 0	1750 0 0	7179 11 8
		1736 3601 4 2				3601 4 2
		1737 1820 0 0			250 0 0	2070 0 0
		1738 5502 10 0				5502 10 0
		1739 3849 3 4			521 5 0	4370 8 4
		1740 3945 0 0				3945 0 0
		1741 981 13 4				981 13 4
Tot.	L. 10997 6 8	L. 28193 16 2	L. 1322 10 0	L. 2955 16 8	L. 4187 18 4	L. 47657 7 10

1732	28 April,	Paid to Mr *George Hawkins* for 1100 Perſuaſives to Impartiality and Candour in judging of the preſent Adminiſtration		42 10 0
1734	6 April,	Paid Monſieur *Le Grelle*, for a Pamphlet in Vindication of the Miniſtry, delivered at the Poſt-Office by *Joſeph Chrichley*		150 0 0
1735	28 Auguſt,	Paid *Samuel Buckley*, for Diſburſements on his Majeſty's Service	980 14 0	
1739	23 Auguſt,	Paid to Ditto, for printing and delivering ſeveral Pamphlets for his Majeſty's Service	786 17 6	2228 0 0
1740	17 July,	Paid Ditto, for printing ſeveral Things for the Uſe of the Publick	460 8 8	
				L. 50077 17 10

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

NUMB. XIV.

Examination of Mr Gaſbry relating to the Payment of 1500 l. to the High Baliff of Weſtminſter.

Francis Gaſbry, Eſq; a Member of the Houſe of Commons, being examined in the moſt ſolemn Manner this 3d Day of *June* 1742, in Relation to an Order for 1500 *l.* which Mr *Shepherd*, in his Examination, mentioned to have been carried to Sir *Charles Wager*, when Mr *Gaſbry* was preſent. And it being in particular asked this Examinant, if Sir *Charles Wager* did not ſay to this Examinant, What ſhall we do in this Affair? and if Sir *Charles* did not inquire of Mr *Shepherd* whether the Fees were to be paid, or if Sir *Charles Wager* did not deſire Mr *Shepherd* to receive the Money? The Examinant ſaid, that he does not recollect any of theſe Circumſtances, nor can he remember that he was preſent when any ſuch Order was brought to Sir *Charles Wager*: That Sir *Charles Wager* did ſay to the Examinant, that he was in Expectation of getting ſome Money for Mr *Lever*, the High Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*, to aſſiſt him, Mr *Lever* then being in great Diſtreſs; for he being a Brewer had loſt his Cuſtomers, and was forced to keep at Home to avoid his Creditors. That when the Examinant returned one Day from the Navy Board, Sir *Charles Wager* told him, that in his Abſence 1500 *l.* had been brought him by one of the Treaſury, and Sir *Charles* deſired this Examinant to take the Money and pay it to Mr *Lever*: That the Examinant received the 1500 *l.* from Sir *Charles Wager* the 2d of *January* laſt: That Mr *Lever* ſometime before this, tho' the Examinant believes it could not be a Fortnight, applied to Sir *Charles Wager*, and mentioned the Diſtreſs he was in for Money to pay his Maltſter; that Sir *Charles* had been told the King would give him (*Lever*) ſome Money, and thereupon Sir *Charles* lent him 500 *l.* for which the Examinant thought it proper to take a Bond. That on the 3d of *January* laſt, Mr *Lever* had of this Examinant 1000 *l.* that is 500 *l.* in ready Money, and 500 *l.* to pay off the aforementioned Bond. That on the 6th of *January* Mr *Gooſtree* brought to the Examinant a Bill of Coſts on an Information againſt Mr *Lever*, &c. relating, as this Examinant imagines, to the Election at *Weſtminſter*, which amounted to 124 *l.* 14 *s.* and this Bill the Examinant paid on Mr *Lever*'s Account. That on the 9th of *February* the Examinant paid a Bill of 107 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d* for Fees and Expences during Mr *Lever*'s being in Cuſtody with the Serjeant at Arms; and that on the 27th of *February*, the Examinant paid to Mr *Lever* 267 *l.* 19 *s* which he conceived to be the Balance remaining in his Hands of the 1500 *l.* and for which he has Mr *Lever*'s Receipt, but by what Acci-

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

dent the laſt mentioned Sum exceeded the real Balance by a few Shillings, the Examinant cannot recollect.

FRANCIS GASHRY.

NUMB. XV.

An Account of all Warrants from the Crown, directing the Payment of any Money to the Secretary of the Poſt-Office without Account, from the 10*th of* February 1718, *to the* 11*th of* February 1741.

				L.	*L.*
1719	September	19	King's Warrant		750
1721	May	6	Additional Warrant for	750	1500
1722	April	30	Additional ditto	1000	2500
	September	28	Ditto	200	2700
1723	Auguſt	17	Ditto	900	3600
1725	Auguſt	19	Ditto	300	3900
1727	October	31	King *George* IId's Warrant to confirm the former		3900
1729	September	17	Additional	100	4000
1733	November	15	Ditto	300	4300
1734	May	6	Ditto	200	4500
1735	July	8	Ditto	200	4700

GEORGE STONE, Receiver General.

NUMB. XVI.

Examination of the Secretary of the Poſt-Office, relating to Money paid him by Warrant from the Crown.

John David Barbutt, Eſq; Secretary to the Poſt-Office, being examined in the moſt ſolemn Manner, this 20th Day of *May* 1742, and being asked as to the Diſpoſition of the Money paid into his Hands without Account, by a Warrant from the Crown, ſaid, That there is in the Poſt-Office a private Office for the inſpecting foreign Correſpondence, and that the greated Part of that Money is for the defraying the Expence of this Office. That the Accountant General and Receiver General, who have inſpected the Books, have told him, that the firſt Traces they find of any Money thus paid by Warrant, was in the Year 1718. That this Examinant cannot ſay as to the firſt Eſtabliſhment of this Office, having been but three Years and a Half himſelf in the Poſt Office; but he apprehends there was always an Office of this Kind, and that it was defrayed formerly by the Secretary of State: That he is a Stranger to the Buſineſs of the Office having never been in it, for they pretend to be independent a

and receive their Inſtructions from the Secretaries of State, and carry their Intelligence to the Secretaries of State, tho' the Poſt-maſters have a Right to go into the Office. That the annual Expences of this Office are as follows, To the chief Decypherer, Dr *Willes**, for himſelf and his Son, 1000 *l.* to the ſecond Decypherer, Mr *Corbiere*, 800 *l.* to the third Decypherer, Mr *Lampe*, 500 *l.* to the fourth Decypherer, Mr *Zolman*, 200 *l.* to the chief Clerk, Mr *Le Fevre*, 650 *l.* to the four other Clerks, Meſſrs *Bode*, *Thouveis*, *Clark*, *Hemmitt*, 300 *l.* each; to the Comptroller of the Foreign Office, Mr *Day*, 60 *l.* to the Door-Keeper, 40 or 50 *l.* but this Examinant believes 50 *l.* There are beſides, accidental Charges for Seals, *&c.* an Account of which is brought in by one of the Clerks, which may amount to 100 *l.* and to Mr *Lavalade*, formerly Alphabet Keeper, but now ſuperannuated, 40 *l.* that when theſe Sums were diſcharged, the Overplus, which may amount to 90 *l.* is divided between the two Poſt-maſters and the Secretary, each Poſt-maſter taking three Sevenths, and the Secretary one Seventh: That Mr *Le Fevre*, beſides his above-mentioned Salary, is paid ſomething out of Incidents, ſo that his whole Salary may amount to about, as he believes, 800 *l. per Annum*. That his (Mr *Le Fevre*'s) is a very troubleſome Poſt, it being neceſſary he ſhould always be preſent at the going out and coming in of the Mails. That this Examinant does not know of a Penſion of 200 *l. per Annum* paid out of this Money, but Mr *Clark*, who has formerly attended, and is incapacitated at preſent, has 200 *l.* paid him out of his Salary of 300 *l.* and another attends for him. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

J. D. BARBUTT.

* Dean of Lincoln; appointed Biſhop of St David's in Auguſt 1742. —See the Proceedings againſt the Biſhop of Rocheſter, Anno 1723, in TIMBERLAND's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. 3. p. 284.

ERRATA:

Page 87. l. 25, read 138. P. 95, l. 4, for 15,000 read 1500.

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ADDENDA.

As there is at this Time a large Body of Britiſh *Forces in* Flanders, *and Embarkations thither ſtill continued; we preſume the following Account of the Total Monies voted by Parliament during the Courſe of Queen* Anne's *War, from* 1702 *to* 1712, *will be acceptable.*

The ſeveral Years Proviſions are tranſcrib'd from the printed Votes, except in one Inſtance in the Year 1710, *where thoſe Prints were erroneous, as appears by Comparing the Journals, in the Caſe of* 20,200 *l. printed inſtead of* 220,000 *l. voted for Augmentation Troops in* Flanders.

	L.
Anno 1702.	3,000,000
Anno 1703.	
FOR 40,000 Men for Sea Service	2,080,000
For the Ordinary of the Navy	129,314
For 40,000 Land Forces	833,826
Ordnance for Land Service	70,973
Subſidies to the Allies	51,843
For 10,000 additional Forces	178,180
For Guards and Garriſons	350,000
	3,694,136
Anno 1704.	
For 40,000 Men for Sea Service	2,080,000
The Ordinary of the Navy not provided for	
Forty Thouſand Land Forces	884,072
Ten Thouſand additional Forces	178,180

Anno 1708.	*L.*
For 40,000 Seamen	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
Forty Thousand Land-Forces	894,272
Ten Thousand additional Troops	177,511
The Queen's Proportion of 3000 *Palatines*	34,251
of 4692 *Saxons*	43,251
of *Bothmar*'s Regiment	9,269
The Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*	586,671
Subsidies to the Allies	494,689
Augmenting the Duke of *Savoy*'s Forces	500,000
Guards and Garrisons	511,734
Extraordinary Subsidies to the Duke of *Savoy* 1707,	100,000
Hessians employ'd in *Italy*	22,957
Fortifications of *Gibraltar*	12,284
Interest of Debentures	60,334
Wharf and Storehouse at *Portsmouth*	10,000
Circulating Exchequer Bills	3,500
Transport-Service	144,000
Ordnance for Land-Service	120,000
A Debt to Capt. *Roche*	2,126
	5,926,849

Anno 1709.	
For 40,000 Men for Sea-Service	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
Forty Thousand Land-Forces	901,827
Ten Thousand additional Forces	177,511
Proportion of 3,000 *Palatines*	34,251
of 4,639 *Saxons*	43,251
of *Bothmar*'s Regiment	9,269
Augmentation Troops in *Flanders*	220,000
Extraordinary Charges in War	310,748
Subsidies to the Allies	553,845
Guards and Garrisons	549,235
Ordnance for Land-Service	180,000
Interest of Debentures	49,310
Circulating Exchequer Bills	3,500
Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*	1,081,083
Transport Service	144,000
	6,457,830

Anno 1710.	
For Forty Thousand Men for Sea-Service	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
Forty Thousand Land-Forces	901,992

Ten

	L.
Ten Thousand additional Forces	177,511
Proportion of 3,000 *Palatines*	34,251
of 4,000 *Saxons*	43,251
of *Bothmar*'s Regiment	9,269
Augmentation Troops in *Flanders*	220,000
Subsidies to the Allies	567,845
Guards and Garrisons	543,775
Ordnance for the Land-Service	130,000
Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*	1,126,035
Extraordinary Expences in the War	234,974
Interest of Debentures	49,357
Transport Service	144,000
Circulating Exchequer Bills	2,000
	6,384,269

Anno 1711.

For Forty Thousand Men for Sea-Service	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
Forty Thousand Land Forces	919,092
Proportion of 3000 *Palatines*	34,251
of 4639 *Saxons*	43,251
of *Bothmar*'s Regiment	9,269
Troops of Augmentation	220,000
Ten Thousand additional Forces	177,511
Guards and Garrisons	546,108
Ordnance for Land Service	130,000
Interest of Debentures	49,357
Transport Service	144,000
Subsidies to the Allies	478,956
Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*	1,500,000
For Payment of 45,000 *l per Annum* to 1714, for specying Exchequer Bills	157,500
	6,609,295

Anno 1712.

For Forty Thousand Men for Sea-Service	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	180,000
Recoinage for *Scotland*, and Deficiency in Coinage	4,615
Interest on *South-Sea* Stock	535,332
Forty Thousand Land Forces	880,223
Ten Thousand additional Forces	177,511
For 15,[illegible] Augmentation	260,903
[illegible]	225,385
[illegible]	250,000
[illegible]	196,452
[illegible]	111,083

Fortifications

	L.
Fortifications of *Edinburgh* Caſtle	2,500
of Fort *William*	1,620
of *Dumbarton* Caſtle	308
Church at *Rotterdam*	2,500
Guards and Garriſons	499,730
Tranſport-Service	80,000
Deficiencies laſt Year	589,839
Extraordinary Charges of the War	243,020
Subſidies to the Allies	328,956
	6,656,967

Note, The odd Shillings and Pence being omitted, a competent additional Sum muſt be allow'd for thoſe Fractions of a Pound.

Anno.	*Monies voted by Parliament.*	
1702		3,000,000
1703		3,694,136
1704		3,828,886
1705		4,670,486
1706		5,075,757
1707		5,540,167
1708		5,926,849
1709		6,457,830
1710		6,384,260
1711		6,609,295
1712		6,656,967
	Total	57,844,633

A STATE

A STATE of the War in Flanders, Portugal *and* Spain, *from the Year* 1701 *to the Year* 1711 *inclusive, as deliver'd into the Houſe of Commons* 28 Jan. 1711, *by the then Secretary at War.*

Quotas agreed upon at the Hague in 1701, *to act againſt* France.

	Men
BY *Holland*	102000
Deduct for Garriſons	42000
Remains for the Field	60000
By *England*	40000
Total for the Field	100000
But *Holland* has augmented her Troops to	129458
Deduct for Garriſons	42000
Remains for the Field	87458
And *England* has augmented their Troops to	72197
Total for the Field	159655
Altho' *Englana* augmenting in Proportion ought to have furniſh'd but	58305
So that *England* has furniſh'd more than her Proportion	13892
	72197
Altho' *Holland* augmenting in Proportion ought to have furniſh'd for the Field	108295
So that *Holland* has furniſh'd leſs than their Proportion	20837
Remains as above	87458

N. B. As the Number of Garriſons have been encreaſed by the Acquiſitions in the *Low Countries* during this War, they muſt neceſſarily take up a greater Number of Men than the firſt 42000, which conſequently reduces the Number for the Field, and then the Troops furniſh'd by *England* more than their Proportion would appear greater than the above 13892

And

And the Deficiency of Troops by *Holland* more than the above ——— 20837

A State of the War in Portugal, 1703 *and* 1704.

Engliſh.	Men
Eleven Battalions, eight Squadrons ———	11620

Memorandum.

The States kept up to their *Quota* of one third till the Battle of *Almanza*, but ſince that they have not ſent one Man to *Portugal*, whereas the Queen has ſince the ſaid Time ſent to that Country, and maiſ'd there at her Charge 8 Battalions and 19 Squadrons, making ——— 9405

In all 21025

Dutch.	Men
Six Battalions, four Squadrons ———	4000

Memorandum.

The King of *Portugal* by Treaty of 16 *May*, 1703, was to bring into the Field 12000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, on his Account.

And, in Conſideration of a Subſidy of a Million of Pattacoons a Year, (whereof the Queen to pay two Thirds, and the States one Third) that King was to furniſh 13000 Men more; but the whole Body of his Troops ſcarcely ever amounted to the leaſt of thoſe Numbers.

A State of the War with Spain.

Engliſh Forces in 1705 and 1706 ———	17322
In 1708, Foreign Troops in *Engliſh* Pay ———	16709
Total, 37 Battalions, 34 Squadrons ———	34031
In 1709 Foreign Troops ———	11084
Total 51 Battalions, 36 Squadrons ———	45115
In 1710, 5 Battalions more ———	3845
Total	48960
In 1711, 9 Battalions, 12 Squadrons in *Engliſh* Pay	9013
Total, 65 Battalions, 48 Squadrons ———	57973

Dutch

Dutch Forces	6500
Foreign Troops in *Dutch* Pay	5700
Total, 14 Battalions, 8 Squadrons	12,200

After the Battle of *Almanza* the *Dutch* ſent no more Forces.

In 1711 the *Dutch* promis'd to ſend 4 Battalions, but never ſent them.

The States in this Year had no more than 6 Battalions and 14 Squadrons in *Spain*.

An Account of Subſidies payable to Foreign Princes, purſuant to the reſpective Treaties, from the Commencement of the War in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710 *and* 1711, *amounting in the whole to* 25,270,657 *Crowns.*

Memorandum.

At the Beginning of the War, the Subſidies were to be paid between *England* and *Holland* by equal Portions.

	Crowns
But by the Account what *England* paid amounts to	15,790,361
And by *Holland*	9,480,296
Making together	25,270,657

One Moiety whereof for *England* amounts to	12,635,328½	15,790,361
So that *England* paid more than the firſt Proportion	3,155,032½	

So that *England*, during the War, paid more than in Proportion 788,758 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* and which ſhould have been paid by the *Dutch*.

SEA SERVICE.

By the Treaties between the Crown of *Great Britain* and the States General, their Proportion of Ships of the Line of Battle, to act in Conjunction with thoſe of this Kingdom, in the Channel, and in and about the *Mediterranean*, ought to be three to five.

And as to the Number of Ships of the Line of Battle, which the States General have each Year, during this War, joined to her Majeſty, on the aforementioned Services, the ſame will appear, by the following Account, which hath been computed with as much Exactneſs as the Nature of the Thing will bear, *viz.*

In the Year 1702.

Her Majeſty had 44 Ships employed in the Channel and

Soundings, of the Line of Battle, and 30 in and about the *Mediterranean*, making in the whole 74, and they were join'd by no more than 33 of the States General, whereas they ſhould have been 44.

In the Year 1703.

Seventy-nine of her Majeſty's Ships were employed on the aforeſaid Services, and but 22 of the States, which ought to have been 47.

In the Year 1704.

There were 74 of the Queen's Ships, and but 18 *Dutch*, which ſhould have been 44.

In the Year 1705.

Seventy-nine Ships of her Majeſty's were employed, and but 20 *Dutch*, inſtead of 47.

In the Year 1706.

Seventy-eight Ships of her Majeſty's were employed, and but 15 of the States General's, inſtead of 46.

In the Year 1707.

Seventy-two of the Queen's Ships were employ'd, and but 27 of the States, inſtead of 48.

In the Year 1708.

Sixty-nine of the Queen's Ships were employed, and but 25 of the States, inſtead of 43.

In the Year 1709.

Sixty-ſeven of the Queen's Ships were employ'd, and but 11 of the States, inſtead of 42.

In the Year 1710.

Sixty-two of the Queen's Ships were employ'd, and but 13 of the States, inſtead of 37.

In the Year 1711.

Fifty-nine of the Queen's Ships were employ'd in the *Mediterranean*, and were join'd by no more than 12 of the States, inſtead of 35, and not ſo much as one Ship allow'd by the States General to act with thoſe of her Majeſty's againſt the Enemies Ships, at *Dunkirk*, and in the Channel.

G. Byng.
W. Drake.
J. Wishart.
Geo. Clark.

Admiralty-Office, 21 Jan. 1712.
By Command of their Lordſhips,
J. Burchett.

N. B. The Queen fitted out, during the War, 713 Ships of the Line.

The States General ſhould have join'd them with 431 Ships of the Line.
Whereas they ſent but 196
So that the States General were deficient 235 Ships of the Line.

In

In the foregoing Volume, Anno 14, Geo. II. P. 29. *We took Notice of a Motion having been made on the* 11*th of* December 1740, *for the new-rais'd Men to be incorporated into the Standing Corps, as being leſs burthenſome and expenſive than forming them into new Regiments: Since the Publication whereof, the following Speeches, in the Debate on that Motion, having come to hand, We think them too important to be omitted: And if hereafter any material Speeches occur, we ſhall not fail to inſert them in the ſucceeding Volumes.*

AN Eſtimate of the Expence of raiſing the ſaid 10,000 Men having been preſented to the Houſe, the ſame was referred to the Committee of Supply: On this Occaſion Sir *William Yonge*, Secretary at War, open'd the Debate with a Speech to the following Effect: Sir W. Yonge.

Sir,

'As this Eſtimate has been drawn up after very accurate Calculations and careful Enquiries, I hope that no Objections will be raiſed againſt it, and that the Sum neceſſary for raiſing the new Regiments will be very readily granted by that Houſe, which voted the War neceſſary for which they are deſigned.

'I hope, it will be admitted as ſome Proof of Frugality, that this Eſtimate requires leſs Money than one that was laid before the Parliament in the Reign of King *William*; for if it be conſidered, that ſince that Time the Neceſſaries of Life are become dearer, and that, therefore, all Expences are encreaſed, it will appear to be the Effect of the exacteſt OEconomy, that the Sum required for the ſame Service is leſs.

'I have heard indeed, Sir, that in Converſation, the Method of raiſing Troops on this Occaſion has been cenſured as improper, and that in the Opinion of ſome, whoſe Judgment cannot be entirely diſregarded, it would be more reaſonable to add more Men to our Regiments already eſtabliſhed, than to raiſe new Regiments with new Officers.

'The chief Argument, Sir, produced in ſupport of their Method of Augmentation, is drawn from the Neceſſity of publick Frugality, a very popular Topic, which never fails to produce Favour and Attention; for every Man is naturally inclined to hear his Friend, and to conſider that Man as performing the Office of Friendſhip, who propoſes Methods of alleviating his Taxes.

'Frugality is undoubtedly a Vertue very neceſſary to the Happineſs of the Nation, and ſuch as there occur frequent

Occaſions of inculcating to thoſe who are intruſted with the Superintendence of publick Diſburſements, but, I am far from thinking that this Eſtimate affords any Opportunity for Declamations of this Kind, and am of Opinion that the Addition of new Soldiers to each Regiment, would, in reality, be more expenſive.

'It cannot be denied, Sir, that by augmenting the Regiments, there would be immediately ſaved to the Publick the Expence of the Officers which are neceſſary in the Method now propoſed; but it is to be conſidered how much the Number of Officers contributes to the Regularity and Diſcipline of the Troops, and how much Diſcipline and Order promote their Succeſs. It is to be conſidered, Sir, that the moſt ſucceſsful Method of making War is undoubtedly the cheapeſt, and that nothing is more expenſive than Defeats.

'If by raiſing the ſame Number of Men under fewer Officers, we ſhould give our Enemies any Advantage; if a ſingle Party ſhould be cut off, a Garriſon forced, an Expedition rendered fruitleſs, or the War protracted but a few Months, where will be the Advantage of this admired Frugality? What would be the Conſequence, but the ſame or a greater Expence, not to gain Advantages, but to repair Loſſes, and obviate the Effects of our former Parſimony?

'In private Life, Sir, it is common for Men to involve themſelves in Expence only by avoiding it, to repair Houſes at greater Charges than new ones might be built, and to pay Intereſt rather than the Debt. Weak Minds are frighted at the Mention of extraordinary Efforts, and decline large Expences, though Security and future Affluence may be purchaſed by them; as tender Bodies ſhrink from ſevere Operations, though they are the certain Methods of reſtoring Health and Vigour. The Effects of this Timidity are the ſame in both Caſes, the Eſtate is impaired inſenſibly, and the Body languiſhes by Degrees, till no Remedy can be applied.

'Such Examples, Sir, are frequent, and the Folly of imitating them is therefore greater, for who would purſue that Track by which he has ſeen others led to Deſtruction? Nor need we ſearch for remote Illuſtrations to diſcover the deſtructive Tendency of unſeaſonable Tenderneſs for the Publick, for I believe the whole Hiſtory of the Wars of King *William* will prove, that too cloſe an Attention to Parſimony is inconſiſtent with great Atchievements.

'It may be expected that I who cannot claim any Regard in this Diſquiſition from my own Experience, ſhould produce ſome deciſive Evidence in favour of the Method which I have taken upon me to defend; this Expectation I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy by alledging the Authority of the greateſt Commander

der of latter Ages, whom neither his Friends nor his Enemies will deny to have been well verſed in theſe Subjects, and whoſe Succeſs is a ſufficient Proof of the Soundneſs of his Principles.

'The illuſtrious Duke of *Marlborough* was of Opinion, that the whole Force of the *French* Armies conſiſted in the Number of the Officers, and that to be always equal to them in the Field, it was neceſſary to form our Troops nearly upon the ſame Plan; to this Scheme he conformed in his Practice of War, and how much his Practice confirmed his Opinion, let *Blenheim* and *Ramillies* atteſt.

'As I pretend not to have determined myſelf on this Queſtion, otherwiſe than by Authority, and as I know not any Authority equal to that of the Duke of *Marlborough*, I cannot diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in me by my Country, any otherwiſe than by propoſing, that on this Occaſion we agree to grant to his Majeſty the Sum calculated for raiſing the new Regiments, as I believe that Method of Augmentation moſt likely to produce Succeſs in our Undertakings, and conſequently to procure a ſpeedy Concluſion of the War.

Mr. *Pulteney* ſpoke next to the following Effect. Mr. Pulteney.

Sir,

'I have been ſo long accuſtomed to the Debates of this Houſe, and have ſo often attended to the Eloquence of the Right Honourable Gentleman, that I am never ſtartled at Paradoxes, nor ſhocked at Abſurdities. I can now hear with great Tranquility a Harangue upon the Neceſſity of Placemen in this Houſe, upon the Uſefulneſs of Standing Armies, and the Happineſs of a general Exciſe.

'I am no longer offended with Facts quoted in Oppoſition to Hiſtory, nor with Calculations drawn up without Regard to the Rules of Arithmetick; I know that there are Perſons in this Houſe, who think themſelves obliged to ſpeak even when in their own Opinion nothing can be ſaid with Weight or with Propriety, who come hither prepared againſt the Shame of Confutation, and determined not to be convinced.

'To reaſon with ſuch Men, Sir, is indeed no pleaſing Taſk, it is to fight with enchanted Heroes upon whom the common Weapons of Argument have no Effect, and who muſt be ſoftened by a Counter-Charm before they can be attacked with any Proſpect of Succeſs.

'There are ſome, however, of whom I am willing to believe that they diſpute only for Truth, and enquire with the View of attaining a Solution of their Doubts. For the ſake of theſe, Sir, I think it neceſſary to declare my Sentiments, as I ſhall be deſirous, in my turn, to hear their Sentiments; but

but with regard to thoſe whoſe Opinion I know already by their Poſts, I ſhould think it of great Advantage to the Diſpatch of publick Affairs, if they would content themſelves with voting for their Pay, without any Ambition of other Service, or adding the Praiſe of Volubility to that of Steadineſs.

'Having this Opportunity, Sir, of declaring my Opinion of the Meaſures purſued in regulating our military Preparations, I ſhall not confine myſelf entirely to the preſent Queſtion, but lay before the Houſe my Thoughts upon ſome Parts of the Eſtabliſhment, which may perhaps require a Reform, and which are at leaſt proper Objects of Conſideration, though not abſolutely neceſſary to the Determination of our Opinion upon the preſent Motion.

'I have long ago, Sir, declared, what therefore it is ſcarcely of any Uſe to repeat, that I know not any Advantage to be hoped from a Standing Army, nor can diſcover why the ableſt and moſt vigorous of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom ſhould be ſeduced from the Loom, the Anvil, and the Plough, only to live at eaſe upon the Labour of Induſtry, only to inſult their Landlords, and rob the Farmers. I never could find why any Body of Men ſhould be exempt from the common Labour of ſocial Duties, or why they ſhould be ſupported by a Community, who contribute neither to its Honour nor its Defence.

I doubt not, Sir, but I ſhall hear on this Occaſion of the Service of our Troops in the Suppreſſion of Riots; we ſhall be told, by the next pompous Orator who ſhall riſe up in Defence of the Army, that they have often diſperſed the Smugglers, that the Colliers have been driven down by the Terror of their Appearance to their ſubterraneous Fortifications, that the Weavers in the midſt of that Rage which Hunger and Oppreſſion excited, fled at their Approach, that they have at our Markets bravely regulated the Price of Butter, and ſometimes, in the utmoſt Exertion of heroic Fury, broken thoſe Eggs which they were not ſuffered to purchaſe at their own Terms.

'Some one perhaps of more Penetration, may inform us of the Uſe which has been made of them at Elections, where the ſurly Burgeſſes have been ſometimes blind to the Merit of thoſe worthy Gentlemen, whom the Soldiers have known how to Eſteem according to their Deſert; nor indeed do I ſee how thoſe can refuſe their Votes in Favour of our Troops, who are indebted for the Power of giving them, to their kind Interpoſition.

'To theſe Arguments, Sir, I ſhall content myſelf with anſwering, that thoſe, who are verſed in the Hiſtory of

Bri-

Britain, know, that we have had Colliers and Weavers for many Years before a Standing Army was heard of among us, and that it is, nevertheleſs, no where recorded that any of our Kings were depoſed by thoſe formidable Bodies of Men, or that any remarkable Changes were made by them in the Form of our Government; and, therefore, till ſome Reaſon ſhall be alledged, why ſuch Inſurrections are now more dangerous, and our civil Magiſtrates more impotent than in former Ages, I humbly conceive that even without the Protection of a Standing Army we might yet ſleep in Security, notwithſtanding the Plots of the Colliers and the Combinations of the Weavers.

'But I muſt own, Sir, theſe are not our only Enemies, for there is ſomewhere, yet in Exiſtence, a Perſon that lays Claim to the Dominion of theſe Kingdoms, and pleads an hereditary Title to diſpoſe of our Wealth, to ſubvert our Liberties, and deſtroy our Religion.

'If any Foreigner, Sir, unacquainted with our Affairs, were to be at preſent at our Debates, and hear with what Ardour we animate each other to an obſtinate Reſiſtance of this Pretender to the Throne, how often he is repreſented as hovering over us, and how often we have caught a general Panic, and imagin'd ourſelves upon the Verge of Deſtruction, how often our moſt zealous Patriots take Opportunities of declaring their Reſolution to die in the Defence of their Liberties, and how pathetically our moſt elegant Declaimers have expatiated on the Miſery of that unhappy Race whom they ſhould leave behind to groan under the Oppreſſion of abſolute Power, what would be his Opinion of this Pretender, whom he ſaw ſo perpetually dreaded, againſt whom ſo many Alliances were formed, ſo many Armies were levied, and ſo many Navies equipped?

Would he not believe him to be ſome formidable Tyrant in a Neighbouring Country, the Lord of wide Dominions, and the Maſter of numerous Armies and powerful Fleets? Would he not imagine that he could aſſemble half the Continent at his Call, that he was ſupported by powerful Alliances, and that nothing but a fair Wind was required to land him on our Coaſts at the Head of Millions? And would he not, even on that Suppoſition, be inclin'd to cenſure us as timerous, as ſomewhat regardleſs of the Honour of our Nation, and condemn us for giving Way to ſuch Suſpicions and Exclamations as have a natural Tendency to heighten the Apprehenſion of Danger, and depreſs the Spirits of the People?

'But what would be his Concluſion, Sir, when he ſhould be told, what in reality is true, that this dreadful Pretender is

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an unhappy Fugitive, driven in his Infancy from this Country, and by Conſequence without any perſonal Intereſt; that he is ſupported by the Charity of a Prince whoſe Name is hated almoſt by every Inhabitant of the Kingdom; that he has neither Sovereignty, nor Money, nor Alliances, nor Reputation in War, nor Skill in Policy; that all his Actions are watched by *Britiſh* Spies; and that the few Friends that remain to ſupport the Farce of a Court, are ſuch only as dare not return to their Native Country, and are therefore without Fortune, and without Dependants?

'What could a wiſe Man conceive of a Nation held in continual Alarms by an Enemy like this; of a Nation always watchful againſt an Invaſion from a Man who has neither Dominions to ſupply, nor Money to hire, a ſingle Regiment; from a Man whoſe Title all the neighbouring Princes diſown, and who is at ſuch a Diſtance from them, that he cannot be aſſiſted by them without open Preparations, of which we cannot fail of having Intelligence, and which may be defeated, without Danger, by the Veſſels regularly ſtation'd on our Coaſts?

'Would not any Stranger imagine, Sir, that we were a Nation infected with a general Frenzy, that Cowardice had perverted our Imaginations, filled us with Apprehenſions of impoſſible Invaſions, raiſed Phantoms before our Eyes, and diſtracted us with wild Ideas of Slavery and Tyranny, Oppreſſion and Perſecution?

'I have dwelt thus long on this Point, becauſe I know the Pretender is the laſt Refuge of thoſe who defend a Standing Army; not that I propoſe to convince any Man of the Folly of ſuch Apprehenſions, or to fortify him againſt ſuch Terrors for the Time to come; for if any Man, in reality, now dreads the Pretender, Fear muſt be his Diſtemper, he is doom'd to live in Terrors, and it is of no Importance whether he dreads an Invaſion or a Goblin, whether he is afraid to diſband the Army, or to put out his Candle in the Night, his Imagination is tainted, and he muſt be cured, not by Argument, but by Phyſick.

'But the greateſt Part of thoſe who diſturb our Conſultations with the Mention of the Pretender, are Men of a very different Character, Men equally unconcerned about his Deſigns, or his Motions, with thoſe who are moſt deſirous of ſetting the Nation free from the Burthen of an Army, and very often ſuch as we may diſcover, from their Conduct, to be determined to comply with every Government, and ſuch as have therefore nothing to fear from a Change of Maſters.

'The Men for whoſe ſake I am now ſpeaking, Sir, laugh as much as I do at the Apprehenſions of thoſe whom they contri-

contribute to terrify; they know too well the Impotence of the Pretender to dread an Invaſion from him, and affect only to continue their Outcries, that they may not be deprived of a Topic, on which, by long Practice, they have attained an uncommon Facility of Haranguing, which they know how to diverſify with various Combinations of Circumſtances, and how to accommodate to any emergent Occaſion without the Pain of torturing their Inventions.

'It may be uſeful, Sir, to inform theſe Men, that their Diſguiſe ought at laſt to be thrown off, becauſe it deceives no longer, and that the Nation cannot be cheated, but at the Expence of more Cunning than they are willing, or perhaps able, to diſplay. A Maſk muſt neceſſarily be thrown aſide, when inſtead of concealing, it diſcovers him by whom it is uſed.

'Thoſe who are attempting, Sir, to deceive others, and whoſe Character is exalted, in their own Opinion, in proportion to the Succeſs of their Endeavours, have ſurely a Senſe of Shame, though they have none of Virtue; and cannot without Pain, find their Artifices detected, and themſelves made the Objects of Ridicule, by thoſe Stratagems which they employ for the Deception of others.

'I hope, therefore, Sir, that, for their own Sakes, theſe Declaimers on the exploded Story of the Pretender, will change their Bugbear, that if it be neceſſary to frighten thoſe whom they want Art or Eloquence to perſuade, they will find out ſome other Object of Terror, which, after a little Practice in private Meetings, they may firſt produce in the Court, and then turn looſe in the Parliament.

'The World, methinks, allows them a ſufficient Choice of Tyrants more formidable than the Pretender. Suppoſe they ſhould revive the Hiſtory of the *Mohocks*. The *Mohocks* are a dreadful Race, not to be mentioned without Horror by a true Lover of his Country, and a ſteady Adherent to the Houſe of *Hanover*; they might then very eaſily encreaſe our Army, or inhance our Taxes; for who would not be urged by his Wife and Daughter to agree to any Meaſures that might ſecure them from the *Mohocks*?

'But as an Army is at preſent likely to be kept up for our Defence againſt an Enemy leſs formidable, it may be more ſeaſonable to propoſe the Regulation than the Diſmiſſion of our Troops, and to mention thoſe Evils which ariſe from the preſent Eſtabliſhment, rather than thoſe which are inſeparable from the Expence of a ſtanding Force

'If it be neceſſary, Sir, to ſupport Soldiers, I ſuppoſe that it will not be denied by the Advocates for an Army, that we ought to levy ſuch Troops as may be of uſe; yet in their

'To remove therefore this Panic, and to diſſipate, for ever, the Phantoms of Invaſion, I will lay before the Houſe the Opinion of the Great Commander whoſe Name has already been introduced in this Debate. In the late Reign, on a Day when the great Officers of the Crown, and many of the Council, were at a publick Feaſt in the City, a Report was ſuddenly ſpread, that the Duke of *Ormond* had landed in the Weſt with two thouſand Men. This Account was in Appearance well atteſted, and univerſally believed; all Jollity was therefore at an End, the Company departed, the Council was ſummoned, and every Man offered ſuch Expedients as his preſent Thoughts, confuſed and oppreſſed with the Proximity of the Danger, ſuggeſted to him. One propoſed that a Body of Troops ſhould be ſent to a diſtant Part of the Kingdom, to reſtrain the Seditions of the Populace; another apprehended more Danger from a different Quarter, and adviſed that the Inhabitants ſhould be awed by another Detachment ſent thither; the moſt experienced eaſily ſaw the Unprofitableneſs of the Meaſures propoſed, but could not ſo eaſily ſtrike out more efficacious Expedients, and therefore ſat in great Perplexity. Lord *Somers* particularly ſhook his Head, and ſeemed to conſider the Kingdom as in the Hands of the Invaders, and the dreadful Pretender as ſeated on the Throne.

'At laſt the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had hitherto ſat ſilent, aſk'd calmly, whether they were certain that any Forces were really landed? and was anſwered, that though it might not be abſolutely certain, yet they were to conſult and ſend Orders upon that Suppoſition. Then, ſays he, I will lay down this great Rule to be obſerved invariably, whenever you are invaded. Attend only to one Point, nor have any other Purpoſe in view than that of deſtroying the regular Forces that ſhall be landed in the Kingdom, without any Regard to petty Inſurrections, which may be always eaſily quelled, and which will probably ceaſe of themſelves, when the Army, by which they were excited, is cut off. For this End let it be your Rule to keep your Army undivided, and to make no Motion but towards the Enemies, fight them with the utmoſt Expedition, before they can fortify themſelves to receive Reinforcements from the Continent. By the Obſervation of this plain Method of Operation, continued he, I will engage without any other Force than the Regiments generally ſtationed about the Capital, to put a Stop to any Troops that ſhall be landed on the Coaſt of *Great Britain*.

'So far was this great Officer, who was acquainted with the whole Art of War, from ſinking into Aſtoniſhment at the Sound of an Invaſion, and ſo far from thinking it neceſſary, that

that the Nation ſhould be harraſſed by Standing Troops, to preſerve it from being plundered by a foreign Army.

'But though our Troops, Sir, ſhould not be neceſſary to prevent an Invaſion, they may be uſeful in Services of equal Importance: The Miniſtry may think the Votes of the Officers more ſerviceable than their Swords, and may be more afraid of expoſing themſelves than the Nation by any Detachment of their Forces.

'Such is at preſent, Sir, the State of this unhappy Country, that neither in Peace nor War are any Meaſures taken, but with a View of encreaſing or confirming the Power of the Miniſtry; for this Purpoſe thoſe Troops, whoſe Officers have Seats here, are to be retained at home, and the Fate of our *Weſt India* Settlements to be committed to new levied Forces without military Skill.

'For this Reaſon is an Army to be raiſed without Neceſſity, and raiſed in a Manner that may furniſh the Court with an Opportunity of extending its Influence, by the Diſpoſal of great Numbers of new Commiſſions. By this Plan every Family that is burthened with a Relation, whoſe Vices have ruined his Fortune, or whoſe Stupidity diſqualifies him for Employment, will have an Opportunity of ſelling, for a Commiſſion, their Intereſt at the approaching Election; Dependance will be propagated, and the troubleſome Spirit of Liberty be depreſſed.

'To little Purpoſe will it be objected, that Soldiers and Officers will be equally Ignorant, that Diſcipline is not infuſed inſtantaneouſly, that a military Dreſs will not make a Soldier, that Men can only know their Duty by Inſtruction, and that nothing is to be hoped from Ploughmen, and Manufacturers commanded by School-boys. The Succeſs of the Expedition is not ſo much conſidered by thoſe who have the Direction of the Levies, as that of the Election, and while they keep their Poſts they are very little concerned about the Affairs of the *Weſt Indies*.

'In Defence of this Method it has, indeed, been affirmed, that it was preferred by the Duke of *Marlborough*; but we are not informed to whom, or upon what Occaſion he declared his Opinion, and therefore are left at Liberty to doubt, whether his Authority is not produced for a Method which he did not approve, or approved only at ſome particular Time for ſome extraordinary Service.

'It is urged that he recommended it by his Practice, and that his Succeſs is a ſufficient Proof that his Practice was founded upon right Maxims. But if it be remembered what was, in that Time, the Method of obtaining Commiſſions, and who it was that had the Diſpoſal of them, it will appear,

pear not abſolutely certain, that his Practice ought to be produced as a deciſive Proof of his Opinion.

'If the Succeſs of Troops be properly urged as an Argument for the Form of their Eſtabliſhment, may not the Victories of Prince *Eugene* afford a Proof, equally convincing, that a few Officers are ſufficient? And if the Arguments, which ariſe from Succeſs are equal on both Sides, ought not the Neceſſity of ſaving the Publick Money to turn the Balance?

'War, Sir, is in its own Nature a Calamity very grievous to the moſt powerful and flouriſhing People, and to a trading Nation is particularly deſtructive, as it at once exhauſts our Wealth, and interrupts our Commerce, at once drinks up the Stream and choaks up the Fountain. In thoſe Countries, whoſe Affairs are wholly tranſacted within their own Frontiers, where there is either very little Money, or where their Wealth is dug out of their own Mines, they are only weakened by the Loſs of Men, or by the Diminution of their Dominions, and in general can only ſuffer by being overcome.

'But the State of *Great Britain* is far different, it is not neceſſary to our Ruin that an Enemy ſhould be ſtronger than ourſelves, that he ſhould be able to pour Armies into our Country, to cover the Sea with Fleets, to burn our Villages by Incurſions, or deſtroy our Fortreſſes with Bombs; for he that can ſecure his own Dominions from our Attacks, to which nothing but Diſtance and ſome Advantages of Situation are neceſſary, may ſupport a War againſt us; and he that can fit out Privateers to interrupt our Trade, may, without obtaining a Victory, reduce us to Diſtreſs.

'Our Situation, Sir, as it preſerves us from the Danger of an Invaſion except from that powerful Monarch the Pretender, who is indeed always to be dreaded, has likewiſe the Effect of ſecuring other Nations from being invaded by us, for it is very difficult to tranſport in one Fleet, and to land at one Time, a Number ſufficient to force their Way into a Country where the Ports are fortified, and the Inhabitants in Arms.

'Our Wars, Sir, are therefore to be determined by naval Battles, and thoſe Nations have very little to fear from us who have no Trade to be diſturbed, and no Navies to be deſtroyed; if they can only fit out Cruiſers which may always be done by granting Commiſſions to foreign Adventurers, they may ruin our Merchants by Captures, exhauſt the Nation by the Neceſſity of Convoys, and give neutral Traders an Opportunity of eſtabliſhing their Credit at thoſe Markets, which have been hitherto ſupplied by our Manufactures.

'This

' This is indeed far from being at preſent an exact Account of the State of *Spain*, whoſe wide extended Dominions are liable to Inſults, and from whom many of her moſt wealthy Provinces may be torn without great Hazard or Difficulty. The particular State of her Commerce, which being only carried on from one Part of her Dominions to another, can only be for a Time interrupted, but is in no Danger of being invaded by any Rival, or loſt by Diſuſe, at leaſt requires our Conſideration: And we ought to make War with the utmoſt Frugality againſt a People whom no Hoſtilities can really impoveriſh, whoſe Commerce may be ſaid to lie at reſt rather than to be ſhackled, as it will riſe into greater Vigour at the End of the War, and whoſe Treaſures, though the Want of them is a preſent Inconvenience, are only piled up for a Time of Security.

' As the only Method, Sir, of reducing this Nation muſt be that of invading its Colonies, and diſmembering its Provinces, by which the chief Perſons will be deprived of their Revenues, and a general Diſcontent be ſpread over the People, the Forces which are levied for this Expedition, (an Expedition on which the Honour of our Arms and the Proſperity of our Trade muſt ſo much neceſſarily depend,) ought to be ſelected with the greateſt Care, and diſciplined with the exacteſt Regularity.

' On this Occaſion, therefore, it is ſurely improper to employ Troops newly collected from Shops and Villages, and yet more irrational to truſt them to the Direction of Boys called on this Occaſion from the Frolicks of a School, or forced from the Boſoms of their Mothers, and the Softneſs of the Nurſery. It is not without Compaſſion, Compaſſion very far extended, that I conſider the unhappy Striplings doom'd to a Camp, from whom the Sun has hitherto been ſcreened, and the Wind excluded; who have been taught by many tender Lectures the Unwholſomeneſs of the Evening Miſts and the Morning Dews, who have been wrapt in Furs in Summer, who have lived without any Fatigue but that of Dreſs, or any Care but that of their Complexion.

' Who can forbear, Sir, ſome Degree of Sympathy, when he ſees Animals like theſe taking their laſt Farewel of the Maid that has fed them with Sweet-Meats, and defended them from Inſects; when he ſees them dreſt up in the Habiliments of Soldiers, loaded with a Sword, and invelled with a Command, not to mount the Guard at the Palace, not to diſplay their Lace at a Review, not to protect Ladies at the Door of an Aſſembly Room, nor to ſhow their Intrepidity at a Country Fair, but to enter into a kind of Fellowſhip with the rugged Sailor, to hear the Tumult of a Storm, to ſuſtain the

the Change of Climates, and to be ſet on ſhore in an Enemy's Dominions?

'Surely, he that can ſee ſuch Spectacles without Sorrow, muſt have hardened his Heart beyond the common Degree of Cruelty, and it may reaſonably be expected, that he who can propoſe any Method by which ſuch Hardſhips may be eſcaped, will be thought entituled to Gratitude and Praiſe.

'For my Part, I ſhould imagine, Sir, that an eaſy Method might be diſcovered of obviating ſuch Miſery, without leſſening that Number of Officers, which perhaps, in Oppoſition to Reaſon and Experience, ſome Gentlemen will continue to think neceſſary, and I hope that this may be no improper time to declare my Opinion.

'I have obſerved, that for ſome time, no private Sentinel has ever riſen to any Rank above that of a Serjeant, and that Commiſſions have been reſerved as Rewards for other Services than thoſe of the Camp. This Procedure, I cannot but think at once impolitick and unjuſt.

'It is impolitick, Sir, as it has a natural Tendency to extinguiſh in the Soldiery all Emulation and all Induſtry. Soldiers have an equal Genius with other Men, and undoubtedly there might be found among them great Numbers capable of learning and of improving the military Sciences; but they have likewiſe the ſame Love of Eaſe, and the Deſire of Honour and of Profit, and will not condemn themſelves to labour without the Proſpect of Reward, nor ſacrifice their Time to the Attainment of that Knowledge, which can have no other Effect than to make them diſcover the Stupidity of their Commanders, and render their Obedience more difficult, as it will deſtroy that Reverence which is neceſſary to Subordination.

'It is unjuſt, Sir, becauſe it is not to be doubted, that ſome Soldiers by the natural Force of their Faculties, or by a laudable Activity of Mind, have extended their Knowledge beyond the Duties of a private Station, and he that excels in his Profeſſion has an equitable Claim to Diſtinction and Preferment. To advance any Man in the Army, becauſe his Father is an Orator in Parliament, or the Leading Man of a Borough, ſeems not more rational, than to make another Man a Judge becauſe ſome of his Anceſtors were ſkilled in Gunnery; nor would the Lawyers have juſter Reaſons for Complaint in one Caſe, than the Soldiers in the other.

It is therefore, Sir, in my Opinion, neceſſary to the Advancement of military Knowledge, that as a Sentinel is, for excelling in his Profeſſion, advanced to the Degree of a Serjeant, the Serjeant, who continues his Application, and performs his Duty, ſhould, in time, be honoured with a Commiſſion.

'It

'It may be objected indeed, that Serjeants, though skilful in Diſcipline, yet can very ſeldom arrive at any remarkable Skill in Politicks, and though they ſhould be ſo fortunate as to gain Eſtates, could never be of any uſe as the Repreſentatives of a Borough; and to what Purpoſe ſhould thoſe Men be advanced, who can only ſerve their Country, but can contribute very little to the Support of the Court?

'This is, I own, Sir, an Objection which I deſpair of anſwering to the Satisfaction of thoſe by whom it will be raiſed. The hardy Serjeant would never cringe gracefully at a Levee, would never attain to any ſucceſsful Degree of Addreſs in ſoliciting Votes, and if he ſhould, by mere Bribery, be deputed hither, would be unable to defend the Conduct of his Directors.

'In Vindication of the preſent Scheme, I believe few of thoſe rugged Warriors would find many Arguments; they would not recommend to the Nation a Troop of Boys, under the Command of Boys, as the moſt proper Forces to be ſent to make Conqueſts in diſtant Countries; nor would imagine, that unſkilful Soldiers could, under the Direction of Officers equally ignorant with themſelves, attain the Knowledge of their Duty in the ſame Time as if they were incorporated with regular Troops, in which every Man might receive Inſtruction, and learn his Buſineſs from his Comrade.

'I had lately, Sir, the Opportunity of hearing the Opinion of one of the greateſt Generals in the World, on this Subject, who declared with the utmoſt Confidence of Certainty, that raw Troops could be diſciplined in a ſhort Time, only by being incorporated with thoſe that had been already taught their Duty; and aſſerted, that with an Army ſo mixed, he ſhould think himſelf ſufficiently enabled to meet any Forces of the ſame Number, and ſhould not fear to acquit himſelf ſucceſsfully, either in attacking or defending.

'Such are the Sentiments of this great Man, to whom I know not whether any Name can be oppoſed, that deſerves equally to be reverenced. He has had the Honour of defending the Rights of his Country in the Senate, as well as in the Field, has ſignalized himſelf equally in the Debate and in the Battle, and perhaps deſerves leſs Regard for having hazarded his Life, than for having been diveſted of his Employments.

'Since therefore, it is apparent that great Numbers of Officers are by no means neceſſary to Succeſs in War, ſince they are dangerous to our Liberty in Time of Peace, ſince they are certainly expenſive, and at beſt not certainly uſeful; and ſince the greateſt General of the preſent Age has declar'd that our new Levies ought to be mingled with our

Standing Forces, I ſhall think it my Duty, to vote againſt the preſent Scheme of raiſing new Regiments, and ſhall agree to no other Supplies than ſuch as may be ſufficient for adding the ſame Numbers to the preſent Army.

General Wade. General *Wade* then ſpoke as follows.

Sir,

'Though I cannot pretend to purſue the Honourable Gentleman through the whole Compaſs of his Argument, nor ſhall attempt to ſtand up as his Rival, either in Extent of Knowledge, or Elegance of Language; yet as my Courſe of Life has neceſſarily furniſhed me with ſome Obſervations relating to the Queſtion before us, and my preſent Station in the Army, may, in ſome Meaſure, be ſaid to make it my Duty to declare my Opinion, I ſhall lay before the Houſe a few Conſiderations, with the artleſs Simplicity of a plain Soldier, without engaging in a formal Debate, or attempting to overthrow the Arguments of others.

'It is obſerved, Sir, that for the greateſt Part, the farther any Man has advanced in Life, the leſs Confidence he places in Speculation, and the more he learns to reſt upon Experience, the only ſure Guide in human Affairs; and as the Tranſactions in which he is engaged are more important, with the greater Anxiety does he inquire after Precedents, and the more timorouſly does he proceed, when he is obliged to regulate his Conduct by Conjecture or by Deliberation.

'This Remark, Sir, though it may be juſt with Regard to all States of Life, is yet more conſtantly and certainly applicable to that of the Soldier; becauſe as his Profeſſion is more hazardous than any other, he muſt with more Caution guard againſt Miſcarriages and Error. The old Soldier, therefore, very rarely ventures beyond the Verge of Experience, unleſs in Compliance with particular Accidents, which does not make any Change in his general Scheme, or in Situations, where nothing can preſerve him, but ſome new Stratagem or unprecedented Effort, which are not to be mentioned as Part of his original Plan of Operation, becauſe they are produced always by unforeſeen Emergences, and are to be imputed, not to Choice but to Neceſſity; for in Conſequence of my firſt Principle, an old Soldier never willingly involves himſelf in Difficulties, or proceeds in ſuch a Manner, as that he may not expect Succeſs by the regular Operations of War.

'It will not therefore be ſtrange, if I, who, having ſerved in the Army in the Wars of King *William*, may juſtly claim the Title of an old Soldier, ſhould not eaſily depart from the Methods eſtabliſhed in my Youth; Methods by

by which their Effects have ſhewn me, that they at leaſt anſwer the Intention for which they were contrived, and which therefore I ſhall be afraid of rejecting, leſt thoſe which are propoſed to be ſubſtituted in their Place, however probable in Speculation, ſhould be found defective in Practice; and the Reaſonings, which indeed I cannot anſwer, ſhould be confuted in the Field, where Eloquence has very little Power.

'The Troops of *Great Britain*, formed according to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, have been found ſucceſsful; they have preſerved the Liberties of *Europe*, and driven the Armies of *France* before them; they have appeared equally formidable in Sieges and in Battles, and with Strength equally irreſiſtible, have preſſed forward in the Field, and mounted the Breach. It may be urged, that this Vigour, Alacrity and Succeſs, cannot be proved to have been produced by the Number of Officers who commanded them; but ſince, on the contrary, it cannot be ſhewn that the Number of Officers did not contribute to their Victories, I think it not prudent to try the Experiment, which, if it ſhould ſucceed, as it poſſibly may, would produce no great Advantage; and if it ſhould fail, and that it may fail no Man will deny, muſt bring upon us, not only the Expence, which we are ſo ſolicitous to avoid, but Diſgrace and Loſſes, a long Interruption of our Trade, and the Slaughter of great Numbers of our Fellow-Subjects.

'Thus far, Sir, I have proceeded upon a Suppoſition that the Balance of Argument is equal on both Sides, and that nothing could be alledged on one Part, but Experience, or objected to the other, but the Want of it; but as I am now called to declare my Opinion in a Queſtion relating to my Profeſſion, a Queſtion of great Importance to the Public, I ſhould think that I had not diſcharged my Duty to my Country with that Fidelity which may juſtly be expected from me, if I ſhould omit any Obſervation that my Memory may ſuggeſt, by which the Houſe may be better enabled to proceed in this Enquiry.

'I think it therefore proper to declare, that we not only, in the laſt great War, experienced the Uſefulneſs of numerous Officers, but that we have likewiſe felt the Want of them on a Signal Occaſion, and that the only greateſt Advantage which our Enemies obtained, was gained over an Army, rendered weak by the Want of the uſual Number of Officers. Such were the Forces that were defeated at the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, by which almoſt all *Spain* * was recovered from us. And it is, Sir, the Opinion of very ſkilful

* General Wade, at the Head of two Battalions, repulſed twenty two Squadrons of the Enemy in that Action, being then Colonel of a Regiment.

Commanders, that the *Germans*, only by having fewer Officers than the *French*, did not ſucceed in thoſe long and obſtinate Battles of *Parma* and *Guaſtalla*.

'It is indeed natural to imagine, that a greater Number of Officers muſt promote Succeſs, becauſe Courage is kindled by Example, and it is therefore of uſe to every Man to have his Leader in his View. Shame at one Time, and Affection at another, may produce the Effects of Courage, where it is wanted, and thoſe may follow their Commander, who are inclined to deſert their Duty; for it is ſeldom known, that, while the Officers appear confident, the Soldiers deſpair, or that they think of retreating but after the Example of their Leaders.

'Where there are only few Officers, it is apparent, that more is left to Chance, in which it becomes not a wiſe Man to place any Confidence; for if the Officers are killed at the Beginning of the Action, the Soldiers muſt become an uſeleſs, defenceleſs Herd without Order, without Unanimity, and without Deſign; but, by the preſent Method, if an Officer happens to fall, his Place is immediately ſupplied by another, the Action goes forward, and the Enemy receives no Advantage from Confuſion or Delay.

'I am therefore of Opinion, that in raiſing Troops for the Expedition now intended, the eſtabliſhed Method ought to be followed, and that we ought not to hazard the Succeſs of our Attempt, by new Regulations, of which no human Sagacity can foretel the Event.

'Tho' it cannot be denied, that ſome Addition might be made to our Companies without any viſible or certain Inconvenience, yet the Augmentation now intended, is too numerous to be ſo incorporated without ſome Neglect of Diſcipline, as the Officers would be charged with more Men than they could properly ſuperintend.

'There is indeed, Sir, another Method of Incorporation, by adding new Companies to each Regiment; but of this Method the Advantage would be ſmall, becauſe the Number of Captains and inferiour Officers muſt be the ſame, and the Pay of only the Field Officers would be ſaved, and this trifling Gain would be far over-balanc'd by the Inconveniencies which Experience has ſhown to ariſe from it. There have been Regiments formed of thirteen Companies inſtead of ten; but it was found, that as the Officers of a Company may be overcharged with Soldiers, ſo a Colonel may likewiſe have more Companies than he can conveniently inſpect, and the antient Regulation was reſtored, as the leaſt liable to Difficulties and Objections.

'Having thus endeavoured to vindicate the Manner in which

our

our new Troops are propoſed to be levied, it may be expected that I ſhould now make ſome Obſervations on the Service in which they are to be employed, which I cannot think liable to any unanſwerable Objection. It is now, Sir, in our Choice whether we will ſend the new Regiments abroad or keep them at home; and our Choice may eaſily be determined by comparing the Value of our Colonies, with That of their Mother Country. If it be not neceſſary to have any Army here, to defend us againſt Inſults and Invaſions, the Queſtion about the Manner of raiſing or employing new Regiments is ſuperfluous, becauſe none ought to be raiſed, as our old Troops are ſufficiently numerous for foreign Service. But if the Security of the Nation requires an Army, would it not be Madneſs to ſend thoſe Troops, to a diſtant Part of the World, in which we can confide moſt? Would not thoſe, who ſpeak with ſuch Contempt of an Expedition undertaken by Boys, have a better Reaſon for the Cenſure, if only Boys were ſtation'd on our Coaſts to repel the Veterans of the *French*? Would not ſuch Meaſures animate our Enemies, and invite an Invaſion?

'It may perhaps be urged farther, that the Troops which are ſent into the *Weſt Indies*, are more likely to ſucceed in their Deſign, than any Regiment of antient Eſtabliſhment. The chief Danger to be feared in that Part of the World, is not from the Enemy but the Climate, with which young Men are moſt able to contend, though they may not be equally qualified for Attempts, in which Skill is equally neceſſary with Vigour.

'I am convinc'd, Sir, that this War has hitherto been proſecuted with Ardour and Fidelity, and that no Meaſures have been taken but ſuch as Experience and Reaſon have ſupported, and therefore affirm, without Scruple, that if we are not ſucceſsful, our Miſcarriages muſt be imputed to the Chance of War, from which no Prudence can exempt us.

The Lord *Quarendon* * ſpoke next to the following Purpoſe. Ld. Quarendon.

Sir,

'Having but very lately had the Honour of a Seat in this Houſe, I am conſcious how little I am acquainted with either the Subjects or Forms of Debate, and ſhould therefore continue to liſten to the Sentiments of Perſons more experienced, with ſilent Veneration, did I not obſerve with how much Indulgence they are heard who mean well, however deficient in Knowledge, or in Eloquence.

'As the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, Sir, profeſſes to have form'd his Opinion rather from Facts than Arguments, I hope I ſhall be indulged by the Houſe in an Attempt

* Now Earl of Litchfield.

tempt to examine thoſe Facts which he has produced, becauſe I think them not ſufficient to ſupport his Poſitions, which muſt therefore be eſtabliſh'd by ſome other Proofs, before a Deciſion of this Queſtion can be fixed by them.

'With regard to his Experience, to which undoubtedly no ſmall Degree of Veneration is due, he confeſſes that we have tried only one of the two Forms of Eſtabliſhment now in Competition, and that therefore, though he has had Reaſon to approve that with which he is moſt acquainted, he has no certain Proofs of the Inefficacy or Imperfection of the other.

'But Experience, Sir, may be extended much farther than our own perſonal Tranſactions, and may very juſtly comprehend thoſe Obſervations which we have had Opportunities of making upon the Conduct and Succeſs of others. This Gentleman, though he has only commanded in the Armies of *Great Britain*, has ſeen the Forces of other Nations, has remarked their Regulations, and heard of their Actions, he has probably acted in Conjunction with our Confederates in the laſt War, and tho' it is known that they differ from us in the Proportion of Soldiers and Officers, he has mentioned no Diſadvantage which might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from their Eſtabliſhment, and therefore, I ſuppoſe, he cannot deny that their Behaviour and Succeſs was the ſame with that of our Troops.

'The Battles of *Almanza*, *Parma*, and *Guaſtalla*, which he has particularly mention'd, were loſt, as he informs us, by Armies not officer'd according to the Eſtabliſhment which he recommends to us: but it is obſervable that his Argument is defective in an eſſential Part; for though he affirms that the Armies which were defeated had fewer Officers than the Enemy, he has neither ſhown, nor attempted to ſhow, that the Want of Officers occaſioned the Defeat, or that the Loſs would have been prevented by a greater Number.

'Theſe Inſtances, therefore, can be of no Effect on the Determination of the preſent Queſtion; for though it is certain that at *Almanza*, and at other Places, Armies with few Officers, have loſt the Battle, it is not leſs common for thoſe Troops that are more liberally ſupplied to be overthrown by others which are differently model'd.

'With Regard, Sir, to the Troops of *Germany*, I have heard them praiſed in many Parts of *Europe*, as not inferior either to thoſe of *France*, or of any other Nation, and have been informed that their ill Succeſs, both at *Parma* and *Guaſtalla*, may be juſtly imputed to other Cauſes than the want of Officers.

'There has, perhaps, Sir, ſeldom been an Example of Firmneſs, Diſcipline and Reſolution, beyond that which was ſhown

by

by the *Germans* at the Action of *Parma*, where they attack'd the Trenches of the *French*, ſuſtained the Fire of the Ramparts of the City, and though they loſt their Commander in Chief and two others, towards the Beginning of the Action, they continued the Fight for eleven Hours, and at laſt retired only at the Approach of Night.

'At *Guaſtalla*, Sir, they attacked the *French* in their Trenches, even with Forces inferior in Number, ſo far were they from any Diffidence in the Form of their Eſtabliſhment; and after a Fight of ſeven Hours, in which their Loſs was, under all Diſadvantages, not greater than that of their Enemies, they retreated to their former Camp unmoleſted and unpurſued. The *French*, Sir, were preſerved in both theſe Battles, not by the Number of their Officers, but by their Situation, by Woods, Caſſines, Ditches and Intrenchments.

'Nor do I diſcover, Sir, what can be inferred from his Obſervation of the Influence of Example in time of Action, but that Officers ſhould be ſelected with great Care, and not be promoted by Favour, Intereſt, or Caprice; for an Example of Cowardice in a Leader muſt be pernicious, in Proportion, as that of Bravery is beneficial; and as, where more Officers are ſuppoſed neceſſary there is leſs Room for Choice, ſo it muſt be allowed that the Troops, which have more Officers than other Forces, are in more Danger of being infected with Cowardice.

'It appears therefore to me, that the Expence of the preſent Eſtabliſhment is a certain Evil, and that the Advantages are very doubtful; and I think it demonſtrable, that the preſent State of the Nation requires Frugality, and therefore I ſhall vote for the Incorporation of our new Levies with the old Regiments.

'By this Incorporation, Sir, our new levied Troops will be no longer diſtinguiſhed from our Veterans; they will be equally acquainted with Diſcipline, and will learn from the Converſation of their Aſſociates, a Spirit of Enterpriſe, and a Contempt of Danger; we may then employ Forces equally formidable in all Parts of the public Service, and invade the Dominions of our Enemies, without leaving our own Country deſolate.

'The Arguments which the honourable Gentleman has offered in Defence of ſending our younger Troops to the *Weſt Indies*, which may likewiſe be uſed againſt an Incorporation, is in my Opinion, Sir, far from being concluſive; for it ſuppoſes, what will not be granted, that a cold Climate may be changed for a hotter, with more Safety by a young, than an old Man. I have been told on the contrary, that ſuperabundant Heat is the great Diſeaſe of Youth, and that the Want of it produces moſt of the Infirmities of Age; and every one has known the Lives of Perſons, languiſhing with Age, prolong'd by a Removal into warm Countries. I am therefore

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of Opinion, that the honourable Gentleman's Argument is defective in all its Parts, and hope that I ſhall not be charged with Obſtinacy or Perverſeneſs for diſſenting from him.

Mr. Howe. Mr. *Howe* † ſpoke next in Subſtance as follows.

Sir,

'Before I engage in a Diſcuſſion of the Queſtion, I cannot but think it neceſſary to obſerve, that the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke the ſecond in this Debate, has been very far from conſulting either Policy or Juſtice in his Declamation, and that he deviated from the Subject only to ridicule his Country, to exalt our Enemies, and depreſs our Efforts.

'He has deſcribed, Sir, the *Britiſh* Youth, the Sons of noble Families, and the Hopes of the Nation, in Terms too contemptuous to be heard without Indignation; he has amuſed himſelf with diſplaying their Ignorance and their Effeminacy, and has indulged his Imagination in a malignant Kind of Gaiety, which, however it may divert himſelf, is very far from contributing either to the Reformation or Prevention of thoſe Practices which he cenſures.

'I believe, Sir, it will be granted, that nothing ought to pleaſe but in Proportion to its Propriety and Truth; and if we try the Satire that we have lately heard by this Teſt, it will be found to have very little Claim to Applauſe; for our Armies muſt be compoſed of the Youth of the Nation: And for my Part, I cannot diſcover what Advantage we ſhall gain over the *Spaniards* by informing them how little our Troops are accuſtomed to Danger, how ſhort a Time they have been acquainted with Fatigue, how tenderly they have been nurſed, how eaſily they may be frighted, and how certainly they will be conquer'd, if they but meet with Oppoſition.

'Nor, Sir, is ſuch an Account of the Youth of *Britain* more true, in my Opinion, than it is prudent. I am far from diſcovering any ſuch remarkable Degeneracy in the Age, or any great Prevalence of Cowardice and unmanly Delicacy; nor do I doubt of hearing, that our Youth, if they are ſent upon any Expedition, will ſhew, that the *Britiſh* Courage is not yet extinguiſhed, and that, if they are ranged on the Plains of the *Weſt Indies*, they will diſcover themſelves the Sons of thoſe that forced the Paſs of *Schellenbourg*.

'That the Degeneracy of the *Britiſh* Youth is, at leaſt, not univerſal, we have juſt now, Sir, received an inconteſtible Proof from the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, and ſpoke with ſo much Elegance of Language, and Juſtneſs of Reaſoning, as ſhews, that there are to be found, among the Youth of *Great Britain*, Perſons very well qualified for the Parliament; and

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† Created Lord Chedworth ſoon after the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

I have never heard that a Poſt in the Army required greater Abilities.

'The Pleaſure, however, with which I have attended to his Remarks, has not ſo far prejudic'd me in Favour of his Opinion, as that I ſhall eaſily conſent to change that Method of Diſcipline to which our Troops have been accuſtomed, and of which we know by Experience, that it is at leaſt not leſs efficacious than that of any other Nation. Cuſtoms, if they are not bad, are not to be changed, becauſe it is an Argument in Favour of a Practice that the People have experienc'd it, and approv'd it, and every Change is diſagreeable to thoſe who judge only by Prejudice, of whom I need not ſay how great is the Number.

'Many Arguments may, Sir, in my Opinion, be added to our Experience in Favour of the preſent Eſtabliſhment. The Number of Officers —— But I find myſelf unable to purſue my Deſign, becauſe I can't read my Notes, which, being written by another Hand, are difficult to make out, as 'tis the Duſk of the Evening —— I ſhall therefore only make ſome Obſervations upon the Speech of the Gentleman who ſpoke the ſecond in this Debate, and hope that I ſhall be allowed to deviate from the principal Queſtion, ſince I do it only in Purſuit of another.

'He has obſerved, that our Troopers are mounted upon Horſes that are of no Uſe; a Remark, Sir, which I never heard from any other Perſon, and for which, I believe, no Authority can be produced: They are mounted, indeed, upon Horſes very different from thoſe which are uſed by other Nations, becauſe ſcarcely any other Country breeds Horſes of equal Size and Strength, and therefore, as I am inform'd, the *French* have purchaſed Horſes from this Iſland, and I believe that all the Cavalry of *Europe* would be mounted upon our Horſes, if they could procure them. I have been informed, that their Preſſure in the Shock of Battle is ſuch as no Forces in the World are able to ſuſtain; and that it was not leſs by the Strength of our Horſes, than the Spirit of our Soldiers, that the Squadrons of *France* were, in the Battle of *Blenheim*, puſhed into the *Danube*.

'Nor do I leſs diſapprove his Cenſure of the Choice which has been made of the Troops intended for the *Weſt Indian* Service, which, though I ardently deſire its Succeſs, I cannot think of equal Importance with the Defence of our own Country, for tho' we may be diſgraced by a Defeat, we can be endanger'd only by an Invaſion; and therefore I think it neceſſary to retain thoſe Troops on which we may beſt rely for the Security of this Iſland, leſt our Enemies ſhould take the Advantage of their Abſence, and ſet the Pretender on the Throne.

Sir *William Yonge* roſe next, and ſpoke to the Effect following:

Sir,

Sir Will. Yonge. ‘ It is a ſtanding Maxim, both in private Life and public Tranſactions, that no Man can obtain great Advantages, who is afraid of petty Inconveniences; and that he that will hope to obtain his End without Expence, will languiſh for ever in fruitleſs Wiſhes, and have the Mortification of ſeeing the Adventurous and the Liberal enjoy that Felicity, which though it is within his Reach, he is afraid of ſeizing.

‘ When the Depredations of the *Spaniards* became firſt the Subjects of our Debates, nothing was heard amongſt us but Threats of Vengeance, Demands of Reparation, Aſſertions of Sovereignty, and Reſolutions to obtain Security: The Importance of our Commerce, the Neceſſity of rigorous Meaſures, the Danger of Puſillanimity, the Meanneſs of Negotiation, and the Diſadvantages of Delay, were thundered from every Part of the Houſe. Every Man ſeemed to imagine that there was no Mean between Victory and Ruin, and that not to humble *Spain*, was to betray our Country to Inſults, Ignominy and Slavery.

‘ Far was I then, Sir, from ſuſpecting, that when the War, thus vehemently urged, ſhould be declared, that the Proſecution of it would produce any Debates. I doubted not but that every Man would be deſirous of ſignalizing his Zeal for the Proſperity of Commerce, by expediting the Supplies, and forwarding the Preparations, and that the only Contention among us would be, who ſhould appear the moſt ardent Enemy of *Spain*.

‘ But no ſooner are Hoſtilities begun againſt this inſolent and oppreſſive Nation, than thoſe who expreſſed moſt Reſentment at the Prudence and Moderation by which they were delayed, thoſe that accuſed every Attempt for an Accommodation, of Cowardice, and charged the Miniſtry with conniving at the Rapine of Pirates, begin to enquire into the Neceſſity of the Expences occaſioned by the War, to harangue on the Advantages of Parſimony, and think it of more Importance to eaſe our Taxes, than to ſubdue our Enemies.

‘ In purſuance of this new Doctrine they are now endeavouring to embarraſs the Meaſures of his Majeſty, that they may ſave, according to their own Computation, only Thirty Thouſand Pounds, which in reality I can eaſily ſhew to be no more than Fifteen Thouſand.

‘ For the Sake of this important Sum our Army is to be modelled by a new Regulation, and the Succeſs of the War is to be impeded, the Security of our Commerce to be hazarded, and our Colonies are to be endanger'd.

‘ Frugality

'Frugality is undoubtedly a Virtue, but is, like others, to be practiſed on proper Occaſions: To compute Expence with a ſcrupulous Nicety in Time of War, is to prefer Money to Safety, and, by a very preverſe Kind of Policy, to hazard the Whole for the Preſervation of a Part.

'The Gentlemen, Sir, who have moſt endeavoured to diſtinguiſh themſelves as the conſtant Opponents of the Adminiſtration, have charged it, on all Occaſions, with giving Encouragement to the *Spaniards*, but can charge it with nothing ſo likely to raiſe the Confidence and confirm the Obſtinacy of the Enemy, as the Objections which they themſelves have made to the preſent Scheme of levying Forces; for to how great a Degree of Poverty muſt they believe that Nation reduced, of which the warmeſt Patriots ſtruggle to ſave a Sum ſo inconſiderable, by an Experiment of ſo much Uncertainty? and how eaſily will the *Spaniards* promiſe themſelves, that they ſhall gain the Victory only by obliging us to continue in a State of War, a State which, by our own Confeſſion, we are not able to ſupport?

'Had any other Argument, Sir, been produced than the Neceſſity of Parſimony, it had been leſs dangerous to have agreed to this new Scheme; but to adopt it only for the Sake of ſparing Fifteen Thouſand Pounds, would be to make ourſelves contemptible, to intimidate our Allies, and to unite all thoſe againſt us, who are inclined to trample on Miſery, and to plunder Weakneſs.

'I am inclin'd to judge ſo favourably, Sir, of the Intentions of thoſe whom I am now oppoſing, that I believe they have only uſed this Argument, becauſe they were able to produce no other, and that if either Reaſon or Experience had been on their Side, the Poverty of the Nation had not been mention'd.

'But the honourable Gentleman, who has been ſo long engaged in military Employments, has ſhewn that all our Succeſs has been obtained by the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and that the Battle in which we ſuffer'd moſt, was loſt by our unfortunate Deficiency of Officers.

'Nor do his Reaſons, Sir, however modeſtly offer'd, deſerve leſs Regard than his Experience, for he has ſhown, that a greater Number of Officers naturally contribute to preſerve Diſcipline, and excite Courage, and it is not neceſſary that a Man ſhould be much a Soldier to diſcover, that Diſcipline and Courage united, muſt generally prevail.

'To the Examples which he has produced in Favour of his Opinion, it has been objected, that Victories equally wonderful have been gained with fewer Officers, and, by the Honourable Gentleman that ſpoke the ſecond on this Occaſion,

ſion, the Actions of *Eugene* were oppoſed to thoſe of the Duke of *Marlborough*.

'That Victories have been gained by Troops differently regulated, I cannot deny: Victories have likewiſe been gained Sir, under every Circumſtance of Diſadvantage: Victories have been gained by inferior Numbers, and by raw Troops, over veteran Armies, yet no prudent General ever produc'd theſe Inſtances as Arguments againſt the Uſefulneſs of Diſcipline, or as Proofs that Superiority of Numbers, was no Advantage.

'The Succeſs of Prince *Eugene* in the late War, was far from convincing the *Britiſh* General that the *German* Eſtabliſhment was preferable to our own; for he required that the *Heſſian* Troops, which were paid by *Great Britain*, ſhould be officer'd like our national Troops. In this he could be influenced only by his own Opinion; for he neither nominated their Officers, nor could advance his Intereſt at home by creating new Poſts to which he did not recommend; he could therefore only regard the Succeſs of the War, and changed their Model only becauſe he thought it defective.

'The *Germans* themſelves, Sir, are far from imagining that their Armies might not be made more formidable by approaching nearer to the *Britiſh* Methods; for one of their Officers, a Man of great Reputation and Experience has informed me, that they were convinced of their Defect, and that nothing hindered them from adding more Officers, but the Fear of Expences, that they imputed all their Defeats to the Neceſſity of Parſimony, that their Men wanted not Courage but Leaders, and that their Enemies gained Advantages merely by the Superiority of their Purſes.

'In the late War it was common for the auxiliary Troops, when they were ſent upon any Expedition of Importance, to be ſupplied with Officers either from their other Regiments, or by the *Britiſh* Forces; ſo neceſſary did the Duke of *Marlborough* think a larger Number of Officers in time of Action, that where he could not alter the Eſtabliſhment, he deviated from the common Methods of War, and transferred his Officers occaſionally into Troops over which they had no ſettled Authority.

'It is therefore moſt evident, Sir, that the Model on which our Troops are formed, was, by this great Commander, preferr'd to that which is now ſo warmly recommended, and I know not why we ſhould recede from his Practice, if we are deſirous of his Succeſs.

'Nor can I diſcover, Sir, any better Method of ſelecting Officers than that which has of late been followed, however ſome may cenſure or ridicule it. To advance Gentlemen to

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Command ſeems to be the moſt likely way to unite Authority with Rank, for no Man willingly obeys thoſe to whom he has lately ſeen himſelf equal, or whoſe Conduct in lower Stations, he has perhaps had Opportunities of examining too nearly.

'The Diſtinction of Birth, however chimerical in itſelf, has been ſo long admitted, and ſo univerſally received, that it is generally imagined to confer on one Man an indelible and evident Superiority over another, a Superiority, which thoſe who would eaſily imagine themſelves equal in Merit cannot deny, and which they allow more willingly, becauſe tho' it be an Advantage to poſſeſs it, to want it cannot be juſtly conſidered as a Reproach.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, Men chearfully obey thoſe to whom their Birth ſeems to have ſubjected them, without any ſcrupulous Enquiries into their Virtues or Abilities; they have been taught, from their Childhood, to conſider them as placed in a higher Rank than themſelves, and are therefore not diſguſted at any tranſient Burſts of Impatience, or ſudden Starts of Caprice, which would produce at leaſt Reſentment, and perhaps Mutiny, in Men newly exalted from a low Station. The more attentively, Sir, we look upon the World, the more ſtrongly ſhall we be convinced of the Truth of theſe Aſſertions, and the more evidently ſhall we diſcover the Influence which operates, in a Degree ſcarcely credible, even to thoſe who have experienced its Power, and which is indeed one of the chief Means of Subordination, by which Society is held together.

'Nor are Officers of Birth, Sir, to be preferred to Men who are recommended by nothing but military Service, only becauſe they are more chearfully obeyed, but for another Reaſon of equal Importance. It has been obſerved, that, in reality, they diſcharge the Duty of Commanders in a Manner more likely to preſerve Dignity and encreaſe Reverence; that they diſcover, on all Occaſions, a Senſe of Honour and Dread of Diſgrace, which are not eaſily to be found in a Mind contracted by a mean Education, and depreſſed by long Habits of Subjection.

'It is not indeed, Sir, univerſally and unvariably certain, that a Man raiſed from Meanneſs and Poverty, will be inſolent and oppreſſive; nor do I doubt but there are many now languiſhing in Obſcurity, whoſe Abilities might add new Luſtre to the higheſt Honours, and whoſe Integrity would very faithfully diſcharge the moſt important Truſt; and in their Favour, where ever they can be diſcovered, ſome Exceptions ought to be made; but as general Rules are generally to be followed, as well in military Regulations as other Tranſactions, it will be found upon the exacteſt Enquiry by no

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Means improper to advance Gentlemen to Poſts of Command, rather than private Sentinels, however ſkilful or courageous.

'It is to be conſidered, Sir, that the preſent State of the Continent has for many Years made it neceſſary to ſupport an Army even when we are not engaged in an actual War; that this Army, tho' of late it has, for the Eaſe of the People, been ſometimes encamped during the Summer, is for the greateſt Part quartered in Towns, and mingled with the reſt of the Community, but governed at the ſame time by the Officers, and ſubject to the martial Law. It has often been obſerved by thoſe who have argued againſt ſtanding Forces, that this Difference of Government, makes different Societies, which do not combine in the ſame Intereſt, nor much favour one another; and it is indeed certain that Feuds are ſometimes produced, that when any private Quarrel happens either by Drunkenneſs, or Accident, or Claims really diſputable, between a Soldier and any other Perſon, each applies for Support and Aſſiſtance to thoſe in the ſame Condition with himſelf; the Cauſe becomes general, and the Soldiers and Townſmen are not eaſily reſtrained from Blows and Bloodſhed.

'It is true likewiſe that the Rhetoric of the Patriots has been ſo efficacious, that their Arguments have been ſo clamorouſly echo'd, and their Weekly Productions ſo diligently diſperſed, that a great Part of the Nation, as Men always willingly admit what will produce immediate Eaſe or Advantage, believe the Army to be an uſeleſs Burthen impoſed upon the People for the Support of the Miniſtry; that the Landlord therefore looks upon the Soldier as an Intruder forced into his Houſe, and rioting in Sloth at his Expence; and the Farmer and Manufacturer, have learned to call the Army the Vermine of the Land, the Caterpillers of the Nation, the Devourers of other Mens Induſtry, the Enemies of Liberty, and the Slaves of the Court.

'It is not to be ſuppoſed, Sir, that the Soldiers entertain the ſame Ideas of their Profeſſion, or that they do not conceive themſelves injured by ſuch Repreſentations: They undoubtedly conſider themſelves as the Bulwark of their Country, as Men ſelected for the Defence of the reſt of their Community, as thoſe who have engaged at the Hazard of their Lives to repel Invaſion and repreſs Rebellion, and who contribute more than their Part to the general Felicity, by ſecuring Property and preventing Danger.

'It is not to be doubted, Sir, but Sentiments ſo widely different, muſt produce an equal Contrariety of Claims, and Diverſity of Conduct; the Trader imagines, that the Man who ſubſiſts upon the Taxes which are raiſed only from his Labour,

Labour, ought to conſider himſelf as his Inferior at leaſt, if not as his Hireling and his Servant; the Soldier wonders how he can ever conceive himſelf ſufficiently grateful to him that has devoted his Life to his Defence, and to whom he muſt fly for Protection whenever Danger ſhall approach him, and concludes that he has an inconteſtable Right to the better Part of that, of which the Preſervation of the whole depends upon him.

'Thus does Self-love magnify every Man in his own Eyes, and ſo differently will Men determine when each is to judge in his own Cauſe. Which of theſe Competitors thinks moſt juſtly of his own Station and Character, or whether both are not miſtaken in their Opinion, I think it by no means neceſſary to decide. This at leaſt is evident, that to preſerve Peace and Harmony, between two Bodies of Men obliged to live together with Sentiments ſo oppoſite, there is required an uncommon Degree of Prudence, Moderation, and Knowledge of Mankind, which is chiefly to be exerted on the Part of the Soldiers, becauſe they are ſubject to more rigorous Command, and are more eaſily governed by the Authority of their Superiors.

'Let us ſuppoſe any Diſpute of this Kind, Sir, to happen where the Soldiers were commanded only by private Sentinels, diſguiſed in the Dreſs of Officers, but retaining, what it cannot be expected that they ſhould ſuddenly be able to lay aſide, the Prejudices which they had imbibed in the Ranks, and all the Ardour of trifling Competition in which their Station had once engaged them. What could be expected from their Councils and Direction? Can it be imagined that they would enquire impartially into the original Cauſe of the Diſpute, that they would attend equally to the Parties, endeavour by Mildneſs and Candour to ſoften the Malevolence of each, and terminate the Diſpute by ſome addreſsful Expedient, or decent Accommodation? He ſurely muſt be very little acquainted with the vulgar Notions of Bravery and Honour, that could form any Hopes of ſuch Conduct.

'The plain Soldier, Sir, has not accuſtomed himſelf to regulate his Motions by Reaſon, nor has learned any more of Honour, than that it conſiſts in adhering invariably to his Pretenſions, even though he ſhould diſcover that they are falſe, and in reſenting Affronts with the utmoſt Rigour, even when they were provoked by himſelf; he is taught, that it is his Buſineſs to conquer in whatever Cauſe, and, that to deſiſt from any of his Attempts, or retract any of his Aſſertions, is unworthy of a Man of Honour.

'Warm with ſuch Notions as theſe, Sir, would ſuch Officers, as have been recommended by the honourable Gentleman, apply

apply themſelves to the Termination of Differences, without any Knowledge of the Laws of Society, without any ſettled Ideas of the different Rights of different Perſons; they would have nothing in View but the Honour of their Profeſſion, nor endeavour to ſupport it by any other Method than that of Violence. If a Soldier was affronted by a Farmer, they would probably lay his Territories waſte, and ravage his Plantations like an Enemy's Country; if another diſagreed with his Landlord, they would adviſe him to *make good his Quarters*, to invade the Magazines of Proviſion without Reſtraint, to force the Barricadoes of the Cellar, and to forage in the Stables without Controul.

'But Gentlemen, Sir, are proper Judges of Debates between the Army and the reſt of the Community, becauſe they are equally related to both Parties, as Men who poſſeſs or expect Eſtates, or who are allied to thoſe whoſe Influence ariſes from their Property. As Men bred in Affluence and Freedom, and acquainted with the Bleſſings of our Conſtitution, and the Neceſſity of civil Government, they cannot willingly contribute to the Increaſe of the military Power, and as Members of the Army they cannot but be deſirous to ſupport their own Rank, and to hinder their Profeſſion from ſinking into Contempt; it is therefore their Care to repreſs Inſolence on one Part, and to prevent Oppreſſion on the other, to ſtop Diſſentions in their Beginning, and reconcile all the different Pretenſions of the People and Soldiers.

'I am indeed ſurprized, Sir, to hear the Promotion of Serjeants recommended by the honourable Gentleman, who has ſo often ſtrained his Lungs, and exhauſted his Invention, to explain how much our Conſtitution is endangered by the Army; how readily thoſe Men will concur in the Abolition of Property who have nothing to loſe, and how eaſily they may be perſwaded to deſtroy the Liberties of their Country, who are already cut off from the Enjoyment of them; who, therefore can only behold with Envy and Malevolence thoſe Advantages which they cannot hope to poſſeſs, and which produce in them no other Effects than a quicker Senſe of their own Miſery.

'Upon what Principles, Sir, any Gentleman can form thoſe Notions, or with what View he can ſo long and ſo ſtudiouſly diſperſe them, it is his Province to explain, for the only Reaſon that can be offered by any other Perſon for his inceſſant Declamations, the Deſire of ſecuring his Country from the Oppreſſion of a ſtanding Army, is now for ever overthrown by this new Propoſal; which, if it were to be receiv'd, would in a very few Years produce an Army proper to be employed in the Execution of the moſt deteſtable Deſigns,

ſigns, an Army that could be of no other Uſe than to gratify an ambitious Prince or a wicked Miniſtry, as it would be commanded, not by Men who had loſt their Liberty, but by Men who never enjoyed it; by Men who would aboliſh our Conſtitution without knowing that they were engaged in any criminal Undertaking, who have no other Senſe of the Enjoyment of Authority than that it is the Power of acting without Controul; who have no Knowledge of any other Laws than the Commands of their Superiors.

'To Men like theſe, Sir, to Men raiſed up from Poverty and Servility to Rank and Power, to Ignorance inveſted with Command, and to Meanneſs elated with Preferment, would any real Patriot, any zealous Aſſertor of Liberty, any inflexible Enemy to the Corruptions of the Miniſtry, conſign the Protection of his Country, and intruſt to theſe our Happineſs, our Properties and our Lives?

'Whether the honourable Gentleman has changed any of the Sentiments which he has hitherto appeared to admit with regard to the Army; whether this new Determination is only an Inſtance of that Inconſiſtency which is ſcarcely to be avoided in the Vindication of a bad Cauſe; or whether he was betrayed to it only by his Hatred of the Adminiſtration, which would prompt him to recant his own Advice, if it ſhould happen to be approved, I will not pretend to determine: But I muſt lament on this Occaſion the Entertainment which the Houſe will loſe, by the eternal Ceſſation of any Harrangues on the Army, ſince he cannot now declaim on either Part without contradicting his former Declarations.

'Nor will the honourable Gentleman find leſs Difficulty in proving, that Juſtice rather than Policy requires the Promotion of Serjeants to Commiſſions. Military Preferments are always at the Diſpoſal of the Crown; nor can any Right be pretended to them but ſuch as ariſes from the Cuſtom which has been generally followed in conferring them, which is not only variable at Pleaſure, but has never been at any Time regularly obſerved. The Order of Rotation has been ſuffered ſometimes to proceed, becauſe of two Perſons otherwiſe equal, he that has ſerved longeſt may plead the moſt Merit; but the Plea of Service has been always over-ruled by Birth or powerful Recommendation. And tho', Sir, it is natural for Men diſappointed to complain, yet as thoſe Officers, whoſe Preferment has been delayed, were not thought in reality to have received any Injury, their Murmurs have been the leſs regarded.

'It might be expected, Sir, from a Patriot, a Lamenter of the Degeneracy of Mankind, and an inflexible Opponent of Corruption, that he ſhould conſider rather Facts than Perſons; that he ſhould regulate his Deciſion by the invariable Princi-

ples of Reaſon and Juſtice, and that therefore he ſhould not applaud at one Time what he condemns at another.

' But this Gentleman ſeems to have eſtabliſhed ſome new Maxims of Conduct, and perhaps upon new Notions of Morality; for he ſeems to imagine, that his Friends may ſeize as their Right, what his Adverſaries cannot touch without Robbery, though the Claim of both be the ſame.

' It is well known, Sir, to the whole Army, that a noble Perſon whoſe Abilities are ſo loudly celebrated, whoſe Virtues are ſo liberally praiſed, and whoſe Removal from his military Employments is ſo ſolemnly lamented as a publick Calamity, obtain'd his firſt Preferments by Pretenſions very different from military Merit; and that at the Age only of Seventeen, a Time of Life in which, whatever might be his Abilities, very little Prudence or Experience could be expected, he was advanced to the Command of a Regiment, and exalted above many Officers whoſe known Bravery and frequent Hazard entitled them to Favour.

' I do not aſſert that he was undeſervedly promoted, or condemn thoſe who either ſolicited or granted his Commiſſion. I maintain only that what was then reaſonable and juſt, is not now either iniquitous or ridiculous, and different Perſons in the ſame Circumſtances have a Right to the ſame Treatment

' In the Reign of Queen *Anne*, a Reign, Sir, which every *Briton* recollects with ſo much Satisfaction, and which will for ever afford Examples of the wiſeſt Councils, and moſt ſucceſsful Wars, when new Regiments were to be raiſed it was far from being thought neceſſary to obſerve this Gentleman's favourite Method of Rotation; Poſts were filled, not with the Officers of other Regiments, that Room might be left for the Promotion of Serjeants, but with Gentlemen who had never ſeen a Battle, or learned any Part of the military Diſcipline.

' But tho', Sir, the Regulation of our Army be thus violently attacked, the greateſt Crime of the Miniſtry is, in this Gentleman's Opinion, that of levying new Troops, when we have no Employment for our Standing Forces; of laying unneceſſary Impoſitions upon the Nation, and alarming them with the Fears of an Invaſion, only that the Army might be encreaſed.

' On this Head, Sir, a Declaration of the Duke of *Marlborough* has been produced, with a great Pomp of Circumſtances, and ſuch a ſeeming Accuracy of Narration, that the Attention of the Houſe was engaged, and the Account was receiv'd with all the Solemnity of univerſal Silence, and with the Veneration due to ſo high an Authority in a Queſtion of ſo much Importance.

' The

' The Subject is indeed ſo worthy of Regard, that I think, Sir, every Man ought to contribute to the clearing it up; and therefore I take the Liberty of adding to the Honourable Gentleman's Relation, what I hope will be heard with equal Curioſity, the Method by which that great Commander propoſed to put a Stop to an Invaſion with ſo ſmall a Number.

' He was very far, Sir, from imagining that he ſhould be able to repel them by open Force; he was far from being ſo confident of his Superiority in military Skill, as to imagine that he ſhould defeat them by Stratagem; and therefore he deſigned, by burning the Villages and deſtroying the Country, to deprive them of the Means of Subſiſtence, and harraſs them with Famine; to hover at a Diſtance, and cut off thoſe Parties which Neceſſity ſhould force out to forage, till a Body of Troops could be aſſembled ſufficient to overthrow them in a Battle, or to drive them back to their Ships.

' Such was the Scheme, Sir, as I have been inform'd, of this great Man, nor perhaps, can any other be ſtruck out by human Abilities, where greater Numbers are to be oppos'd by ſmaller. But this Scheme, though preferable, in the laſt Extremities, to Slavery, is ſuch as cannot be mention'd without Horror, and of which the Execution ought to be avoided by every Expedient that can be practis'd without the Danger of our Liberties. We ought certainly not to reject a nauſeous Medicine, by which that Health is preſerv'd, which, if loſt, can only be reſtor'd by the Amputation of a Limb.

' As it was therefore neceſſary, Sir, to ſecure our Coaſts from an Invaſion, it was neceſſary to raiſe new Troops for the *Weſt India* Expedition; nor did this Method produce any Delay, for the Regiments were compleated a long Time before the Ships of War, and the Tranſports were ready to convoy and receive them, nor could the utmoſt Ardour and Diligence diſpatch them ſooner from our Coaſts.

' The Ships, Sir, were by the Violence of a Froſt, ſcarcely exampled, retain'd for a long Time in the Harbours, without a Poſſibility of being put to Sea; when they were all aſſembled at the Place appointed for their Conjunction, they waited for a Wind; all the Delay that can be objected, was produc'd by the Seaſons, of which the Regulation was in no Man's Power.

' But the Time, Sir, which was unwillingly ſpent in the Camp, was not however loſt or miſemploy'd, for the Troops were, by the Order of the General, every Day exercis'd, and inſtructed in the Art of War, ſo that what was loſt in Time, was more than recompens'd by the Advantage of better Diſcipline.

'Nor did theſe Troops appear an Herd ſo ignorant and contemptible, as they have been repreſented by malicious Invectives and ludicrous Deſcriptions; there were not indeed among them many grey headed Warriors, nor were their former Campaigns and paſt Exploits, the Subjects of their Converſation; but there was not one amongſt them who did not appear ready to ſuffer, in the Cauſe of his Country, all that the moſt harden'd Veteran could undergo, or whoſe Alacrity and Eagerneſs did not promiſe Perſeverance in the March, and Intrepidity in the Battle.

'Their General, Sir, who ſaw them purſue their Exerciſes, declar'd how much he was ſatisfied with their Proficiency, applauded their Appearance, and expreſs'd his Confidence in their Courage; nor do I doubt, but our Enemies will find, that it is not neceſſary to ſend out our moſt formidable Forces to humble them, and that the Youth of *Great-Britain* will compenſate their Want of Experience by their Courage.

'If I, Sir, have been drawn aſide from the preſent Queſtion, it is by following, perhaps, with an Exactneſs too ſcrupulous, the Hon Gentleman, whoſe Propoſitions I have now ſhewn to be erroneous, and whoſe Reproaches will, I believe, now appear rather the Effects of Diſappointment than of Zeal; and therefore I think it now neceſſary to return to the Buſineſs before us, the Conſideration of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, from which, as it was approv'd by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and has been defended with very ſtrong Arguments by one of the moſt experienc'd Officers of the preſent Age, I cannot think it ſafe or prudent to depart.

Mr *Grenville* ſpoke next to the following Effect:

Sir,

'...enville.

'As a noble Perſon has been frequently hinted at in this Debate, to whom my Relation is well known, and whom, as I know him well, I have the ſtrongeſt Motives to reverence and honour, I cannot forbear to give, on this Occaſion, an Atteſtation which he will be allowed to deſerve by all thoſe whom Intereſt has not blinded, and Corruption depraved.

'It will be allowed, Sir, that he is one of thoſe who are indebted for their Honours only to Merit, one whom the Malice of a Court cannot debaſe, as its Favour cannot exalt; he is one of thoſe whoſe Loſs of Employments can be a Reproach only to thoſe who take them from him, as he cannot forfeit them but by performing his Duty, and can only give Offence by ſteady Integrity, and a Reſolution to ſpeak as he thinks, and to act as his Conſcience dictates.

'There

'There are, Sir, Men I know, to whom this Panegyric will ſeem romantic and chimerical, Men to whom Integrity and Conſcience are idle Sounds, Men who are content to catch the Word of their Leader, who have no Senſe of the Obligation of any Law but the ſupreme Will of him that pays them, and who know not any Virtue but Diligence in Attendance, and Readineſs in Obedience.

'It is ſurely, Sir, no Loſs to the noble Perſon to be debarred from any Fellowſhip with Men like theſe. Nothing can be more unpleaſing to Virtue than ſuch a Situation as lays it under a Neceſſity of beholding Wickedneſs that cannot be reformed; as the Sight of a Peſt-houſe muſt raiſe Horror, though we ſhould ſuppoſe the Spectator ſecure from the Contagion.

Then Mr *Ord* ſtood up and ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

'As I cannot approve the Scheme now propos'd for augmenting our Forces, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew why the Arguments, by which it has hitherto been ſupported, have failed to convince me, and ſhall lay before the Houſe ſome Reaſons againſt it, to which I ſhall expect an Anſwer, before I ſhall think that I can agree to it, without ſquandering the Money which my Conſtituents have intruſted me with the Diſpoſal of. Mr Ord.

'The Argument, Sir, with which this Motion was introduc'd, which is indeed the ſtrongeſt that has yet been offer'd, was, that this Eſtimate is leſs expenſive than one that was laid before the Houſe in a late Reign, and that therefore it could not reaſonably be charged with Extravagance.

'Let us now conſider this Argument with that Care which is required by the Importance of the Queſtion; let us inquire what Conſequences will follow from it, and to what previous Suppoſitions it muſt owe its Force.

'The Argument, Sir, evidently ſuppoſes that the Eſtimate in the Reign of King *William*, was drawn up without any Intention to deceive the Houſe, or to raiſe Money for Purpoſes different from thoſe, for which it was really expended. But if we ſuppoſe that Eſtimate to be fraudulently calculated, this may contain the ſame Fallacies in a lower Degree, and the only Merit that can be claim'd by the Authors of it, will be, that they are not the moſt rapacious Plunderers of their Country; and that however they may be charged with Profuſion of public Money, they are yet more modeſt than ſome of their Predeceſſors.

'But it is known, Sir, that in the Reign of King *William*, very few Eſtimates were honeſtly computed; it is known

known that the Rotation of Parties, and Fluctuation of Meaſures, reduc'd the Miniſtry to ſubſiſt upon Artifices; to amuſe the Parliament with exorbitant Demands, only that they might obtain the neceſſary Grants, and to pretend Expences which never were incurr'd, that the Supplies which the public Affairs really required, might not be withheld; as fraudulent Tradeſmen fix immoderate Prices, that the Buyer may make Offers proportionate to their Demands.

'The Eſtimates therefore of that Reign are of very little Authority, though they might ſometimes paſs the Houſe without Cenſure; for it is to be conſidered, that by the Frequency of new Elections, the greateſt Part of the Members were often unacquainted with the State of publick Accounts, and that an Army was ſo little known to this Kingdom, that the true Expence of it might eaſily be concealed.

'Nor is this, Sir, the only Fallacy of this Argument; for it ſuppoſes likewiſe, that the Nation is no leſs wealthy than in the Time when that Computation was offered, with which this is ſo triumphantly compared. For every Man knows that publick as well as private Expences are to be proportioned to the Revenue by which they are ſupplied, and that the Charges which are eaſily ſupported at one Time, may threaten Ruin at another.

'But unhappily, Sir, it is evident, that, ſince the Days of that King, the Nation has been exhauſted by a long and waſteful War, and ſince, by a Peace equally deſtructive: it is embaraſſed with an enormous Debt, and intangled in Treaties, of which the Support may call every Day for new Expences; it has ſuffered ſince that Time a thouſand Loſſes, but gained no Advantage, and yet the Expences of that Time are mentioned as an Example to be compared with thoſe which are propoſed in this.

'The Difference of the Condition of the *Britiſh* Nation at thoſe two Periods of Time, Sir, is not leſs than that of the Strength of the ſame Man in the Vigour of Youth, and the Frigidity of old Age, in the Fluſh of Health and the Languor of Diſeaſe, of the ſame Man newly riſen from Reſt and Plenty, and debilitated with Hunger and Fatigue.

'To make ſuch a Compariſon, Sir, betrays at leaſt a very criminal Inſenſibility of the public Miſery, if it may not be charged with greater Malignity. I know not whether thoſe who ſhall hear of this Debate, may not impute ſuch Reflexions rather to Cruelty than Negligence, and imagine that thoſe who ſquander the Treaſure of the Nation, take Pleaſure in reproaching that Poverty which their Counſels produce, and indulge their own Vanity by contemplating the Calamities from which they are themſelves ſecure, and to which they are

indebted

indebted for Opportunities of increaſing their own Fortunes, and gratifying their Ambition. It is evident, that an Eſtimate which requires leſs than that which has been mentioned, may yet exact more than the Nation can now raiſe, without feeling too great Inconveniences to be compenſated by the Advantages which can be expected from our new Forces. Nor is it ſufficient that it is lower than thoſe of former Times; for as it ought to be the Care of the Government to preſerve the Eaſe and Happineſs of the People, it ſhould be reduced in Proportion to the Diminution of the national Wealth.

'The Right honourable Gentleman confeſſes, Sir, that Frugality is a Virtue, and his Argument ſuppoſes, that to contract Expences is an Argument of prudent Meaſures; why then is he afraid of carrrying Virtue to a greater Height, of making the Burthen ſtill more light, and preferring the cheapeſt Eſtimate that can be propoſed, when it is aſſerted by thoſe whoſe Authority is moſt worthy of Regard, that it will produce no Weakneſs in our Troops, nor give our Enemies any Superiority?

'I do not pretend any other Skill in military Affairs, than may be gained by caſual Converſation with Soldiers, and by a curſory Obſervation of daily Occurrences; but I ſpeak with greater Confidence on this Occaſion, becauſe I do not think any other Qualifications neceſſary for the Determination of this Queſtion, than a Habit of juſt Reaſoning and Freedom from the Prejudices of Intereſt.

'Every Man knows, Sir, without a military Education, that it is imprudent to purchaſe any thing at a greater Price which may be procured at a leſs; and that when the ſame Sum will buy two Things, of which one is evidently preferable to the other, the beſt ought to be choſen.

'If the Application of either of theſe two Poſitions will decide this Controverſy, there will be no need of recurring to Experience, of citing the Authority of foreign Commanders, of comparing the Actions of the *Germans* and *Britiſh* Generals, or of enquiring how Battles have been loſt, or to what Cauſes Victories are to be aſcribed.

'It is evident, Sir, that the Scheme now propoſed, is twice as coſtly as that which is recommended in Oppoſition to it; and therefore unleſs it will produce twice the Advantage, it muſt be acknowledged to be imprudently choſen. The Advantage in War is to be rated by comparing the Strength of different Numbers in different Circumſtances, and enquiring what Degree of Superiority will be found.

'If we ſuppoſe, Sir, two Bodies of Men equally armed and diſciplined oppoſed to each other without any Advantage of

of Situation, we muſt conceive that neither Party could be conquered, that the Balance of the Day muſt remain equal, and the Conteſt would continue undecided.

'It cannot be objected to this Suppoſition, Sir, that no ſuch Event is recorded in Hiſtory, becauſe in War many Cauſes really act which cannot be eſtimated; one Army may conſiſt of Soldiers more courageous, and more confident in the Juſtice of their Cauſe, unforſeen Accidents may operate, Orders may be miſtaken, or Leaders may be miſinformed; but all theſe Conſiderations ars to be ſet aſide in Speculation, becauſe they may equally be alledged on either Part.

'Two Bodies of Men, Sir, equally numerous, being therefore ſuppoſed equal, it is to be enquired how either may be ſuperior to the other. It is propoſed on one Part to produce this Effect by doubling the Number of Officers rather than increaſing that of the Soldiers; and the other, to double the Soldiers under the ſame Officers, the Expence being the ſame of both Methods.

'When two Armies modelled according to theſe different Schemes enter the Field, what Event can be expected? Either five Thouſand Men with a double Number of Officers, muſt be equal to ten Thouſand differently regulated, or the Public has paid more for Aſſiſtance of the Officers than its real Value, and has choſen of two Methods equally expenſive that which is leaſt efficacious.

'This, Sir, is the State of the Queſtion now before us, our preſent Deficiency is not of Men but Money, and we may procure ten Thouſand Men regulated like the foreign Troops, at the ſame Expence as five Thouſand in the Form propoſed; but I am afraid that no Man will be found to aſſert, that the Addition of Officers will be equivalent to a double Number of Soldiers.

'Thus it is evident, Sir, evident to Demonſtration, that the moſt expenſive Method is at the ſame time the leaſt advantagious, and that the Propoſal of new Regiments is intended to augment the Strength of the Miniſtry rather than of the Army.

'If we ſuppoſe, Sir, what is more than any Foreigner will grant, that the additional Officers raiſe a Body of five Thouſand Men to an Equality with ſix Thouſand, is not the Pay of four Thouſand Men apparently thrown away? and do not the Officers receive a Reward which their Service cannot deſerve? Would it not be far more rational to raiſe ſeven Thouſand, by which our Army would be ſtronger by a ſeventh Part, and as the Pay of three Thouſand would be ſaved, the Publick would be richer by almoſt a Third.

'Surely, Sir, numerical Arguments cannot but deſerve ſome Conſideration, even from thoſe who have learned by long

long Practice to explain away mere Probability at Pleaſure, to ſelect the Circumſtances of complicated Queſtions, and only to ſhew thoſe which may be produced in Favour of their own Opinions.

'In the preſent Queſtion, Sir, there is very little Room for Fallacy, nor do I ſee what remains to the Deciſion of it, but that thoſe Gentlemen, who have been acquainted with military Operations, ſhould inform us, what Degree of Superiority is conferred by any aſſignable Number of Officers; that we may compare their Service with the Price, and diſcover whether the ſame Money will not purchaſe greater Advantages.

'The Experience of the late War may evince, Sir, that thoſe Troops which have the greateſt Number of Officers are not always victorious; for our Eſtabliſhment never admitted the ſame, or nearly the ſame Number with that of the *French*, our Enemies; nevertheleſs we ſtill boaſt of our Victories; nor is it certain that we might not have been equally ſucceſsful, tho' the Number of our Officers had been yet leſs.

'Foreigners, Sir, are very far from diſcovering the Defect of their own Eſtabliſhment, or imagining that they ſhould become more formidable by imitating our Methods. When I travelled, I took Opportunities of converſing with the Generals of thoſe Nations which are moſt famous for the Valour of their Troops, and was informed by them, that they thought a Multitude of Officers by no Means uſeful, and that they were ſo far from deſiring to ſee their own Regulation changed, that they ſhould make no Scruple of recommending it to other Nations, who in their Opinion, ſquandered their Treaſure upon uſeleſs Commiſſions, and increaſed the Calamities of War by unneceſſary Burthens.

'I hope no Man will think it ſufficient to reply to theſe Arguments with general Aſſertions, or will deny the Neceſſity of Frugality, and extol the Opulence of the Nation, the Extent of our Commerce, and the Happineſs of our Condition. Such indeed, Sir, is the Method of Argumentation made uſe of by the Hireling Scriblers of the Court, who, becauſe they feel none of the publick Calamities, repreſent all Complaints as criminal Murmurs, and charge thoſe with Sedition who petition only for Relief. Wretches like theſe would celebrate our Victories, though our Country ſhould be over-run by an Invader, would praiſe the Lenity of any Government by which themſelves ſhould be ſpared, and would boaſt of the Happineſs of Plenty, when half the People ſhould be languiſhing with Famine.

'I do not ſuppoſe, Sir, that the deſpicable Sophiſtry of Proſtitutes like theſe has any Effect here, nor ſhould I have thought them worthy of the leaſt Notice, had it not been proper to enquire, whether thoſe may not be juſtly ſuſpected of ſome Inclination to deceive, even in this Houſe, by whom the moſt profligate of Mankind are openly paid for the Promulgation of Falſhood, and the Patronage of Corruption.

'It is indeed, Sir, artful, in thoſe who are daily impairing our Honour and Influence, to endeavour to conceal from the People their own Weakneſs, that Weakneſs which is ſo well known in foreign Countries, that every Nation is encouraged to inſult us; and by which it may reaſonably be imagin'd that new Enemies will, in a ſhort Time, be raiſed.

'The late Changes in our military Regulations have indeed taken away all the Terror of our Arms; thoſe Troops are now no longer dreaded, by which the Liberties of *Europe* were recover'd, and the *French* reduced to abandon their Schemes of univerſal Empire, for the Defence of their own Country, becauſe the Officers by whom they were formerly conducted to Glory and to Victory, are now diſmiſſed, and Men advanced to their Poſts, who are neither feared nor known.

'When the Duke of *Argyle* was lately deprived of his Command, the *ſpaniards* could not conceal their Satisfaction; they beſtowed, however unwillingly, the higheſt Panegyric upon his Bravery and Conduct, by ſhewing that he was the only *Briton* of whom they were afraid. Nor did their Allies the *French* diſcover leſs Exultation; for by them it was declared, that the Nation was now diſarmed, that either no War was intended, or that none could be ſucceſsfully proſecuted, ſince, as they made no Scruple to aſſert, though I know not whether I ought to repeat it, we have no other Man capable of commanding Armies, or conducting any great Deſign.

'I am informed that this illuſtrious Warrior, whoſe Abilities are ſufficiently atteſted by thoſe Enemies that have felt their Prevalence, is of Opinion, that the Number of Officers now required is not neceſſary, and has declared that he ſhould with equal Confidence undertake either Invaſion or Defence, with Forces modelled after the *German* Cuſtom. And ſince I have ſhown that unleſs the Troops ſo regulated are equivalent to a double Number added to the ſtanding Regiments, Part of the Expence of the Officers is evidently ſquandered, I ſhall vote againſt the Motion, unleſs it be proved,

proved, which I believe will not be attempted, that the Force of a Regiment is doubled by doubling the Officers.

General *Wade* ſpoke next to the following Effect:

Sir,

General Wade. ‘ The learned Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, muſt be acknowledged to have diſcovered a very ſpecious Method of Reaſoning, and to have carried his Enquiry as far as Speculation without Experience can hope to proceed, but has in my Opinion admitted a falſe Principle, by which all his Argument has been perplexed.

‘ He ſuppoſes that the Advantages muſt be always in Proportion to the Money expended in procuring them, and that therefore if five thouſand Men, raiſed at any given Coſt will be equal to ten Thouſand, they ought, if they are regulated according to an Eſtabliſhment of double the Charge, to be able to encounter ten Thouſand.

‘ But in this Suppoſition, Sir, he forgets, that the Poſſibility of Loſs is to be thrown into the Balance againſt the Advantage of the Expence ſaved; and that tho' the Strength of the Troops be not encreaſed in Proportion to the Encreaſe of the Coſt, yet the additional Security againſt a great Loſs may juſtly entitle the moſt expenſive Regulation to the Preference.

‘ Suppoſe five Thouſand Men to be brought into the Field againſt ſix Thouſand, if they can by multiplying their Officers at a double Expence be enabled to engage ſucceſsfully a Body ſuperior in Number by only a ſixth Part, the Nation may be juſtly ſaid to gain all that would have been loſt by ſuffering a Defeat.

‘ That we ought not to chuſe a worſe Method when we can diſcover a better, is indiſputably true, but which Method is worſe or better, can be diſcovered only by Experience. The laſt War has taught us, that our Troops in their preſent Eſtabliſhment are ſuperior to the Forces of *France*, but how much they might ſuffer by any Alteration it is not poſſible to foreſee.

‘ Succeſs is gained by Courage, and Courage is produced by an Opinion of Superiority; and it may eaſily be imagined, that our Soldiers, who judge of their own Strength only by Experience, imagine their own Eſtabliſhment and Diſcipline advanced to the higheſt Perfection; nor would they expect any other Conſequences from an Alteration of it, but Weakneſs and Defeats. It is therefore dangerous to change the Model of our Forces, becauſe it is dangerous to depreſs the Spirit of our Soldiers.

Tho' it is confeſſed, Sir, that the *French*, whoſe Officers are ſtill more numerous, have been conquer'd by our Troops, it muſt be likewiſe alledged, that they had yielded us far eaſier Victories had their Officers been wanting; for to them are they indebted for their Conqueſts wherever they have been ſucceſsful, and for their Reſiſtance wherever they have been with Difficulty defeated; their Soldiers are a ſpiritleſs Herd, and were they not invigorated by the Example of their Leaders, and reſtrained by the Fear of inſtant Puniſhment, would fly at the Approach of any Enemy, without waiting for the Attack.

'I cannot therefore, Sir, but be of Opinion, that the Neceſſity of a large Number of Officers may be learned even from the Behaviour of thoſe Troops which have been unſucceſsful; ſince it is certain, that tho' they have been often overcome, they have generally reſiſted with great Steadineſs, and retired with great Order.

'If thoſe who are only ſpeculative Warriors ſhall imagine that their Arguments are not confuted, I can only repeat what I declared when I firſt attempted to deliver my Sentiments in this Debate, that I do not pretend to be very ſkilful in the Arts of Diſputation. I, who claim no other Title than that of an old Soldier, cannot hope to prevail much by my Oratory; it is enough for me that I am confident of confuting thoſe Arguments in the Field, which I oppoſe in Parliament.

Henry Fox, Eſq; ſpoke next to the following Effect.

Sir,

Mr Henry Fox.

'I am far from thinking that this Queſtion has been hitherto fully explained by thoſe who have either conſider'd it only as a Diſpute about Money, or a Queſtion merely ſpeculative concerning the Proportions between different Degrees of Expence, and Probability of Succeſs. In a War of this Kind Expence is the laſt and loweſt Conſideration, and where Experience may be conſulted, the Conjectures of Speculation ought to have no Weight.

'The Method, Sir, by which our Troops have hitherto been regulated, is well known to have produced Succeſs beyond our Expectations, to have exalted us to the Arbitration of the World, to have reduced the *French* to change their Threats of forcing a Monarch upon us into Petitions for Peace, and to have eſtabliſhed the Liberties of almoſt every Nation of the World that can call itſelf free.

'Whether this Method, Sir, ſo ſucceſsful, ſo eaſy, and ſo formidable, ſhall be changed; whether it ſhall be changed at a Time when the whole Continent is in Commotion, and every Nation calling Soldiers to its Standard; when the

French,

French, recover'd from their Defeats, ſeem to have forgotten the Force of that Hand that cruſhed them in the Pride of Victory; when they ſeem to be reviving their former Deſigns, and rekindling their extinguiſhed Ambition; whether at ſuch a Time the Regulations of our Army ſhall be changed to ſave, upon the higheſt Computation, only thirty thouſand Pounds, is the preſent Queſtion.

'On ſuch a Queſtion, Sir, I cannot obſerve, without Aſtoniſhment, any Man deliberating for a ſingle Moment. To ſuſpend our Opinion in this Caſe, would be to balance our Lives, our Liberties, our Patrimonies, and our Poſterity, againſt thirty thouſand Pounds.

'The Effects of our preſent Method, Sir, are well known to ourſelves, our Confederates, our Enemies, to every Man that has heard the Name of *Blenheim* and *Ramelies*; the Conſequences of the Eſtabliſhment, now contended for, our moſt experienc'd Commanders own themſelves unable to foreſee, and I am far from believing that theoretical Diſquiſitions can enable any Man to make great Diſcoveries in Military Affairs.

'Our own Inexperience of the Method which is ſo warmly recommended, is not the ſtrongeſt Objection to it, tho' even this ought, in my Opinion, to reſtrain us from trying it at this hazardous Conjuncture. But ſince Arguments, merely negative, may be thought overbalanced by the Proſpect of ſaving Money, I ſhall lay before the Houſe, what Effects the Want of Officers has produced with Regard to thoſe Nations, whoſe Poverty has laid them under a Neceſſity of parſimonious Eſtabliſhments.

'When the *Germans* were defeated by the *French* in the late War, I was at the Court of *Turin*, where the Battle was, as it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, the reigning Subject of Converſation, and where they did not want Opportunities of informing themſelves minutely of all the Circumſtances which contribute to the Event; it was there, Sir, univerſally determined, that the *Germans* loſt the Day merely for want of Officers.

'It was obſerved alſo, Sir, that ſome Troops which were once courted and feared by all the neighbouring Potentates, had loſt their Reputation in latter Times, of which no Reaſon could be alledg'd, but that they had leſſened the Number of their Officers; ſuch is the Change in the Model of the *Walloons*, and ſuch is the Conſequence produced by it.

'I am very far, Sir, from thinking, that Reaſon is not to be conſulted in Military Operations as in other Affairs, and have no leſs Satisfaction than the learned Gentleman who ſpoke laſt but one, in clear and demonſtrative Deductions; but in this Queſtion, Reaſon itſelf informs me, that

Regard

Regard ought only to be had to Experience, and that Authority unſupported by Practice, ought to have no Prevalence.

'I ſhall therefore, Sir, make no Enquiry into the Abilities of the Generals by whom theſe contrary Opinions are defended, nor draw any Parallel between their Actions or their Knowledge. It is ſufficient for me that the one is propoſing a new Scheme, and that the Opinion of the other can plead the Practice of King *William*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Succeſs of the laſt War.

'Yet, Sir, if Parſimony be a Virtue at this Time ſo eminently neceſſary, it may be urged in Favour of this Eſtimate, that it will be leſs expenſive than thoſe that have been formerly offered; and that as all Changes ought to be gradual, this may be conſidered as the firſt Step towards a general Reduction of the publick Charge.

Then Mr. Alderman *Heathcote* ſpoke to the following Purpoſe.

Sir,

Mr. Heathcote. 'It was not without Aſtoniſhment that I heard the honourable Gentleman who ſpoke lately, conclude his Remarks with an Attempt to renew our Apprehenſions of the Pretender, a chimerical Invader, and an Enemy in the Clouds, without Spirit, and without Forces, without Dominions, without Money, and without Allies; a miſerable Fugitive that has not a Friend in this Kingdom, or none but ſuch as are exaſperated by thoſe, whom the Men, that mention him with ſo much Terror, are attempting to vindicate.

'The Vanity, Sir, of ſuch Fears, the Folly of admitting them if they are real, and of counterfeiting them if they are falſe, has been ſufficiently expoſed in this Debate, by my honourable Friend; but as he thought it unneceſſary to employ Arguments in Proof of what cannot be denied, and believed it ſufficient to ridicule a Panic which he ſuppoſed merely political, I who judge, perhaps, more favourably of the Sincerity of ſome, and more tenderly of the Cowardice of others, ſhall endeavour to ſhew, that the frequent Revolutions which have happened in this Nation, afford us no Reaſon for fearing another equally ſudden and unforeſeen in Favour of the Pretender.

'The Government, Sir, is always ſtronger, as it is complicated with the private Intereſt of more Individuals; becauſe, though there are few that have Comprehenſion ſufficient to diſcern the general Advantage of the Community, almoſt every Man is capable of attending to his own; and tho' not many have Virtue to ſtand up in Oppoſition to the Approach of general Calamities, of which every one may hope

to

to exempt himſelf from his particular Share, yet the moſt ſanguine are alarmed, and the moſt indolent awakened at any Danger which threatens themſelves, and will exert their utmoſt Power to obviate or eſcape it.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, I have long conſidered the publick Funds eſtabliſhed in this Nation, as a Barrier to the Government, which cannot eaſily be broken: A foreign Prince cannot now be placed upon the Throne, but in Oppoſition almoſt to every wealthy Man, who having truſted the Government with his Money, has repoſited a Pledge of his own Fidelity.

'But to this Gentleman, Sir, whom I am now anſwering, Arguments can be of very little Importance; becauſe, by his own Confeſſion, he is retained as a mere Machine, to ſpeak at the Direction of another, and to utter Sentiments which he never conceived, and which his Heſitation and abrupt Concluſion, ſhews him to admit with very little Examination. He had not even allowed himſelf Time to know the Opinion which he was to aſſert, or to imprint upon his Memory thoſe Arguments to which he was to add the Sanction of his Authority. He ſeems to have boldly promiſed to ſpeak, and then to have inquired what he was to ſay. Yet has this Gentleman often declaimed here with all the apparent Ardour of Integrity, and been heard with that Regard which is only due to Virtue and Independence.

'Some of his Aſſertions are ſuch, however, as require Confutation; which is, perhaps, more neceſſary, ſince he has produced an Authority for them, which many of thoſe who heard him, may think of much greater Weight than his own. He affirms, That we can ſuffer only by an Invaſion, and infers from his Poſition, that we need only to guard our own Coaſts. I am of an Opinion very different, and having not yet prevailed upon myſelf to receive Notes from any other Perſon, cannot forbear to ſpeak what I think, and what the publick Proſperity requires to be generally known. We may ſurely ſuffer by many other Cauſes, by the Ignorance or Treachery, or Cowardice of the Miniſtry, by the Negligence of that Perſon to whom this Gentleman was probably indebted for his Notes. We may ſuffer by the Loſs of our Sugar Colonies, which may be juſtly valued at ten Millions.

'Theſe Plantations, which afford us almoſt all the profitable Trade that is now left us, have been expoſed to the Inſults of the Enemy, without any other Guard than two Ships, almoſt unfit for Service. They have been left to the Protection of Chance, with no other Security, at a Time when

when the *Spaniards* had fitted out a Squadron, to infeſt and ravage our *Weſt-Indian* Colonies.

'The Admiral, who was ſent into the *Weſt-Indies*, was confined for almoſt a Year in the Ports, without Forces, Ships, or Ammunition, which yet might have been ſent in a few Months, had not Pretences of Delay been ſtudiouſly invented, had not the Preparations been obſtructed by clandeſtine Expedients, and had not every Man been tacitely aſſured, that he ſhould recommend himſelf to his Superiors, by raiſing Difficulties, rather than by removing them.

'Such was the Conduct of thoſe, who now ſtand up in the Face of their Country; and, without Diffidence or Shame, boaſt of their Zeal, their Aſſiduity, and their Diſpatch; who proclaim with an Air of triumphant Innocence, that no Art or Diligence could have been more expeditious, and that the Embarkation was only impeded by the Seaſons and the Winds.

'With Aſſertions equally intrepid, and Arguments equally contemptible, has the ſame Perſon, who boaſted his Expedition, endeavoured to defend the Eſtabliſhment of new Regiments, in Oppoſition to the Practice of foreign Nations, and to the Opinion of the greateſt General among us; and, to ſhew how little he fears Confutation, has recommended his Scheme on Account of its Frugality.

'It is not to be wondered, Sir, that ſuch an Orator ſhould undertake to defend the Model of the Troops ſent to the *Weſt Indies*, that he ſhould prefer Boys to Veterans, and aſſert the Propriety of intruſting new Levies to unexperienced Commanders; for he has given us in this Debate ſuch Proofs of controverſial Courage, that nothing can be now imagined too arduous for him to attempt.

'His Strength, Sir, is indeed not equal to his Spirit, and he is frequently unſucceſsful in his moſt vigorous Efforts; but it muſt be confeſſed that he is generally overborn only by the Force of Truth, by a Power which few can reſiſt ſo reſolutely as himſelf, and which therefore, though it makes no Impreſſion upon him, prevails upon others to leave him ſometimes alone in the Vindication of his Poſitions.

'The Examples, Sir, of thoſe noble Perſons who were advanced early to Commiſſions, will be produced by him without Effect, becauſe the Caſes are by no Means parallel. They were not inveſted with Command till they had ſpent ſome Time in the Service, and exhibited Proofs of their Courage and their Capacity; and it cannot be doubted, but ſome Men may diſcover at Seventeen more Merit, than others in the full Strength of Manhood.

'But, Sir, there is another Conſideration of more Importance,

tance, which will annihilate the Parallel, and deſtroy the Argument founded upon it. At the Time in which theſe Perſons were preferred, the Nation had but newly ſeen an Army, and had therefore very few old Officers whoſe Experience could be truſted, or whoſe Services required to be rewarded: The Miniſters were obliged to ſelect thoſe, who, though they did not underſtand the Military Sciences, were likely to attain them in a ſhort Time, and the Event has ſufficiently proved, that in the Choice no greater Regard was paid to Intereſt than to Judgment.

'It was prudent likewiſe, Sir, to chooſe young Perſons, ſuppoſing their Abilities equal with thoſe of others, becauſe the Nation was likely to poſſeſs them longer, and would not be reduced by an Interval of Peace to make War again with raw Forces under the Direction of ignorant Commanders.

'But this Proviſion, however reaſonable, the Wiſdom of this Miniſtry has found Means to defeat, by detaining at home the diſciplined Troops, and depriving the moſt experienced Generals of their Commands, at a Time when they are moſt neceſſary, at a Time when the whole World is in Arms, when the Ambition of *France* is reviving its Claims, and the *Spaniards* are preparing to invade our Colonies.

'But, Sir, though our Generals are diſcarded, we are ſufficiently inform'd, that it is not becauſe we are imagined to be in a State of Safety; for the Encreaſe of our Army betrays our Fear, of which whether it will be diſpell'd or encreas'd by ſuch Meaſures, it is not difficult to determine.

'An Army thus numerous, Sir, is, in my Opinion, and of every honeſt *Briton*, of every one that reveres the Conſtitution, or loves his Liberty, an Evil more to be dreaded, than any from which we can be defended by it. The moſt unpopular Act of the moſt unpopular of our Monarchs, was the Eſtabliſhment of a Standing Army; nor do I know any Thing to be feared from the Advancement of the dreadful Pretender to the Throne, but that he will govern the Nation with an armed Force.

'If our Troops continue to be increaſed, which we may reaſonably ſuſpect, ſince, if Arguments like theſe be admitted, Pretences for Augmentations can never be wanting, the Conſequences are eaſily foreſeen; they will grow too numerous to be quarter'd in the Towns, and, with an Affectation of eaſing them of ſuch unwelcome Gueſts, it will be propoſed, that after having ſpent the Summer in a Camp, they ſhall retire in Winter to Barracks. Then will the Burthen of a Standing Army be impoſed for ever on the Nation; then may our Liberties be openly invaded, and thoſe who

now oppreſs us by the Power only of Money, will then throw aſide the Maſk, and deliver themſelves from the Conſtraint of Hypocriſy; thoſe who now ſooth us with Promiſes and Proteſtations, will then intimidate us with Threatenings, and, perhaps, revenge the Oppoſition of their Schemes by Perſecution and Sequeſtrations.

Lord *Gage* ſpoke next, to the following Effect:

Sir,

Lord Gage. 'If the Weakneſs of Arguments proved the Inſincerity of thoſe who produce them, I ſhould be inclined to ſuſpect the Advocates for the Eſtabliſhment of new Regiments, of Deſigns very different from the Defence of their Country; but as their Intentions cannot be known, they cannot be cenſured, and I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to an Examination of their Reaſons, which they have offered, and the Authorities which they have cited.

'The *German* General, who has been mentioned on this Occaſion, with ſo much Regard, is not leſs known to me than to the honourable Gentleman; nor have I been leſs diligent to improve the Hours in which I enjoy'd his Friendſhip and Converſation. Among other Queſtions which my Familiarity with him intitled me to propoſe, I have aſked him to what Cauſes he imputed the ill Succeſs of the laſt War, and he frankly aſcribed the Miſcarriages of it to the unhappy Diviſions by which the *German* Counſels were at that Time embarraſſed.

'Faction produces nearly the ſame Conſequence in all Countries, and had then influenced the Imperial Court, as of late the Court of *Great Britain*, to diſmiſs the moſt able and experienced Commanders, and to intruſt the Conduct of the War to Men unequal to the Undertaking; who, when they were defeated for want of Skill, endeavoured to perſuade their Patrons and their Countrymen, that they loſt the Victory for Want of Officers.

'They might, perhaps, think of their Countrymen, what our Miniſters ſeem to imagine of us, that to gain Belief among them, it was ſufficient to aſſert boldly, that they had not any Memory of paſt Tranſactions, and that therefore they could not obſerve, that the ſame Troops were victorious under *Eugene*, which were defeated under the Direction of his Succeſſors; nor could diſcover that the Regulation was the ſame, where the Effects were different.

'Thus in every Place, it is the Practice of Men in Power, to blind the People by falſe Repreſentations, and to impute the publick Calamities rather to any other Cauſe than their own Miſconduct. It is every where equally their Practice, to oppreſs and obſcure thoſe who owe their Greatneſs to their Virtue

Virtue or Abilities, becauſe they can never be reduced to blind Obedience, or taught to be Creatures of the Miniſtry; becauſe Men who can diſcover Truth, will ſometimes ſpeak it, and becauſe thoſe are beſt qualified to deceive others, who can be perſuaded that they are contending for the Right.

'But it is ſurely Time for this Nation to rouze from Indolence, and reſolve to put an End to Frauds that have been ſo long known. It is Time to watch with more Vigilance the Diſtribution of the publick Treaſure, and to conſider rather how to contract the National Expences, than upon what Pretences new Offices may be erected, and new Dependences created. It is Time to conſider how our Debts may be leſſened, and by what Expedients our Taxes may be diminiſhed.

'Our Taxes, Sir, are ſuch at preſent, as perhaps no Nation was ever loaded with before; ſuch as never were paid to raiſe Forces againſt an Invader, or impoſed by the Inſolence of Victory upon a conquered People. Every Gentleman pays to the Government more than two thirds of his Eſtate by various Exactions—This Aſſertion is receiv'd, I ſee with Surprize, by ſome whoſe ample Patrimonies have exempted them from the Neceſſity of nice Computations, and with an affected Appearance of Contempt by others, who inſtead of paying Taxes, may be ſaid to receive them, and whoſe Intereſt it is to keep the Nation ignorant of the Cauſes of its Miſery, and to extenuate thoſe Calamities by which themſelves are enriched.

'But, Sir, to endeavour to confute Demonſtration by a Grin, or to laugh away the Deductions of Arithmetic, is ſurely ſuch a Degree of Effrontery, as nothing but a Poſt of Profit can produce; nor is it for the Sake of theſe Men, that I ſhall endeavour to clear up my Aſſertion, for they cannot but be well informed of the State of our Taxes, whoſe chief Employment is to receive and to ſquander the Money which ariſes from them.

'It is frequent, Sir, among Gentlemen, to miſtake the Amount of the Taxes which are laid upon the Nation, by paſſing over in their Eſtimates all thoſe which are not paid immediately out of the viſible Rents of their Lands, and imagining that they are in no degree intereſted in the Impoſts upon Manufactures or other Commodities. They do not conſider that whenever they purchaſe any Thing of which the Price is inhanced by Duties, thoſe Duties are levied upon them; and that there is no Difference between paying ten Shillings a Year in Land-Taxes, and paying five Shillings in Land-Taxes, and five Shillings to Manufactures, to be paid by them to the Government.

'It would be in reality equally rational for a Man to

pleaſe himſelf with his Frugality, by directing half his Expences to be paid by his Steward; and the Event is ſuch as might be expected from ſuch a Method of OEconomy: For as the Steward might probably bring in falſe Accounts, the Tradeſman commonly adds two Pence to the Price of his Goods for every Penny which is laid on them by the Government; as it is eaſy to ſhew, particularly in the Prices of thoſe two great Neceſſaries of Life, Candles and Leather.

'Now, Sir, let any Gentleman add to the Land-Tax, the Duties raiſed from the Malt, Candles, Salt, Soap, Leather, diſtilled Liquors, and other Commodities uſed in his Houſe; let him add the Expences of Travelling ſo far as they are increaſed by the Burthen laid upon Innkeepers, and the Extortions of the Tradeſmen which the Exciſes have occaſioned, and he will eaſily agree with me that he pays more than two Thirds of his Eſtate for the Support of the Government.

'It cannot therefore be doubted that it is now neceſſary to ſtop in our Career of Expences, and to enquire how much longer this Weight of Impoſts can poſſibly be ſupported. It has already, Sir, depreſs'd our Commerce, and over-borne our Manufactores; and if it be yet increaſed, if there be no Hope of ſeeing it alleviated, every wiſe Man will ſeek a milder Government, and enliſt himſelf among Slaves that have Maſters more wiſe or more compaſſionate.

'We ought to conſider, Sir, whether ſome of our preſent Expences are not ſuperfluous or detrimental, whether many of our Offices are not merely Penſions without Employment, and whether Multitudes do not receive Salaries, who ſerve the Government only by their Intereſt and their Votes. Such Offices, if they are found, ought immediately to be aboliſhed, and ſuch Salaries withdrawn, by which a Fund might be now eſtabliſhed for maintaining the War, and afterwards for the Payment of our Debts.

'It is now, Sir, in my Opinion, a Queſtion whether we ſhall chooſe the deareſt or the cheapeſt Method of encreaſing our Forces, for it ſeems to me not poſſible to ſupply any new Expences. New Troops will require more Money to raiſe and to pay them, and more Money can only be obtained by new Taxes; but what now remains to be taxed, or what Tax can be encreaſed? The only Reſource left us is a Lottery, and whether that will ſucceed is likewiſe a Lottery; but tho' Folly and Credulity ſhould once more operate according to our Wiſhes, the Nation is in the mean time impoveriſhed, and at laſt Lotteries muſt certainly fail like other Expedients. When the Publick Wealth is entirely exhauſted, Artifice and Violence will be equally vain. And tho' the

Troops

Troops may poſſibly be raiſed according to the Eſtimate, I know not how we ſhall pay them, or from what Fund, yet unmortgaged, the Officers who will be entailed upon us, can hope to receive their Half-pay.

'For my Part, Sir, I think the Queſtion ſo eaſy to be decided, that I am aſtoniſhed to ſee it the Subject of a Debate, and imagine that the Controverſy might be ended only by aſking the Gentleman, on whoſe Opinion all his Party appear to rely without any Knowledge or Conviction of their own, whether, if he were to defend a Nation from its Enemies, and could procure only a ſmall Sum for the War, he would not model his Forces by the cheapeſt Method.

Mr *Sloper* * ſpoke next.

Sir,

Mr Sloper. 'I cannot, without the higheſt Satisfaction, obſerve any Advances made in uſeful Knowledge, by my Fellow-Subjects, as the Glory of ſuch Attainments muſt add to the Reputation of the Kingdom which gives Riſe to ſuch elevated Abilities.

'This Satisfaction I have received from the Obſervations of the Right Honourable Member, whoſe accurate Computations cannot but promiſe great Improvements of the Doctrine of Arithmetic; nor can I forbear to ſolicite him, for the Sake of the Publick, to take into his Conſideration the preſent Methods of Traffick uſed by our Merchants, and to ſtrike out ſome more commodious Method of ſtating the Accompts between thoſe two contending Parties Debtor and Creditor. This he would doubtleſs execute with great Reputation, who has proved from the State of our Taxes, that new Forces require new Funds, and that new Funds cannot be eſtabliſhed without a Lottery.

'I am indeed inclined to differ from him in the laſt of his Poſitions, and believe the Nation not yet ſo much exhauſted, but that it may eaſily bear the Expence of the War; and ſhall therefore vote for that Eſtabliſhment of our Troops which will be moſt likely to procure Succeſs, without the leaſt Apprehenſion of being cenſured either by the preſent Age, or by Poſterity, as a Machine of the Miniſtry, or an Oppreſſor of my Country.'

General *Wade* ſpoke again, as follows:

Sir,

General Wade. 'Since the Right Honourable Member has been pleaſed to inſinuate, that by anſwering a plain Queſtion I may put an End to the Debate, I am willing to give a Proof of my Deſire to promote Unanimity in our Councils, and Diſpatch in our Affairs, by complying with his Propoſal.

'If

* Deputy-Cofferer of the Houſhold.

'If I were obliged with a ſmall Sum to raiſe an Army for the Defence of a Kingdom, I ſhould undoubtedly proceed with the utmoſt Frugality; but this noble Perſon's Ideas of Frugality would, perhaps, be very different from mine; he would think theſe Expences ſuperfluous, which to me would ſeem indiſpenſably neceſſary, and though we ſhould both intend the Preſervation of the Country, we ſhould provide for its Security by different Methods.

'He would employ the Money in ſuch a Manner as might procure the greateſt Numbers; I ſhould make my firſt Enquiry after the moſt ſkilful Officers, and ſhould imagine myſelf obliged by my Fidelity to the Nation, that entruſted me with its Defence, to procure their Aſſiſtance, though at a high Price.

'It is not eaſy for Perſons who have never ſeen a Battle or a Siege, whatever may be their natural Abilities, or however cultivated by Reading and Contemplation, to conceive the Advantage of Diſcipline and Regularity, which is ſuch, that a ſmall Body of Veteran Troops will drive before them Multitudes of Men, perhaps equally bold and reſolute with themſelves, if they are unacquainted with the Rules of War, and unprovided with Leaders to direct their Motions.

'I ſhould therefore, in the Caſe which he has mentioned, prefer Diſcipline to Numbers, and rather enter the Field with a few Troops well governed and well inſtructed, than with a confuſed Multitude unacquainted with their Duty, unable to conduct themſelves, and without Officers to conduct them.

Mr. *Vyner* ſpoke next to the following Effect.

Sir,

Mr Vyner. 'I am not very ſolicitous what may be the Determination of the Houſe upon this Queſtion, becauſe I think it more neceſſary to reſolve againſt an Augmentation of the Army, than to enquire, whether it ſhall be made by one Method or another.

'Every Addition to our Troops I conſider as ſome Approach towards the Eſtabliſhment of arbitrary Power, as it is an Alienation of Part of the *Britiſh* People, by which they are deprived of the Benefits of the Conſtitution, and ſubjected to rigorous Laws, from which every other Individual is exempt.

'The Principal of theſe Laws, which all the reſt are intended to inforce, requires from every Soldier an unlimited and abſolute Obedience to the Commands of his Officers, who hold their Commiſſions, and expect Advancement by the ſame Compliance with the Orders of the Miniſtry.

'The

' The Danger of adding to the Number of Men, thus ſeparated from their Fellow Subjects, and directed by the arbitrary Determinations of their Officers, has been often explained with great Strength and Perſpicuity; nor ſhould I have taken this Occaſion of recalling it to the Attention of the Houſe, but that I think it a Conſideration, to which, in all Debates on the Army, the firſt Regard ought to be paid.

Then Colonel *Mordaunt* ſpoke to the Purpoſe following.

Sir,

Col. Mordaunt. ' The Objection which the Honourable Gentleman has raiſed, will be moſt eaſily removed, by conſidering the Words of the Act by which the Military Authority is eſtabliſh'd; where it is by no Means declared, that either Officers or Soldiers are obliged indiſcriminately to obey all the Orders which they ſhall receive, but that they ſhall, on Pain of the Puniſhments there enacted, obey all the *lawful* Orders of their Commander.

' The Obedience therefore, Sir, required from a Soldier, is an Obedience according to Law, like that of any other *Briton*, unleſs it can be imagined that the Word *lawful* is in that Place without a Meaning. Nor does his Condition differ from that of his Fellow-Subjects by an Exemption from any Law, but by a greater Number of Duties, and ſtricter Obligations to the Performance of them; and I am not able to conceive how our Conſtitution can be indanger'd by augmenting an Army, which, as it can only act in Conformity to it, can act only in Defence of it.

Farther Speeches on the Motion for removing Sir R. Walpole.

The Queſtion at laſt was put, That the new rais'd Troops be incorporated into the ſtanding Corps, but it paſſed in the Negative by 232 againſt 166.

The following SPEECHES *on the Motion to remove Sir* Robert Walpole *from his Majeſty's Councils and Preſence, have been communicated ſince the Publication of our former Volumes.*

Mr. *Sandys*, (whoſe Speech we gave at large, *Anno* 14. *George* II. P. 65) was ſeconded by Lord *Limerick*, who ſpoke to the following Effect.

Sir,

Lord Limerick. ' As I have been for ſome Time a conſtant Opponent of the Meaſures by which the Motion now offered has been produced, I ſuppoſe it will create no Surprize, either in the Vindicators or Adverſaries of the Gentleman to whom it relates, that I ſtand up to ſecond it. To add any Thing to the Repreſentation which you have already heard of the Miſeries of

of the Nation, will be equally difficult and unneceſſary. It is known to all, that we are oppreſſed with Taxes, and involved in War, that the War has been hitherto unſucceſsful and ignominious, that our Fleets have been mann'd by Violence, and detained in our Harbours upon falſe Pretences, that our Trade has been at once diminiſh'd by Impreſſes, and betrayed by the Denial of Convoys.

'If it were neceſſary, Sir, to give any other Proof of the Difficulties and Diſtreſſes to which we are reduced, let it be remembered, how lately the Right Honourable Gentleman himſelf declared, in the Midſt of our Deliberations upon the Ravages and Inſults of *Spain*, we were not able to engage in a War, that we were without a ſingle Ally to ſupport us, and that our own Strength was not ſufficient. Either this Account of our Condition was true or falſe. If it was true, what can be ſaid in Defence of the Perſon who has deſtroyed thoſe Ties that conjoined our Intereſt with that of the Powers on the *Continent*; who has broken the Union which Nature ſeemed to have formed, and which Religion had confirmed; who has conducted our Affairs with ſo much Ignorance or Perfidy, that he has diſguſted one Party without gratifying the other; who has drawn equally upon the Nation the Hatred of *France* and her Enemies, and whom neither the Houſe of *Bourbon* nor of *Auſtria* can be expected to favour?

'How this could have been effected, Sir, it would not be eaſy for any Man but our Miniſter to diſcover; nor would even his abſurd Policy, and perverſe Subtilty, have been ſufficient, had he not aided his own Abilities by *French* Councils, and concurred with the inveterate and implacable Enemies of *Great Britain*, to involve his Country in Diſtreſs.

'If his Account of the Condition of the Nation was falſe, this Falſhood alone is a ſufficient Motive to the Propoſition which has been offered; for ſurely that Man ought to be removed from his Majeſty's Councils for ever, who when his Country was harraſſed by the Attacks of a contemptible Enemy, when its Commerce was every Day obſtructed, and its Honour impaired, was ſo far from encouraging his Fellow-Subjects to the Aſſertion of their Rights, the Revenge of their Loſſes, and the Reparation of their Honour, that he endeavoured to ſink them into Cowardice, to depreſs them with falſe Compariſons of the Strength of their Enemies with their own, and whoſe Counſels have no other Tendency than to encourage new Inſults, and prepare the People for ſubmiſſive Slavery.

'Such Counſels, Sir, muſt proceed, in my Opinion, from other Motives than Regard to publick Felicity, and ſince nothing is more evident than that no Man, who prefers any Intereſt

tereſt to that of *Great Britain*, ought to be intruſted with Power or admitted to Confidence. I declare, that in my Opinion, the Motion now made is neceſſary and juſt.

Mr. *Wortley* ſpoke next in Subſtance as follows.

Sir,

Mr. Wortley. ' Before the Propriety of this Motion becomes the Subject of our Debates, I think it neceſſary to propoſe, that *the Order of the Houſe* be ſtrictly obſerved, which is well known to require, that every Member againſt whom an Accuſation is brought, ſhould retire out of this Aſſembly, while his Conduct is examined.

' This Procedure which is eſtabliſhed by immemorial Cuſtom, and confirm'd by innumerable Precedents, is founded likewiſe upon right Reaſon; for as any Member of this Aſſembly may be ſaid to be here tried by his Aſſociates, by Men with whom he has at leaſt concurred in publick Affairs, and with whom he has probably been more intimately converſant, it is proper to free our Debates from thoſe Prejudices, which cannot but be raiſed by the Preſence of a Man, who has been long regarded with Friendſhip or Eſteem by thoſe who are now become his Judges: To baniſh that Tenderneſs which may be produced by the Sight of a Companion or an Acquaintance perplexed and diſturbed; and perhaps ſometimes to ſuppreſs that Awe which may be raiſed in Part of this Aſſembly by a powerful Offender, whoſe Looks may upbraid ſome with the Benefits which they have formerly received from him, and whoſe Eyes may dart Menaces upon thoſe who are dependent on his Favour.

' It is evident that to preſerve Impartiality in our Enquiries, and Integrity in our Deciſions, all private Regards muſt be laid aſide; and that therefore Objects which may impreſs or inforce them, ought to be carefully removed; and as the Preſence of the Perſon accuſed may exaſperate or intimidate his Adverſaries, or encourage his Friends, or awe his Followers, I move that, while this Queſtion is debated, Sir *Robert Walpole* be ordered to withdraw.

Mr. *Gybbon* ſeconded this Motion.

Sir,

Mr. Gybbon. ' This Motion is ſo agreeable to the ſtricteſt Maxims of Juſtice, the moſt prudent Methods of Trial, and the ſtanding Practice of this Houſe, that I cannot but ſecond it as neceſſarily previous to the principal Queſtion.

' The Practice of this Houſe is only to be proved by Precedents, which are indeed ſufficiently numerous; but becauſe

to recite all the Inſtances which might be found in our Journals, would unneceſſarily retard the Buſineſs of this Day, I ſhall ſelect only ſome of later Date, which may ſhew beyond Controverſy, that our immediate Predeceſſors did not deviate in this Reſpect from the Cuſtom of antient Parliaments, and that this Method of Procedure was found too uſeful to be laid aſide.

'In the Reign of King *James** the Second, when Mr. *Cole* was cenſur'd for the Uſe of Expreſſions diſreſpectful to the King, while the Houſe was deliberating upon his Offence, he was ordered to withdraw.

'When in the following Reign, among other Captains of the Navy, Captain *Churchill*, a Member of this Houſe was accuſed of taking Money from the Merchants whoſe Ships he was appointed to convoy, he was firſt heard in his Place, and then withdrew; ſo far as it appears, without waiting for an Order which he knew the Practice of the Houſe would regularly produce.

'When in the Examination of *Francis Rainsford*, the Committee for receiving the public Accounts, having reported that Lord *Faulkland* had withdrawn a Letter which had been written by him, a Debate aroſe upon the Nature of the Offence, and the Puniſhment which it might be proper to inflict. Lord *Faulkland* having ſpoken in his own Vindication, withdrew, and afterwards being call'd in and heard a ſecond Time, withdrew again. And another Diſpute ariſing on a ſucceeding Day concerning two thouſand Pounds irregularly received by Lord *Faulkland* from the King, he again withdrew, after having made his Defence.

'In the ſame Reign Mr. *Manley* being charged with indecent Expreſſions uſed by him in the Debate upon the Proceeding againſt Sir *John Fenwick*; when the Debate began, he was required to withdraw.

'More Inſtances, Sir, might eaſily be collected, if more were neceſſary; but as theſe are ſufficient to ſhew what has been the Practice of this Houſe, and as that Practice may be juſtified by Reaſon, I hope we ſhall be careful not to depart from it on this Occaſion.

Mr.

* Mr Coke's Words were theſe, "I hope We are all Engliſhmen, and "not to be frightened out of our Duty by a few high Words." At which Exceptions being taken by Lord Preſton, he was, after Debate, order'd to withdraw. The whole Proceedings upon this Affair are only to be met with in Chandler's Hiſtory of the Commons, Anno 1685. P. 193. No other Collection of Debates having taken the leaſt Notice of the Proceedings of King James's Parliament. The other Precedents cited by Mr. Gybbon are alſo to be found in Chandler's Hiſtory of the Commons, during the Reign of King William.

Mr. *Bromley* † anſwered after this Manner.

' *Sir*,

' I am very far from being convinc'd either by the Argu- Mr. Bromley.
ments or Precedents which have been produced, that the Right Hon. Gentleman, to whom this Motion relates, ought to be required to withdraw.

' All the Perſons mentioned in the Precedent which have been alledged, and all thoſe that have been forbidden to be preſent at the Debates relating to themſelves, have been charged with ſome known Crime, and are to be conſidered as ſtanding for their Trial. But the Queſtion in the preſent Caſe, is not whether the Right Hon. Gentleman has been guilty of the Actions imputed to him, or the Author of any particular Counſels, but whether thoſe Actions are in themſelves Criminal, or thoſe Counſels really Pernicious. He is not charged with any Word or Act which the Laws of his Country have determined to deſerve Puniſhment; but with Conduct which his Enemies propoſe firſt to prove Criminal, and then to puniſh by a new Method of Proſecution.

'. In the Inſtances, Sir, which have been mentioned to ſupport this Motion, the Offenders have been allowed to hear their Accuſation, and to make their Defence in their Places; nor can I diſcover how any Man's Conduct is impartially examined, where he is not allowed to ſpeak in his own Defence; or how any Man can defend himſelf who is not permittted to hear the Charge againſt him.

Mr. *Howe* ſpoke next to the following Effect.

Sir,

' Theſe Precedents are in my Opinion, ſo far from prov- Mr. Howe
ing what is intended by them, that they ſeem to me not to have any Relation to the preſent Queſtion, of which I have not yet been able to diſcover how it differs from the common Enquiries that are made in this Houſe.

' Whenever we enquire into the Expediency of paſt Meaſures, our Diſquiſitions cannot but affect thoſe by whom they were conducted or adviſed; yet they are not therefore required to withdraw during our Deliberations, but are expected to juſtify their Counſels, to explain their Motives, and excuſe their Miſcarriages.

' The Charge, Sir, againſt the right honourable Gentleman, is only a political Enquiry into the Conduct of the Miniſtry for many Years; nor has it been urged in ſuch a manner as to relate particularly to him. There is therefore no Reaſon for requiring him to withdraw, which will not equal-

† Created Lord Montfort, ſoon after the Diſſolution of this Parliament.

ly ſhew that all thoſe ſhould retire at the ſame Time, who have concurred in the Meaſures diſapproved by the Gentleman that made the Motion; who may then ſafely promiſe himſelf Victory, when all thoſe from whom he expects Oppoſition ſhall be baniſhed from the Houſe.

Mr. *Ereſkine* then ſpoke to the following Purpoſe.

Sir,

Mr. Ereſkine. 'I am not ſurprized to find that on this Occaſion the Friends of the Miniſter have Recourſe to their uſual Arts of Sophiſtry; and that they endeavour to protect his Perſon by the ſame Fallacies with which they have always vindicated his Meaſures; that they labour to perplex our Enquiries by an artful Confuſion of diſtinct Queſtions, and that they are deſirous to exclude Light when it will only diſcover what it is their Intereſt to conceal.

'In their firſt Fallacy, Sir, they have not indeed been very ſucceſsful. Whether their Anxiety for the Event of the Day has diſconcerted their Sophiſms, or whether their Cauſe will in reality admit of no better Defence, their preſent Plea is ſuch as Men celebrated for the Acuteneſs of their Penetration, and the Readineſs of their Invention, might have been expected not to have alledged in a Debate of ſo much Importance to the Nation, and, what has always more ſenſibly affected them, to themſelves. Having had Warning of the Storm that was hanging over them, they ſhould have provided themſelves with ſome Shelter againſt it that might not be eaſily thrown down; and not have thought it ſufficient to aſſert, what they can never hope to prove, that there is no Diſtinction to be made between this and any other political Enquiry.

'There is the ſame Difference, Sir, between this and other political Enquiries, as between national and perſonal Tranſactions, between Conſultations and Trials. The Queſtion in other Debates relates equally to every Man in the Houſe; this affects one Man of this Aſſembly in a particular Manner: And ſurely it will not be again aſſerted that it is an Enquiry of the ſame Nature, whether a Member ſhall be expelled this Houſe, or whether Peace ſhall be concluded with *Spain*.

'That this Queſtion will incidentally produce political Debates, may reaſonably be expected, becauſe the Errors or Crimes charged upon this Gentleman are chiefly political; and when the principal Queſtion is perſonal, that Man to whom it relates ought to be withdrawn while it is debated.

Colonel *Bladen* ſpoke next to the Purpoſe following.

Sir,

Bladen. 'I know not upon what Arguments it is ſo poſitively aſ-

ſerted

ſerted, that this is a Queſtion of a peculiar Nature, and that it ought to be diſtinguiſhed from other political Diſquiſitions; and I hope that the Zeal of the Opponents of the Miniſtry, however ardent, will not prompt them to require, that what is not proved ſhould be admitted.

'I have always hitherto imagined, that thoſe Debates which are properly political in the Intereſt of the Publick, is the Object of Enquiry; and as I know only two Motives that can give occaſion to the preſent Motion, Regard to publick Happineſs, and the Gratification of private Reſentment, I have been candid enough to believe, that it was made with no other View than the Advantage of the Nation.

'Of this, Sir, indeed I was perſuaded, by the Obſervations with which the Motion was introduced; for to what other Purpoſe were all the Diſappointments, Misfortunes and Errors, whether real or pretended, of near twenty Years ſo laborioſly enumerated? For what End are we informed of the long continued Inſolence of the *Spaniards*, of our deſtructive Alliances with the *French*, of the Decline of our Commerce, and the Weakneſs of our Arms? Why elſe are the Loſſes of our Merchants ſo pathetically exaggerated, and why are we told once more of the Load of our Taxes, and the Diſcontent of the People?

'If it be not imagined, Sir, that our Compliance with the Motion will remedy theſe Calamities; and that the Removal of one Gentleman from his Majeſty's Councils, will revive our Trade, and invigorate our Forces; awe our Enemies, and animate our Allies; this long, this elegant Declamation, has been nothing more than an Effuſion of oſtentatious Eloquence, without any Intention of informing us; it has been only an Overflow of Malice, a Torrent of Invectives.

'But if, as we ought to imagine, thoſe by whom this Motion is made and defended, are perſuaded, that the Counſels of one Man have ſunk the Nation into Diſgrace, and that by depriving him of his Influence, they ſhall reſtore the publick Honour and Felicity, the Debate, like all others, is an Enquiry whether the Meaſures which they propoſe will produce the Conſequences expected from them.

'In the Precedents cited to ſupport the ſecond Motion, Sir, there is not the leaſt Appearance of a Parallel with the preſent Caſe. They were Perſons who had either committed an Offence in the Preſence of the Aſſembly by which they were to be judged, and againſt whom it was therefore unneceſſary to produce Evidence; or Men convicted of Offences by legal Teſtimonies, and whoſe Puniſhment was therefore the only Subject of Deliberation.

'Nothing is more reaſonable, Sir, than that in theſe Circumſtances the Offender ſhould withdraw; for to what Purpoſe

poſe ſhould he continue in the Houſe? The only Reaſon he has a Seat, the Reaſon for which every other Man has a Seat, in this Aſſembly, is the Right of examining, deliberating and voting: And this Right has undoubtedly ceaſed; ſince it would be abſurd to conſult any Man with regard to Cenſures which are to be inflicted upon himſelf, or to ſuffer him to vote in his own Cauſe.

'But, Sir, with Regard to the Right Hon. Gentleman mentioned in the preſent Motion, the firſt Enquiry muſt be, whether any of the Meaſures objected to him are in themſelves criminal; an Enquiry at which he has the ſame Right to be preſent with any other Member, and may claim more juſtly a Right to ſpeak in the Vindication of, as he is ſuppoſed to have been principally the Author of them, and conſequently to be more than others acquainted with the Motives which influenced him in his Advice.

'If it ſhould appear, Sir, which can hardly be hoped even by thoſe who have been long accuſtomed to deceive themſelves with ſanguine Expectations, and whom a perpetual Train of Defeats hath not awakened from their Dream of Succeſs, that theſe Meaſures have been really pernicious, and that the Authors of them deſerve Puniſhment; muſt not thoſe Authors be diſcovered? Will not any particular Perſon be at Liberty to deny the Guilt imputed to him, and may he not claim the common Right of a *Britiſh* Subject to ſtand Face to Face againſt his Accuſer?

'That this may be juſtly demanded by him, Sir, appears even from thoſe Precedents which have been produced to prove that he ought to withdraw; for all the Offenders were allowed to vindicate themſelves in their Places: And if it be allowed that the Rt. Hon. Gentleman againſt whom the Motion is directed, may hear his Accuſation, and offer his Defence, I doubt not but his Innocence will be evidently ſhewn, and that therefore there will be no Room for deliberating on his Puniſhment.

Mr. *Gybbon* then ſpoke to the following Purpoſe.

Sir,

Mr. Gybbon. 'If it be only required that the Gentleman to whom this Motion relates ſhould hear his Accuſation, that Privilege has been already enjoyed. He has already been accuſed of almoſt every Crime which miniſterial Power could enable him to commit; he has been charged with deſtroying the Security of thoſe Alliances which it is the invariable Intereſt of this Nation to preſerve; with contributing to the Exaltation of that Houſe, which has never formed any Deſigns but for the Deſtruction of the Common Liberties of Mankind, and for the Attain-

Attainment of univerſal Empire; with neglecting the Protection of our Commerce, and betraying our Merchants to Plunder, and our Seamen to Slavery; with concealing and palliating the Inſolence of our Enemies, and the Violation of our Rights; and with obſtructing the Operations of the War by treacherous Delays, and hindering its Succeſs by denying our Commanders the Liberty of Action.

'The Accuſations, Sir, with Regard to his domeſtick Conduct are ſtill more atrocious. He is taxed as an Enemy to our Privileges, and a Violater of our Conſtitution; as the Projector of a military Eſtabliſhment by which the moſt pernicious Meaſures may be defended; and as the Corruptor of that Aſſembly to which the Rights of the People are intruſted. He has been openly charged with betraying his Country, and with attempting to enſlave it; and, after this, is it demanded that he may hear his Accuſation?

'What other Crimes thoſe who know him beſt expect to hear alledged againſt him, I am not able to conceive; but by their Demands they give us Reaſon to imagine that they are yet afraid of ſome heavier Charge, and that to have ſupported the publick Enemies, or to have formed a Plan of general Slavery, is not the higheſt Inſtance of his Guilt.

'But whatever Crimes, Sir, his Favourites may have had Opportunities of remarking, as their Fidelity is too well known to afford any Hopes that they will diſcover them, we ſhould proceed to conſider the Facts already mentioned; he may therefore now produce what he may have to urge in his own Defence; after which it is allowed by all, that he ought to withdraw.

Hereupon Mr *Pulteney** ſpoke in Subſtance as follows.

Sir,

'In all Debates it ought to be our firſt Care, that we do not ſuffer ourſelves to be diverted from the principal Queſtion by Conſiderations of ſmall Importance; and that we do not in the Preliminaries of our Diſquiſitions weary that Attention, and ſquander thoſe Moments which ſhould be reſerv'd for higher Purpoſes, in the Purſuit of obſcure Inquiries, and the Explication of intricate Reaſonings. Mr. Pulteney.

'Whether it is not required by the Rules of ſtrict Juſtice, that the Gentleman ſhould retire, I cannot ſuddenly determine; but ſince we ought not, in the Proſecution of an Oppreſſor, to make Uſe of thoſe Arts which we are endeavouring to prevent; and ſince to inſiſt with much Vehemence on his Abſence may be imagined to betray ſome Dif-

* Since made Earl of Bath.

Diffidence of our Cauſe, or Fear of his Abilities; I think it may very properly be left in his own Choice to ſtay or retire on this Occaſion.'

Mr *Stephen Fox* † then ſpoke to the following Effect.

Sir,

Mr. Steph. Fox. ' Having had Time to conſider the Charge againſt the Right Hon. Perſon, whoſe Conduct we are called upon by a very extraordinary Motion to examine, I ſhall endeavour to anſwer every Part diſtinctly; without deviating, at leaſt without intending to deviate, from the Order in which his imaginary Crimes have been ranged, and his ſuppoſed Miſcarriages recounted.

' I am far from thinking it neceſſary to apologize for the ſeeming Vanity of undertaking an extempore Anſwer to a laboured Invective; I do not, Sir, pretend to diſplay any uncommon Strength of Memory, Readineſs and Apprehenſion, or Command of Argument on this Occaſion; for as I have heard nothing new, I have nothing new to reply. As the Charge is only a Complication of forgotten Pamphlets, or a Recollection of former Debates, the Anſwer can be little more than a Recapitulation of thoſe Arguments, which every Man in this Houſe has heard, and muſt have heard with Conviction.

' I was indeed, Sir, very far from ſuſpecting thoſe, by whom this Motion has been made and ſupported, of an Attempt to prevail upon the Majority of this Houſe to condemn their own Conduct, and to proſecute one of their Members for Meaſures which themſelves approved. I did not doubt but that a Motion ſo uncommon, aroſe from ſome uncommon Cauſe, ſome imagined Diſcovery of a ſecret Combination with our Enemies, an Alienation of our Claims, or a Deſign againſt our Liberties.

' Full, Sir, of this Expectation, I liſtened with the utmoſt Impatience to every Period of the Speech by which the Motion was introduced; and while we were told from what Cauſes the Diſcontent of the Nation proceeds, while we were warned againſt the Continuance of a Standing Army, informed of the daily Increaſe of the Power and Influence of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and the hourly Ravages of the *Spaniards*; while the Oppreſſions of the Exciſe were diſplayed, and the Errors of the Convention enumerated, I could ſcarcely forbear to call out for *The Charge*, for the new Topick of Accuſation, to which I conſidered this long Detail of Cenſures as only preparatory; and which I ſuppoſed

† Then one of the Chief Clerks of the Treaſury; ſince created Lord Ilcheſter.

poſed was to be repreſented as the Reſult of all former Miſconduct, the Complication of every different Species of Wickedneſs, and to which we were conducted as to the higheſt Pinacle of Guilt by this Gradation of Perfidy, Oppreſſion, and Corruption.

'But, Sir, ſince my Expectations are deceived, ſince Malice has only traced its former Steps, and that Invective which began with the Treaty of *Hanover*, has concluded with nothing more formidable than the Proſtitution of the Parliament; I ſhall hope to diſſipate, without Difficulty, thoſe Clouds which have been raiſed to hide the Truth from our Eyes, and confute thoſe Objections once more which have been ſo often alledged, and ſo often anſwered.

'The Difficulty of a proper Reply is now much diminiſhed by the Occaſion on which it is to be made; for it has hitherto been neceſſary to ſhew the Propriety and Uſefulneſs of thoſe Meaſures which were repreſented as dangerous or unprofitable; to obviate Objections which the Neceſſity of concealing private Intelligence, or immature Deſigns, did not always allow to be fully confuted; and to juſtify by long Reviews, and difficult Explications of the ſecret Connection of Events, thoſe Meaſures which, conſidered with Regard to the Circumſtances which attended them, might ſeem raſhly or imprudently concerted.

'But in debating the preſent Queſtion all that can produce Perplexity or Heſitation, muſt be the Diſtraction of the Mind by different Methods of Apology, equally proper, and for the greateſt Part equally eaſy: For the Motion appears to be unjuſt, whether, thoſe that oppoſe it ſhall evince, as they have often done, the Propriety of the Meaſures on which it is intended to fix an indelible Cenſure, or ſhall ſhew that the Perſon againſt whom it is directed did not tranſact them, or not without the Concurrence of the other Miniſters, or the Approbation of Parliament.

'With Regard, Sir, to the Treaty of *Hanover*, the Difficulty of this Choice will immediately occur; for though it might be eaſily diſpatched by a Declaration which almoſt every Man in the Nation knows to be true, that it was tranſacted at *Hanover*; and though the Right Hon. Gentleman may with great Security defy his Enemies to prove that he was the original Author of it, or that he promoted it otherwiſe than any other of the Council; yet ſince ſome may deſire a fuller Account of that important Affair, which as it was tranſacted in the laſt Reign may not be otherwiſe known to ſome of the Members of this Houſe, than by wandering Reports, or partial Repreſentations, I ſhall endeavour to

ſhew, that tho' it has been long the Occaſion of groundleſs Clamours, that it was not only prudent but neceſſary.

'To place this Affair in its proper Light, it may be neceſſary to recapitulate ſome Occurrences which preceded it, and to conſider the State of the Nation from the Beginning of the late King's Reign.

'The Difficulties with which the Eſtabliſhment of the Royal Family in theſe Kingdoms were embarraſſed, are well known and univerſally remember'd. Our late King had no ſooner taken Poſſeſſion of a Throne, to which he was called for the Defence of Religion and the Preſervation of Liberty, than Diſcontent, and Jealouſy were ſpread over the whole Country: The People were already corrupted with idle Doctrines, which had no other Tendency than to facilitate the Introduction of the Pretender, by teaching that an Hereditary Right is not to be forfeited, and that the Acts of Parliament, by which he was excluded, were empty Forms, without Validity and without Obligation. Theſe Tenets were aſſiſted by artful Calumnies, and Inſinuations of pernicious Deſigns; and the People were wrought by various Motives to ſuch a Degree of Frenzy, that they imagined themſelves obeying the Dictates of their Religion, while they were endeavouring to expel or deſtroy the Monarch by whom it was ſupported; and imagined that their Liberty could only be preſerved by the Advancement of a Prince who would believe it his Duty to perſecute, and his Right to enſlave them.

'Infatuated, Sir, with theſe wild Notions of Juſtice and Policy, a great Part of the Nation thought it neceſſary to refuſe Obedience to the Government; to ſet the Laws at Defiance; and to declare their Adherence to another Prince for whoſe Service Armies were levied, and whom a Foreign Monarch, celebrated for Romantic Valour and Chimerical Expeditions, was invited to eſtabliſh. So little did theſe Madmen in the Heat of their Zeal regard the Welfare of their Country, that they willingly expoſed it to the Plunder of rapacious Mercenaries, and to all the Devaſtations which were to be expected from Troops accuſtomed to all the Cruelties of War; reſtrained by neither Tenderneſs nor Intereſt, and who could only enter theſe Kingdoms with a Deſign to load themſelves with Plunder, and live at Eaſe in their own Country upon the Wealth of *Great Britain*.

'That this Diſturber of the World was ſnatched away by the Chance of War, in the midſt of new Schemes for the Ruin of Nations, and new Deſigns of augmenting his Power; and the Army of the Rebels, for want of Diſcipline and Commanders was eaſily overthrown; and that both Juſtice and Lenity were employed to influence the People, I need

not

not relate; ſince the Events are too recent and too publick not to be remember'd. But though the Laws recovered their Authority, and Subordination was again eſtabliſhed; it was not reaſonable to imagine that Force had produced any Change in Opinions, or that thoſe whoſe Deſigns had been defeated believed them unjuſt, becauſe they had been unſucceſsful. It might be with Juſtice ſuſpected, that thoſe who durſt clamour no longer openly, murmured in private; and that they whoſe Swords had been wreſted from their Hands, would not fail to ſnatch them again, when they could promiſe themſelves ſtronger Support, or more reſolute Aſſociates.

'Such, Sir, was likewiſe the Opinion of all Foreign Princes of the State of *Great Britain*, which they conſidered as governed by a King to whom more than half of his People were ſubject only by Force, and whom it was eaſy to embarraſs with Inſurrections whenever he ſhould interpoſe in the Affairs of the Continent. They conceived the two Parties in this Kingdom to be in an Equipoiſe, and believed that any neighbouring Power might turn the Balance.

'It has been obſerved, that with regard to Governors and Subjects, Power ſubſiſts upon Opinion, and the ſame Remark may be extended to the Competition between different States. To be thought weak, and to be weak in Reality, may ſometimes produce the ſame Conſequences. Enemies in either Caſe are excited to Inſolence, and invited to Invaſion; and though they may ſometimes meet with Reſiſtance which they did not expect, they may likewiſe ſometimes in the Uncertainty of human Schemes be conducted by Error to the End which they propoſed; and ſucceed by a Concurrence of favourable Accidents in Enterprizes, which they were induced to undertake only by a weak Confidence in falſe Reports.

'Thus, Sir, our Diviſions naturally impaired the Influence of the King, and weakened his Government even when all real Danger of a Revolution had ceaſed, when Reaſon had regained its Influence, and the Phantoms of counterfeit Loyalty had been diſpelled by the Light of Truth. It was the Intereſt of Foreign Princes to believe him ſtill ſurrounded by Enemies, and 'tis well known how difficultly Opinions are eradicated which are complicated with favourite Paſſions. There was in the Nation a numerous Faction who under various Denominations, and upon various Motives favoured the Claim of the Pretender; this Faction was repreſented far more numerous, more powerful, and more reſtleſs than it was; and thoſe Princes whom Chance or Ambition made the Enemies of the King of *Great Britain*, imagined that they had Allies in his own Dominions, that Armies would ſtart up

out of our Towns and Villages at the Promiſe of Aſſiſtance, and that they might oblige him to ſubmit to any Terms, or purſue him to Ruin, or to Death, at the Expence of his own Subjects.

'Such, Sir, was the Opinion which prevailed in all the Courts of *Europe*, at the Time when our late King was informed that a Confederacy had been formed againſt him by the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*; in which nothing leſs was deſigned than the Deſtruction of our Trade both in the *Indies* and the *Mediterranean*, the Subverſion of our Liberties, and the Advancement of the Pretender to the Throne. Againſt this Confederacy he ſecured the Nation and himſelf by an Alliance which counterballanced it, and by entering into the Treaty of *Hanover* with *France*, divided the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

'The Confederacy of the *Germans* with the King of *Spain*, has been often ridiculed as improbable and imaginary; and thoſe who could not deny its Reality have repreſented it as an airy Project, a Scheme which it was not poſſible to execute, and which it was therefore not neceſſary to obviate by any extraordinary Meaſures.

'But the Probability of ſuch an Alliance appears from a View of the State of the Nation, and of the Opinions of Foreign Princes at that Time. It was natural to project the Introduction of the Pretender into theſe Kingdoms, becauſe it was believed that he would be welcomed at his Arrival by the Acclamations, and ſupported in his Enterprize by the Arms of the People. It was rational to believe that they ſhould be able to deprive us of our Trade, becauſe the Neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a new Monarch would divert the Attention of our Government from Foreign Affairs, and it was not likely that any thing would be denied by him to ſuch kind Aſſiſtance, and ſo uſeful Allies.

'That the *Spaniards* were convinc'd of the Poſſibility of this Project, we may be aſſured, Sir, from the Confidence with which they expoſed a ſmall Body of their Troops, to be ſlaughtered, by landing them on the northern Part of this Iſland. No Man can imagine that they expected from them alone either Conqueſts or Reſiſtance; and it is therefore evident that they expected them to be joined by the Inhabitants, and imagined the Diſaffection ſo general, and the People ſo warlike, that to erect a Standard and to raiſe an Army, would be the ſame.

'Nor will it be difficult to conceive that this Opinion might be communicated with little Labour to the Court of *Vienna*, if we reflect how readily every Prince hearkens to Accounts that flatter his Inclinations, and how welcome

every

every Report will always be found, that encreaſes our own Dignity and Power, by repreſenting our Competitors as unable to ſtand before us.

'I am, Sir, indeed far from believing that the united Power of *Germany* and *Spain* could have driven our Monarch from his Throne; or that the Nation would even at that Time have received the Pretender ſupported by a foreign Power: But to infer that no ſuch Deſign was formed, becauſe it would probably have failed in the Execution, is by no means rational. It is to ſuppoſe that Men are never blinded by their Paſſions, or deceived by their Intelligence; that oppoſite Parties ſee the ſame Objects in the ſame Light, and that every Man proportions his Undertakings to his Strength.

'The Error, Sir, of thoſe Princes was far from being ſuch as could diminiſh their political Reputation; if we ſuppoſe them zealous for their Religion, the Force of Enthuſiaſm has been often ſeen; if we ſuppoſe their Heads heated by Ambition, it is eaſy to conceive that they might be hurried forward to imaginary Conqueſts which their Armies could never have atchieved; if we conſider them as correſponding with the diſaffected Part of our own Nation; we know how readily every Man perſuades himſelf that his own Party will prevail, how he exaggerates in his own Mind its Numbers, its Wealth, and its Unanimity, and confidently affirms to others what he has learned to believe himſelf.

From all theſe Cauſes, co operating at once, what Degrees of Infatuation may not be expected? what may not Monarchs be capable of undertaking, who being infected with Luſt of Dominion, imagine that their Happineſs will be encreaſed as their Empire is extended; who think their Ambition authoriſed by Religion, and are aſſured by thoſe whom it is the higheſt Act of Impiety to diſbelieve, that they ſhall fight under the Banner of Omnipotence? That Heaven will aſſiſt thoſe Forces which are levied for the Extirpation of Hereſy, and that they are appointed to put an End to the Prevalence of Schiſm?

'When to theſe Motives, Sir, it is added, that the Attempt is in itſelf without Danger, and that they are only to aſſiſt the greater Part of the Nation in butchering the leſs; is it to be imagined, that Opportunities ſo favourable will not be improved? That any Monarch will forbear to give an Inſtance of his Piety, when he may ſhew it by gratifying his Ambition? Or that he will not engage in a Deſign at once pleaſing, eaſy and meritorious?

'Perhaps theſe Conſiderations, Sir, may induce the Houſe to allow that his late Majeſty, neither deceived the Parliament

ment by falſe Repreſentations, as has been inſinuated by the honourable Gentleman, nor was himſelf deceived; yet ſince it has been alledged that the Confederacy of the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, if it was ever formed, was a Confederacy of Madmen; that their Deſigns ought to have raiſed Pity rather than Fear, and to have been ridiculed rather than oppoſed, it may be proper before we diſmiſs this Tranſaction to enquire what was really to be dreaded from them.

'It is well known, Sir, that the Favourers of the Pretender were at that Time ſufficiently numerous to diſturb the Nation, though not to inſlave it; and that their Diſcontent was ſuch as might naturally have incited them to a Rebellion, by which, though it would probably have ended in their Defeat, our Country might have been harraſſed for a long Time; and the Hon. Gentleman will ſcarcely affirm that a Civil War is not a Calamity to be very cautiouſly avoided, what Party ſoever may be likely to prevail.

'If it is not to be imagined that Troops could have been landed on our Coaſts in ſuch Numbers as might have threatned Conqueſt, they might at leaſt have burnt our Villages, and deſtroyed the Inhabitants; they might have ravaged our unfortified Towns, laid whole Counties defolate, and filled the Nation with Horror and Confuſion; and when our Armies had at length deſtroyed them, the Injury might be revenged indeed, but could not be repair'd.

'From ſuch Miſeries, Sir, if we were preſerved by a ſeaſonable Alliance with *France*, can the Author of it be cenſured as an Enemy of *Great Britain?* Can it be affirmed that Invaſions and Civil Wars are to be preferr'd to an Alliance by which no Claim was reſigned, and in which mutual Security was honourably ſtipulated upon equal Terms?

'If we conſider, Sir, what has been urged againſt this Treaty, we ſhall be able to recollect only violent Invectives without Proof, and noiſy Declamations without Reaſon. We have been told that *France* is the irreconcileable Enemy of *Great Britain*, that her Reſentments are never to be extinguiſhed, and that her Intereſts are invariably oppoſite. We are told that to enter into Alliances with *France* is to deſtroy at once that Plan of Power, that our Anceſtors have exhauſted their Treaſures to eſtabliſh, and to ſacrifice all the Advantages of the laſt War.

'Theſe, Sir, are indeed pompous Expreſſions by which the Imagination may be warmed, but which have little Efficacy to convince the Reaſon; Sounds which may raiſe Commotions in a popular Aſſembly, but can not have much influence upon a Parliament. That our Anceſtors have generally

nerally employed their Strength and Policy in Oppoſition to *France*, cannot be denied; but if we think their Example ſuch as ought to influence our Meaſures, we muſt imagine them to have acted upon rational Motives, and are therefore only to reſemble them in our Conduct, as we reſemble them in the Circumſtances of our Affairs.

'They oppoſed the *French*, becauſe they had no other Enemy to fear; and upon the ſame Principle would have united with them againſt an Enemy from whom they were both in Danger; nor could they entail upon us any Scheme of Conduct, unleſs they could aſcertain the Courſe of Events. To believe, that we are invariably to declare ourſelves Enemies to *France*, is to be deceived by idle Sounds, and to follow Prejudice inſtead of Policy. It is our Intereſt to oppoſe that Nation with moſt Vigour from whom we have moſt to fear; not to enquire whom our Anceſters hated or dreaded, but who has at preſent the ſtrongeſt Inclination and the greateſt Power to injure us; to regulate our Alliances according to the Intereſts of foreign Princes, to obſerve the Rotations of Power, and vary our Politics as different Exigencies may happen to require.

'It might at leaſt, Sir, be expected from thoſe who have declaimed for ſo many Years againſt the Treaty of *Hanover*, that they ſhould have ſhewn us what ill Conſequences have been produced by it; what Part of our Trade we have relinquiſhed, or what Pretenſions we have reſigned. It might not be unequitable to require, that they ſhould prove this Tranſaction to have brought upon us greater Evils than thoſe from which we were reſcued; the Horrors of an Invaſion, and the Miſeries of a Civil War.

'The Charge, Sir, of Deſerting our Ally is eaſily refuted, ſince that Ally was not deſerted till he had formed Schemes for our Deſtruction: That we contributed to aggrandiſe the Houſe of *Bourbon*, though it has been echoed round the Kingdom, has not been proved; ſince no Man, however confident in his Aſſertions, or vehement in his Invectives, has undertaken to ſhew, that the Treaty of *Hanover* either increaſed the Wealth, extended the Influence, or enlarged the Dominions of *France*. She gained nothing by it but a Neutrality, which, without any ſuch previous Stipulation, it had been our Intereſt to obſerve; but which, perhaps, had not that Alliance been concluded, would have appeared the Effect of Cowardice or Weakneſs.

'It was ſaid indeed by the Honourable Gentleman, that the *French* have given us no Aſſiſtance; but it does not appear that we wanted or required it, or that by the Treaty of *Hanover*, we had a Right to demand it. Our Enemies

were

were diſcouraged from an Invaſion by finding that they could no longer expect Succeſs.

'Is it not, Sir, ſome Advantage that an Enemy who was elated to a Degree of Inſolence, that incited him to form Deſigns upon our Country, to plan the Subverſion of our Conſtitution, and doom us to irrecoverable Slavery, was reduced to confine his Reſentment to petty Ravages, and Inſults rather malicious than dangerous? That inſtead of ſpreading Deſtruction over *Britain*, he was content to beſiege a Fortreſs * with-held from him in his own Territories.

'Some have aſſerted in the Heat of their Animoſity, when irritated by frequent Defeats, and oppreſſed by Arguments to which they were unwilling to yield, tho' they found themſelves unable to confute them, that the Rapine and Inſolence of the *Spaniards* have been always ſecretly encouraged by *France*: This, Sir, is an Inſinuation of which it does not appear to me, that the Importance is proportioned to the malignant Pleaſure with which it is produced; for how can it affect the Conduct of the Miniſtry, whether it be true or falſe?

'If the *French*, Sir, did in reality exaſperate the *Spaniards* againſt us, at the Time when they engaged with the utmoſt Solemnity to aſſiſt us againſt them; if while they were exchanging Ratifications, and redoubling Proteſtations of Friendſhip, they endeavoured to embarraſs our Government, and obſtruct our Commerce, what can be inferred from their Conduct but their own Perfidy? And by what Law is a Miniſter of *Great Britain* to be puniſhed for thoſe Crimes in which he did not concur?

'In Political as in private Tranſactions mutual Truſt is unavoidable; nor can any more be required from either Party than to preſerve his own Faith, and watch that the other does not make uſe of an Appearance of Friendſhip to injure or betray him. No Man ought to ſuffer but for his own Wickedneſs or Negligence, becauſe no Man can regulate the Conſcience of another.

'But it is not neceſſary, Sir, to have Recourſe to the ſecret Operation of remote Agents for the Explication of Events, of which the immediate Cauſes may be ſo eaſily aſſigned. The *Spaniards*, though they found their Scheme of an Invaſion no longer practicable, had yet ſo much Confidence in the Accounts which they had received of the Violence of our Factions, and the Ardour of our Animoſities, that they imagined us to be in a State that would not allow us to regard our Honour or our Commerce, and believed that they might without Danger inſult our Flag and plunder our Merchants.

'That

* The Siege of Gibraltar.

'That this Opinion was the Foundation of their Conduct, and that they ſtill retain it with a Degree of Bigotry peculiar to themſelves, appears, Sir, from their Manifeſto lately publiſhed. Our Diviſions are there mentioned with an Appearance of Triumph, which perhaps may be ſtill heightened by an Account of the preſent Debate, and to which the Opponents of the Adminiſtration, whatever may have been their Intentions, it muſt be confeſſed, have long contributed.

'Againſt theſe Depredations, Sir, frequent Remonſtrances were made, and Promiſes of Inquiry and Reparation were conſtantly returned, with what Degree of Sincerity it was not poſſible for our Miniſters to determine. The Diſtance of the *Spaniſh* Territories made it eaſy for the Governors to elude the Orders of their Maſter, or to deceive him with falſe Repreſentations, which could not always be confuted by our Miniſters before their Attention was diverted by ſome new Controverſy. The Delays in the *Spaniſh* Forms of Proceeding, well adapted to favour any fraudulent Deſign, often made it impoſſible to procure Proof of an unjuſt Seizure, for the Maſter of a Veſſel was perhaps dead, and his Crew diſperſed, before his Cauſe was determined.

'It might indeed be ſuſpected that theſe Ravages were not committed by the Subjects of *Spain* without the Connivance of their Court; and that the Orders ſent to *Spain* would not have been ſo long eluded, had the Officers believed that Compliance would have been more likely to procure Favour or Promotion: But as their King not only diſowned their Proceedings, but promiſed that Juſtice ſhould be rigorouſly obſerved; and as War is always the laſt Remedy which a wiſe Government employs, it was thought more prudent to preſerve our Claims by frequent Repetitions, and to wait for ſome Opportunity of obtaining their Confirmation, than to aſſert them by Force, and load the Nation with the Expences of a War.

'When the Project was formed of eſtabliſhing Don *Carlos* in *Italy*, we thought the Opportunity obtained which we had ſo long deſired, and therefore readily complied with the Propoſitions which were made us for eſtabliſhing a laſting Peace with *Spain*. This indeed we did not ſubmit to purchaſe at a high Rate, for the Tranſportation of Don *Carlos*, though it gratified the Ambition of his Mother, was no great Sacrifice on our Part. There was no Enemy to encounter, no Danger to fear; and the Expence which alone can be complained of, ought to be compared with that of a War which it was probable we might avoid by it.

'Yet the Miniſtry, Sir, by this Step furniſhed their Ad-

verſaries with a new Theme for Declamation; they have been charged with throwing Weight into that Scale of Power which was too heavy before, with propagating the Influence of the Houſe of *Bourbon* thro' the whole Continent of *Europe*, and with endangering our future Commerce by inveſting them with the Dominion of the *Mediterranean*.

'But before theſe Invectives are indulged, it ought to be proved that we granted ſome Advantage which it was impolitick to grant, and which it was in our Power to deny; that we could have hindered the *Spaniards* from the Acquiſition of that Part of *Italy*, or have hindered them without more Expence and Danger, than our Intereſt in the Tranſaction could induce us to incur.

'It ought to be examined, Sir, whether it was not more prudent to procure a Reconciliation of long Diſputes, by aſſiſting them in an Enterpriſe which they could have executed by their own Strength; and by appearing to favour Deſigns which we could not effectually obſtruct; than to exaſperate Hatred and inflame Quarrels by needleſs Oppoſition, and to harraſs ourſelves with a War of which it was impoſſible to foreſee the Succeſs, or fix the Duration.

'It was ſaid by the hon. Gentleman, that our Compliance had no other Effect upon the *Spaniards* than to heighten their Inſolence, to harden their Obſtinacy, and to confirm their Contempt; that therefore our Money was laviſhed without Recompence, and our Alliance offered only to be ſlighted.

'I confeſs, Sir, that neither the Policy nor the Gratitude of the *Spaniards*, could induce them to improve the Advances which were made at *Seville* into a firm and laſting Friendſhip; that their Inſolence had not been abated, or their Pretenſions remitted; and that their Depredations after a very ſhort Suſpence were renewed with equal Rapacity and equal Cruelty. Of this the Parliament itſelf has complained in its Addreſſes to the King, nor does the Cauſe of which I have undertaken the Defence, require that any Truth ſhould be denied or diſguiſed.

'Theſe Ravages and Cruelties, Sir, are Facts of which no Man will diſpute the Certainty or palliate the Injuſtice; but it appears to me, that every impartial and candid Enquirer will diſcover, that they cannot rationally be charged on the Miniſtry: For how can it be imagined that they could willingly promote the Diſappointment of their own Meaſures, or what Intereſt can they be ſuppoſed to advance by increaſing the Diſcontent of the People? The Conduct of the *Spaniards* muſt be therefore attributed only to themſelves; nor can it be expected that we ſhould undertake to reform

their

their Folly or their Wickedneſs, or to teach them either Politicks or Gratitude.

'I cannot but obſerve, Sir, that in the Charges made by the Hon. Gentlemen, the Crimes of Mankind are amaſſed together and thrown upon a ſingle Perſon, who is ſo unfortunate in his Situation, that he is equally to be accuſed of the Miſconduct of his Friends and of his Enemies; of Tranſactions by which his Influence is apparently diminiſhed, as well as thoſe by which it may ſeem to be advanced: He is repreſented as the general Dictator of Guilt, nor is any Man imagined to deviate from the Right, but by his Intrigation or Connivance.

'Unhappy ſurely is the Lot of that Man, from whom an Account is required of the Conduct of thoſe whom he has not Power to direct; whom neither Diſtance nor Ignorance can ſecure from being an Aſſociate in every Act of Wickedneſs; and whoſe Innocence can only be preſerved by a Reformation of the Univerſe.

'That the Miniſtry, Sir, have been inſenſible of the Sufferings of their Country, that they have ſeen without Concern the Obſtruction of our Trade, and heard without Compaſſion the Complaints of our Merchants; that they have ſat at Eaſe in the Enjoyment of their Salaries, while their Fellow-ſubjects were languiſhing in Diſtreſs; and inſulted or neglected thoſe Calamities which their Indolence, Unſkilfulneſs or Cowardice had brought upon the Nation, are Inſinuations which ought not to be credited, becauſe they cannot be proved.

'Their frequent Remonſtrances to the Court of *Spain* afford ſufficient Evidence, that they did not forget their Duty or neglect it; their Aſſertion of our Rights ſhew that they had no Intention to reſign them. And the Charge of Inſenſibility, Negligence, and Corruption, muſt be reduced at laſt only to this, that they thought Succeſs more likely to be obtained by Negotiation, which others expected only from Violence and Slaughter.

'Had the *Spaniards*, Sir, been perſuaded at length to attend to the Remonſtrances of Juſtice, to reſtore what they could not retain without Robbery, and admit what they cannot deny without the Violation of the moſt ſolemn Treaties; had the Pacific Acts of Negotiation terminated our Diſputes, procured Security to our Trade, opened the Seas of the *Weſt-Indies*, and eſtabliſhed, upon equitable Terms, that Concord which is neceſſary to the Happineſs of both Nations; Would thoſe allow themſelves Criminal who had ſo long ſounded the Trumpet of War, who had called out inceſſantly for Repriſals and Revenge, and who had exhau-

fted their Eloquence to inflame the Reſentment of the Nation, and to incite the Parliament to Impatience and Violence? Would they have admitted, that they might be deſervedly cenſured, as the Enemies of their Country, for endeavouring to precipitate us into an unneceſſary War, and for promoting Havock, Bloodſhed and Confuſion?

'Would they not have urged that they had only given their Opinion, with that Liberty which is allowed in Parliamentary Debates, and with that Sincerity which Patriotiſm requires? That they were deceived by falſe Appearances, or hurried on by a Zeal too impatient of the Injuries of the Publick? That they did not lay any Claim to Preſcience or Infallibility, and that involuntary Errors could never be juſtly puniſhed, becauſe they could not be avoided? And would not this Plea have ſatisfied the moſt rigorous Enquirer, and pacified the warmeſt Reſentment?

'Whoever, Sir, admits the Validity of this Excuſe, which he that denies has no great Regard to his own Honour or Safety, muſt allow, that it may be now urged, with equal Juſtice, in Vindication of the Miniſtry. If they have been miſtaken in their Choice of Meaſures, they have been betrayed into Error only by their Caution; nor did their Delays proceed from any other Cauſe, than the Fear of encreaſing the Expences of the Publick, and hazarding the Quiet of *Europe* by precipitate Reſolutions.

'I ſhall not inſiſt at this Time on the Probability that contrary Meaſures, if they had been purſued by the Miniſtry, would have been oppoſed with equal Vehemence, and their Abſurdity aggravated with the ſame Violence of Declamation: That the Miniſtry would have been repreſented as Men hardened againſt all the Impulſes of Humanity; who look'd with Satisfaction on Slaughter, Devaſtations and Cruelty; who were delighted with embroiling the World, and employing one Nation in the Deſtruction of another; who had involved their Country in foreign Wars only to divert the Attention of the Publick from their own Miſcarriages and Corruption; and who would prolong it without End, as it might give them Opportunities of gratifying their Friends and expoſing their Adverſaries.

'That ſuch would have been the Outcries of the Oppoſition, if more violent Meaſures had been purſued, I do not affirm. Sir, whatever I may believe. I do not affirm it, becauſe I think that every Aſſertion ought to be ſupported by Evidence, and that Poſitions and Conjectures are to be carefully diſtinguiſhed. I will however declare with great Confidence, that this Accuſation had been more juſt and more plauſible; and that the Vulgar, upon whom the Influence

fluence of Sounds is well known by Experience to the Opponents of the Miniſtry, would have been more eaſily inflamed by artful Repreſentations of the Horrors of a deſtructive War, than of the Shame of a diſhonourable Peace. I cannot, therefore, but once more ſuſpect, that they whoſe conſtant Hope of Succeſs has ariſen from a Practice of appealing from the Parliament to the Rabble, could not have ſuffered ſo commodious a Topic to eſcape them; but would have exhibited the Miniſtry to public Views as blood-thirſty Monſters, who were daily ſacrificing the Lives of thouſands to their Caprices; and becauſe they had no Tenderneſs for their Fellow-ſubjects, preferred War to Peace; who contemplated with Pleaſure thoſe Dangers in which they never involved themſelves, and feaſted their Imagination with Slaughters which heightened the Pleaſure of their own Security.

'But that there are indeed Inſults which muſt be reſented, and Evils to which War itſelf is to be preferred, cannot be denied; and ſuch at length has the Parliament declar'd the Inſolence and Rapacity of the *Spaniards*, againſt whom therefore War has been proclaimed, and proſecuted in ſuch a Manner as was moſt likely to attain the End for which War ought always to be made; the Redreſs of Wrongs and Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace.

'But the Miniſtry, Sir, have been no leſs unfortunate in their Conduct of the War than in their Methods of Negotiation; for their Opponents appear reſolved to be equally diſſatisfied on every Occaſion, and to diſcover Treachery, Cowardice, or Corruption, whatever Meaſures are perſued.

'The War has indeed had already one Effect that they may, without want of Candour, be ſuſpected of deſiring. It has furniſhed them with numerous Topics of Accuſation which they could not have obtained in Time of Peace. It has given them an Opportunity of diverſifying their Invectives, and enlivening their Harangues; and enabled them to ſubſtitute new Calumnies in the Place of thoſe which, though no longer credited, they had been hitherto forced to repeat. The Exciſe, which had with unwearied Eloquence been for many Years echoed from one ſide of this Houſe to the other; the Dangers of a Standing Army which had been exaggerated with all the Zeal of ardent Patriotiſm; and even the Convention which, tho' a later Subject, had been diſcuſſed till it was no longer a Terror but a Vexation to Mankind, gave way to more ſplendid Themes! Themes on which the Imagination might expatiate without Labour, and Eloquence wanton without the Aid of Invention: They harangued now on the Bravery of our Sailors, the Strength

of

of our Nation, the Triumphs of our Anceſtors, and the Weakneſs of *Spain*.

'But when they had amuſed themſelves with the Diſplay of our Power, and gratified their Love of their Country by a Recollection of her ancient Glory, they always concluded with a pathetical Lamentation of our preſent Miſeries; they complained that our Force was reſtrained by the Corruption of our Governors; that the Courage of our Sailors was of no other Uſe than to heighten their Impatience of the ignominious Inactivity to which they were condemned; that our ancient Honours were tamely ſuffered to be torn from us; that we were no longer courted, reverenced, or feared; that the *Spaniards*, however weak, however contemptible, were yet ſucceſsful in the War; and that we perceived no other Effect of our Armaments than Expence and Diſappointments.

'When they were aſked from what Cauſes theſe Complaints proceeded, what Dominions had been taken from us, or what Battles we had loſt, it was anſwered, that not to have conquered in ſuch a War was to be overcome; that it was expected by the People of this Nation, that a ſingle Fleet ſhould have reduced *Spain* to Submiſſion, and that one Effort of the *Britiſh* Force might put us in Poſſeſſion of the Mines of the *Weſt Indies*.

'Such Expectations indeed it is common for the People to form at the Commencement of a War; and it has not been unuſual for Governors to promote them, though perhaps without ſufficient Regard to Juſtice or to Prudence; neither of which could ever countenance the Propagation of Falſhood. For if the People are perſuaded to think too highly of their own Strength, what can be expected but that they will demand Succeſs proportioned to their imaginary Force? And that the Blame of every Defeat will fall upon the Government?

'Such Expectations, Sir, were therefore never raiſed by the Miniſtry, becauſe they knew that they could only be gratified by Chance, in which no wiſe Man will put any Confidence: But they were eagerly excited by the Boaſters of Patriotiſm who knew that Succeſs would be received as a Confirmation of their Predictions, and would eſtabliſh the Reputation of their Sagacity; but that any Defeat would be imputed to the Miniſtry, and blow up the Flames of publick Hatred; and that in the mean Time they gained every Day the Favour of the Populace, to whom nothing is more grateful than exaggerate Repreſentations of their own Strength.

'They therefore called out inceſſantly for a vigorous Proſecution of the War; they required that Inſolence ſhould no longer be born without Reſentment, nor Ravages without Repriſals;

Repriſals; they demanded that Fleets ſhould be equipped, that Commerce ſhould be protected, and *Spain* humbled.

'Ships were accordingly put into Commiſſion, new Veſſels were built, the Workmen in the Docks were enjoined double Labour, naval Stores were purchaſed and Contracts for Proviſions made every Day; but our Fleets completely rigged remained in our Harbours for want of Men, and our Enemies roved at large over the Ocean, while we were ſoliciting our Sailors to engage in the Service of the Publick.

'For removing this Obſtacle, Sir, at which the Opponents of the Miniſtry were for the greateſt Part content to clamour; without any Endeavour or perhaps any Deſire to ſurmount it, becauſe they found ſpecious Reaſons for imputing it to the Adminiſtration, many Schemes were offered: But they were almoſt always oppoſed with the utmoſt Obſtinacy, by Men who had wearied the Parliament with the Juſtice and Neceſſity of the War, with the Diminution of our Trade, and the Importance of an uninterrupted Navigation.

'When one Project was diſapproved, another was propoſed; and nothing was left unattempted that might contribute to that Succeſs which all appeared to wiſh, though only the Miniſtry endeavoured to procure it. But to every Propoſal that could be formed, to every Method that Invention or Experience could ſuggeſt, ſo many Inconveniences were objected by the zealous Guardians of the Liberties of the People, that much Time was waſted, and Loſſes ſuffered by the Merchants.

'But that Sagacity, Sir, which always enabled them to improve every Accident to their own Advantage, ſuggeſted to them that they might now accuſe the Miniſters of delaying the Preparations for War, detaining the Ships which were to guard the Coaſts, and expoſing the Merchants by Negligence or Deſign to the Rapacity of the *Spaniſh* Privateers.

'At length, Sir, our Fleets in the *Weſt Indies* began Hoſtilities; the *Spaniards* were confined to their Ports; their Colonies were kept in continual Terror; and one of their moſt important Settlements was laid in Ruins. Who would not now have thought that the Miniſtry had given ſufficient Proofs of their Sincerity in the Proſecution of the War, and that there could be no longer any Pretence for Complaints? But even this Advantage ſerved only to ſhew, how a vigilant and ſagacious Patriot can improve every Occurrence to the Propagation of his Tenets and the Support of his Cauſe. The Miniſtry, Sir, was on this Occaſion once more loaded with Calumnies; they were now accuſed as ſecretly chagrined at the

the public Felicity, and incenſed againſt that Commander by whom the Honour of our Nation was retrieved, and the Inſolence of our Enemies repreſſed.

'How the Miniſters gave Occaſion to ſo atrocious a Charge, it may not be improper to declare. When thoſe who had for many Years affected a particular Degree of Solicitude for the publick Welfare, and who had been diſtinguiſhed by their Zeal for a War with *Spain*, heard the firſt Rumour of that Succeſs which they had ſo confidently predicted; it was their Employment once more to engage the Populace by entertaining them with the delightful Narative, uniting in their Acclamations and partaking of their Triumph.

'For this Purpoſe, Sir, they did not fail to exaggerate the Enterpriſe, and magnify the Advantages that were to be expected from it; and ſo wanton was their Imagination, that it formed no Ideas but of the Conqueſt of the *Weſt-Indies*, and the utter Deſtruction of the *Spaniſh* Dominions.

'The Friends of the Government, tho' pleaſed with the Succeſs of the Expedition in proportion to its Importance, diſcovered no ſuch Raptures of Exultation; They rejoiced indeed, but with that Moderation which accompanies true Greatneſs of Mind; they praiſed the Bravery and Prudence of *Vernon*, but without exalting him above all his Predeceſſors; they thought that to give way to an Exceſs of Praiſe or Joy upon any ſlight Advantage, had a Tendency to leſſen the Reputation of our Arms, as it might be inferred by Foreigners that our Exultation was produced only by our Fear.

'Whatever, Sir, were the Motives of their Conduct, it may be imagined that in a Nation where Freedom is ſo laviſhly boaſted, every Man might plead an Exemption from the Neceſſity of joining his Voice to Shouts of which he did not know the Reaſon, or which he thought too loud for the Occaſion which produced them; and that no Man would accuſe him of Diſaffection to his Country, becauſe he did not evaporate in uſeleſs Congratulations, and wild Effuſions of Jollity.

'But as Men reſolv'd to cenſure can never want a Fund of Accuſation, no ſooner were the Miniſters ſtigmatized as Enemies to *Vernon*, than they were diſcovered to have formed a Plot for his Deſtruction in Concert with the *Spaniards* and *French*; whoſe Fleets had found an Opportunity of uniting, while our Admiral was cruiſing on another Part of the Coaſt, and guarding a Fortreſs of which the Importance has been formerly one of the popular Subjects of Declamation. They indeed ſailed immediately to the *Weſt Indies*, before there was any Opportunity of interrupting their Courſe; but

how

how little they performed, and how ſhamefully they returned is well known. If it be true, that they ſailed with the Conſent of our Miniſters, as inſinuated by the hon. Gentleman, it muſt be allowed, that they were trapan'd by them into uſeleſs Expences and unprofitable Fatigues; and that they have at length Reaſon to complain of that Friend, by whom they are ſaid to have been ſo long favoured and aſſiſted.

'But what Defence can be made of the Conduct of the Miniſter, when it is urged that the *French* are now, in Oppoſition to all the Faith of Treaties, buſy in the Reparation of the Port of *Dunkirk*; and that they are eſtabliſhing an Aſylum for Privateers, and preparing to diſpute the Command of the Channel? What, but that by confeſſing that they act in Contradiction to Treaties, it is granted that the Miniſtry is to be acquitted; for let me once more remind thoſe who may be inclined to patroniſe the Motion, that no Man is to be puniſhed for the Diſhoneſty of another.

'Such, Sir, is the Charge againſt the Adminiſtration of foreign Affairs, and with to little Difficulty is that Charge refuted. Whether the Conduct of domeſtick Tranſactions will not admit of a Vindication yet more clear and eaſy, remains now to be examined.

'As it is never grateful to my Diſpoſition, to think or ſpeak with Contempt of any Man, I am not without ſome doubt whether I ſhould not paſs over the Exciſe in Silence; for who can reſtrain his Imagination from ſome Sallies of ſatirical Merriment, when he ſees Men reſolved to accuſe without any Subject of Accuſation; and finds Malice reduced to the Neceſſity of gratifying itſelf with Dreams of imaginary Hardſhips and mere Poſſibilities of Guilt.

'Let us ſtate the Queſtion ſo far as it relates to the Exciſe with Coolneſs and Impartiality. About eight Years ago the Right Hon. Gentleman was *ſaid* to have formed a Scheme which was proved to be advantageous to the Revenue, and *ſaid* to be detrimental to the People. This Scheme was laid before this Houſe, and approved by the greater Number, but was thrown aſide by him to gratify the People; and it is now moved that the ſuppoſed Author of this Scheme ſhould be for ever excluded from his Majeſty's Counſels.

'Such, Sir, is the Crime, and ſuch is the Puniſhment. A Perſon diſtinguiſhed for his Abilities and famous for his Ardour for Liberty, long honoured with the Favour of his Sovereign, and long intruſted with the moſt important Employments, is to be branded with Infamy and deprived of Truſt; for having been ſuppos'd to form Meaſures which were ſuſpected of a pernicious Tendency, and from which that Suſpicion induced him to deſiſt.

' Had the Scheme been really pernicious, and really reduced to Practice, it might have been imagined that the Approbation of the Parliament would have exempted him from Proſecution; but this Approbation, it ſeems, is now no longer to be pleaded, becauſe the Parliament is no longer the Repreſentative of the People; this Houſe is only a Herd of Slaves hired to drudge for their Maſter, and to give up to his Diſpoſal the Rights, the Properties, and Lives of their Fellow-Subjects.

' That this Charge, Sir, is known by the greater Part of this Houſe to be falſe may eaſily be conceived; but it will appear an Aſſertion ſomewhat daring to declare that it is known to be falſe by thoſe that produce it; and yet why elſe do they produce it, much more why do they produce it here? Can they expect that any Man ſhould concur in his own Ruin; that a Houſe of which the Majority vote for Pay, will detect or puniſh that Corruption by which they are influenced; or that any Man who has received a Bribe will inform againſt the Hand that gave it?

' When they apply to this Houſe for the Detection or Puniſhment of Bribery, they muſt believe that the greateſt Number is not influenced by Money; and yet if that be their Opinion, they muſt retract their Charge.

' It has been urged in Juſtification of the Motion, that whether Miſcarriages in publick Affairs ariſe from Error or from Deſign, they equally prove the Neceſſity of removing him, by whom they were tranſacted, from Places of Truſt; becauſe the Publick may be equally injured by Incapacity or Treachery. Will it not in the ſame Manner appear, that thoſe who have produced this Charge ought to be excluded from the Management of publick Affairs, whether it be true or falſe; ſince if it be true, their Conduct can be the Effect only of Madneſs, and if it be falſe, of Wickedneſs.

' But whatever be at length determined with regard to the Facts which have been ſo often examined, whether the Treaty of *Hanover* was beneficial or detrimental to the Nation, whether the *Spaniards* have been oppoſed or ſupported in their Inſolence, whether the *French* have incited or reſtrained them, whether the Exciſe was a Scheme of Oppreſſion, or a rational Method of preventing Abuſes, and whether the Parliament be corrupt or honeſt, how can the Propriety of the Motion be be evinced? Why is it directed againſt this Perſon? And why are not others included in the ſame Cenſure?

' The only Reaſon of this Motion which can be openly avowed, muſt be the Deſire of puniſhing the Author of the publick Miſeries, and deterring others from the ſame Crimes by an Example of Juſtice and Severity. But it has in all former Times been thought neceſſary to prove Guilt before it

is puniſhed, nor was it ever propoſed before this Day that the Sentence ſhould precede the Trial.

'In the preſent Caſe, Sir, it is aſſerted that the Nation is reduced to Ignominy and Diſtreſs; that it is oppreſſed by an unneceſſary Army, and loaded with Taxes, of which it does not appear how they can be employed but to corrupt the Parliament; and it is demanded therefore, not that the Enquiries ſhould be made into the State of the Publick, not that the Army ſhould be diſbanded, or that our Taxes ſhould be reduced, but *That Sir* Robert Walpole *be removed from his Majeſty's Preſence and Counſels.*

'Such a Propoſal could be dictated only by the Rage of diſappointed Oppoſition, which has at length collected all its Force, and exerted all its Malice in one deſperate Effort; and which is now too much irritated to obſerve any longer the Rules of Decency, or to pretend any longer a Zeal for publick Happineſs, an Ardour for Liberty, or Tenderneſs for the People.

'Had this Motion, Sir, been produced by laudable Deſigns, it would have been recommended otherwiſe than by vehement Invectives and general Aſſertions; for as the End is, ſuch generally are the Means: And it is not eaſily that a wiſe Man is perſuaded of the Juſtice of that Intention, which he ſees promoted either by Violence or Fallacy.

'The Fallacy of the Argument uſed on this Occaſion is too groſs not to be diſcovered, and too contemptible not to be derided, were not the End propoſed by it ſo atrocious as not to admit of the Prevalence of any Paſſion but Horror and Deteſtation. The Fallacy, Sir, conſiſts in ſuppoſing what is principally to be proved, that the Right Honourable Perſon on whom the Cenſure is to fall, has been for twenty Years not only the Chief but the Sole Director of all Foreign and Domeſtic Affairs; that he has at once levied Armies and raiſed Taxes, enacted Laws and ratified Treaties, and governed at the ſame Time the Council and the Parliament.

'If, Sir, the Right Honourable Gentleman has not been the chief Adviſer and Director of all National Affairs, the Motion muſt be without the leaſt Degree of Juſtice or Propriety; becauſe it will tend to fix an unjuſt Cenſure, and to puniſh one Man with perpetual Infamy for the Crimes of another. It will tend to harden the principal Agent, whoever he may be, in the Continuance of his wicked Practices; ſince he will ſuppoſe the publick Vengeance already ſatisfied, and will find that he is ſafe from Puniſhment, by being free from Suſpicion.

'If the Right Honourable Gentleman be not the Sole Author of theſe fatal Meaſures, it is evident that the Motion has ariſen not from publick Spirit, not from a virtuous De-

teſtation of corrupt Conduct, not from a Deſire of reforming Abuſes, and reſtoring to the *Britiſh* Name its ancient Dignity; but from narrow Views, and ſelfiſh Deſigns, from ſordid Intereſt, or virulent Malevolence. For why is one Man ſingled out for Vengeance among ſo many Aſſociates in the ſame Crimes? Why is not the Puniſhment proportioned to the Guilt? and why is publick Juſtice defrauded or obſtructed?

'Of ſuch Procedure, Sir, no other Account can be given, than that one Man is more feared or hated than the reſt; nor can this Fear or Deteſtation be imputed to any other Cauſe than the Number of his Friends, or the Superiority of his Abilities; for ſince his Wickedneſs appears not more enormous than that of others, he muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the Crowd by ſome other Qualities.

'Happy would the *Britiſh* Nation be, if this Ardour of Proſecution, proceeded from any other Cauſe; if the Perſons, who have ſo long declared themſelves Enemies to the Right Honourable Gentleman, were not incited againſt him only by his Importance to the State, by the Vigour of his Underſtanding, and the Extent of his Knowledge; that Underſtanding which has enabled him to diſcover and diſconcert all the Schemes, by which they have hitherto endeavoured to riſe upon his Ruin; and that Knowledge which has been ſo ſucceſsfully employed, in defending the Meaſures of the Government, and demonſtrating the true Intereſt of the People.

'They have long diſcovered, or imagined themſelves to have diſcovered, that they are hindered from ſucceeding in their Deſigns only by his Induſtry, Influence, and Capacity; and have therefore determined at any Rate to procure his Removal. What their real Deſigns are I ſhall not pretend to inform the Houſe; but if we take a View of the different Perſons who have concurred in the Oppoſition, and reflect upon the Contrariety of their Principles, Habits, and Conduct, it will not eaſily be ſuppoſed that they can be cemented either by Affection to the preſent Government, or by any uniform Principle except that of Intereſt; nor can it be conceived that they propoſe any other Changes, than ſuch as may increaſe their own Fortunes, by inveſting them with the chief Poſts of Profit and of Truſt.

'Such Suſpicions, Sir, which muſt naturally ariſe upon the firſt View of this Chaos of Oppoſition reduced to Order and to Form, has been every Day confirmed by the Effects which have ariſen from its Coalition; by an inceſſant Obſtruction of the juſteſt Meaſures, by a reſtleſs Turbulence of Diſcontent, which has always animated their Harangues, by

a Contempt of Order and Government, and at length by this publick Deſertion of Equity and Reaſon.

'The Motion I cannot but conſider as the utmoſt Effort of Malice, the expiring Struggle of Faction wearied and exhauſted with fruitleſs Endeavours to diſturb the Happineſs and corrupt the Loyalty of the People: And tho' there is a Degree of Wickedneſs of which it is ſcarce reaſonable to hope for a Reformation, yet I cannot but flatter myſelf that theſe Gentlemen, after having ſeen their laſt Expedient baffled, and their moſt vigorous Aſſaults born with Patience, and repulſed with Eaſe, will at length deſiſt for their own Sakes from oppoſing what they cannot prevent, and from encountering thoſe by whom they are certain to be overcome.

'I cannot but hope, Sir, that they may be prevailed on by the Conſideration of their own Eaſe, to concur with the Meaſures of the Government; and that by a ſhort Experience of the Satisfaction of Virtue, and the Peace of Loyalty, they may be induced to perſevere with Sincerity in that Conduct, in which they were at firſt engaged only by Wearineſs, Vexation or Deſpair.

'This at leaſt I will promiſe them, that they will more probably attain, by ſuch a Change of their Schemes, thoſe Advantages which they are ſuſpected of purſuing, with as much Ardour at leaſt as the Intereſt of their Country; and that no Remembrance of paſt Injuries will incite the Gentleman againſt whom their Malice is this Day directed, to employ his Authority or Abilities againſt them; ſince I am convinced that he has hitherto rather pitied than hated them, and that he will be immediately reconciled to them upon their Return to their Duty.

'This, Sir, I can boldly promiſe upon long Acquaintance with him, and frequent Experience of his Tenderneſs, Equity, Moderation and Candour: Qualities of which I am not, on this Occaſion, either aſhamed or afraid to declare, that they have endeared him to me; and which if his Enemies had poſſeſſed in the ſame Degree, this Motion had never been offered.

'But whatever Influence perſonal Motives may have upon others, I find Reaſons of a very different Kind, which have determined my Opinion on this Queſtion: Reaſons which ariſe only from Regard to Liberty, to Juſtice, and to Truth. The Meaſures which have been mentioned, as proper Grounds for the ſevereſt Cenſure, are ſuch as I have hitherto approved; and I find not any new Arguments offered, by which I might be induced to condemn what I formerly defended.

'I find, Sir, the ſuppoſed Guilt of all theſe ſuppoſed Miſcarriages

carriages accumulated upon one Man, without the leaſt Endeavour to prove that he was more criminal, with regard to ſome, than any other Member of the Council; or with Reſpect to others, than any Member of Parliament by whom they were approved.

'I eaſily foreſee, that if this Motion be admitted, the Juſtice of Parliamentary Cenſures, and by Conſequence their Authority and Efficacy is at an End; ſince it will at any Time be in the Power of a Majority, inflamed by Faction or Reſentment, to puniſh thoſe whom no Evidence is produced to convict; and therefore, I declare, that I ſhall vote againſt this Motion, and any other of the ſame Kind.

Then Mr *Pitt* ſpoke to the Effect following:

Sir,

Mr Pitt. 'As it has been obſerved that thoſe, who have formerly approved the Meaſures of the Gentleman into whoſe Conduct we are now inquiring, cannot be expected to diſavow their former Deciſions, unleſs new Arguments are produced of greater Force than thoſe which have formerly been offered; ſo the ſame Steadineſs muſt be excuſed in thoſe who have oppoſed them, unleſs they can now hear them better defended.

'It is an eſtabliſhed Maxim, Sir, that as Time is the Teſt of Opinions, Falſehood grows every Day weaker, and Truth gains upon Mankind. This is more eminently juſt in political Aſſertions, which often reſpect future Events, and the remote Conſequences of Tranſactions; and therefore never fail to be, by Time, inconteſtably verified or undeniably confuted. On many Occaſions it is impoſſible to determine the Expediency of Meaſures, otherwiſe than by Conjecture; becauſe almoſt every Step that can be taken may have a Tendency to a good as well as to a bad End. And as he that propoſes, and thoſe that promote it, may conceal their Intentions, till they are ripened into Execution, Time only can diſcover the Motives of their Demands, and the Principles of their Conduct.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, it may eaſily be expected that bad Meaſures will be condemned by Men of Integrity when their Conſequences are fully diſcovered; tho' when they were propoſed, they might by plauſible Declarations and ſpecious Appearances, obtain their Approbation or Applauſe. Thoſe, whoſe Purity of Intention, and Simplicity of Morals, expoſed them to Credulity and implicite Confidence, muſt reſent the Arts by which they were deluded into a Concurrence with Projects detrimental to their Country; but of which

which the Conſequences were artfully concealed from them, or the real Intention ſteadily denied.

'With Regard to ſuch Gentlemen whoſe Neglect of political Studies, had not qualified them to judge of the Queſtions when they were firſt debated; and who, in giving their Suffrages were not ſo much directed by their own Conviction, as by the Authority of Men whoſe Experience and Knowledge they knew to be great, and whoſe Integrity they had hitherto found no Reaſon to diſtruſt, it may be naturally expected that, when they ſee thoſe Meaſures which were recommended, as neceſſary to Peace and Happineſs, productive only of Confuſion, Oppreſſion, and Diſtreſs, they ſhould acknowledge their Error and forſake their Guides, whom they muſt now diſcover to have been either ignorant, or treacherous; and by an open Recantation of their former Deciſions, endeavour to repair the Calamities, which they have contributed to bring upon their Country.

'The Extent and Complication of political Queſtions is ſuch, that no Man can juſtly be aſhamed of having been ſometimes miſtaken in his Determinations; and the Propenſity of the human Mind to Confidence and Friendſhip is ſo great, that every Man, however cautious, however ſagacious, or however experienced, is expoſed ſometimes to the Artifices of Intereſt, and the Deluſions of Hypocriſy; but it is the Duty, and ought to be the Honour, of every Man to own his Miſtake, whenever he diſcovers it, and to warn others againſt thoſe Frauds which have been too ſucceſsfully practiſed upon himſelf.

'I am therefore, Sir, inclined to hope that every Man will not be equally pre determined in the preſent Debate, and that as I ſhall be ready to declare my Approbation of Integrity and Wiſdom, though they ſhould be found where I have long ſuſpected Ignorance and Corruption; ſo others will with equal Juſtice cenſure Wickedneſs and Error, though they ſhould be detected in that Perſon, whom they have long been taught to reverence as the Oracle of Knowledge, and the Pattern of Virtue.

'In political Debates Time always produces new Lights; Time can in theſe Enquiries never be neutral, but muſt always acquit or condemn. Time indeed may not always produce new Arguments againſt bad Conduct, becauſe all its Conſequences might be originally foreſeen and expoſed; but it muſt always confirm them, and ripen Conjectures into Certainty. Though it ſhould therefore be truly aſſerted, that nothing is urged in this Debate which was not before mentioned and rejected, it will not prove that becauſe the Arguments are the ſame, they ought to produce the ſame

ſame Effect; becauſe what was then only foretold, has now been ſeen and felt, and what was then but believed is now known.

'But if Time has produced no Vindication of thoſe Meaſures, which were once ſuſpected of Imprudence or of Treachery; it muſt be at length acknowledged that thoſe Suſpicions were juſt, and that what ought then to have been rejected ought now to be puniſhed.

'This, Sir, is for the moſt Part the State of the preſent Queſtion. Thoſe Meaſures which were once defended by ſophiſtical Reaſonings, or palliated by warm Declarations of Sincerity and diſintereſted Zeal for the publick Happineſs, are found to be ſuch as they were repreſented by thoſe who oppoſed them. It is now diſcovered, that the Treaty of *Hanover* was calculated only for the Advancement of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; that our Armies are kept up only to multiply Dependence, and to awe the Nation from the Exertion of its Rights; that *Spain* has been courted only to the Ruin of our Trade; and that the Convention was little more than an Artifice, to amuſe the People with an idle Appearance of a Reconciliation, which our Enemies never intended.

'Of the Stipulation which produced the memorable Treaty of *Hanover*, the Improbability was often urged; but the abſolute Falſehood could not be proved but by the Declaration of one of the Parties. This Declaration was at length produced by Time, which was never favourable to the Meaſures of our Miniſter; for the Emperor of *Germany** aſſerted with the utmoſt Solemnity that no ſuch Article was ever propoſed, and that his Engagements with *Spain* had no Tendency to produce any Change in the Government of this Kingdom.

'Thus it is evident, Sir, that all the Terrors, which the Apprehenſion of this Alliance produced, were merely the Operations of Fraud upon Cowardice; and that they were only raiſed by the artful *French*, to diſunite us from the only Power, with which it is our Intereſt to cultivate an inſeparable Friendſhip. This Diſunion therefore may juſtly be charged upon the Miniſter, who has weakened the Intereſt of this Country, and endangered the Liberties of *Europe*.

'If it be aſked, Sir, how he could have diſcovered the Falſhood of the Report, before it was confuted by the late Emperor? it may be eaſily anſwered, that he might have diſcovered it by the ſame Tokens which betray'd it to

* See the Memorial of M. de Palm, the Imperial Reſident, to this Purpoſe, in the Appendix to Chandler's Hiſtory, Vol. VIII.

to his Opponents, the Impoſſibility of putting it in Execution. For it muſt be confeſſed, that his *French* Informers, well acquainted with his Diſpoſition to panic Fears, had uſed no Caution in the Contrivance of their Impoſture, nor ſeem to have had any other View, than to add one Terror to another, to ſink his Reaſon with Alarms, and to overbear him with Aſtoniſhment. When they found that he began to be diſordered at the Danger of our Trade, from Enemies without Naval Forces; they eaſily diſcovered, that to make him the Slave of *France*, nothing more was neceſſary than to add, that theſe bloody Confederates had projected an Invaſion, that they intended to add Slavery to Poverty, and to place the Pretender upon the Throne.

'To be alarmed, Sir, into Vigilance, had been not unworthy of the firmeſt and moſt ſagacious Miniſter; but to be frighted by ſuch Reports into Meaſures, which even an Invaſion could ſcarcely have juſtified, was at leaſt a Proof of a Capacity not formed by Nature for the Adminiſtration of Government; and which it is therefore the Intent of this Motion to reduce to its proper Sphere, and to level with the reſt of the Community.

'If it be enquir'd what Advantage was granted by this Treaty to the *French*, and to what Inconveniences it has ſubjected this Nation? An Anſwer may very juſtly be refuſed, till the Miniſter or his Apologiſts ſhall explain his Conduct in the laſt War with *Spain*; and inform us why the Plate Fleet was ſpared, our Ships ſacrificed to the Worms, and our Admiral and his Sailors poiſoned in an unhealthy Climate? Why the *Spaniards* in full Security laugh'd at our Armaments, and triumph'd in our Calamities?

'The Lives of *Hozier* and his Forces, which were ſquandered by Compliance with *France*, are now juſtly to be demanded from this Man; he is now to be charged with the Murder of thoſe unhappy Men, whom he expoſed to Miſery and Contagion, to pacify, on one hand, the *Britons* who called out for War, and to gratify, on the other, the *French* who inſiſted that the *Spaniſh* Treaſures ſhould not be ſeized.

'The Miniſter who neglects any juſt Opportunity of promoting the Power, or encreaſing the Wealth of his Country, is to be conſidered as an Enemy to his Fellow-Subjects; but what Cenſure is to be paſſed upon him who betrays that Army to a Defeat, by which Victory might be obtained; impoveriſhes the Nation, whoſe Affairs he is intruſted to tranſact by thoſe Expeditions which might enrich it; who levies Armies only to be expoſed to Peſtilence, and compels them to periſh in Sight of their Enemies without moleſting them?

'It cannot ſurely be denied that ſuch Conduct may juſtly

produce a Cenſure, more ſevere than that which is intended by this Motion; and that he who has doomed Thouſands to the Grave, who has co operated with foreign Powers againſt his Country, who has protected its Enemies and diſhonoured its Arms, ſhould be deprived not only of his Honours but of his Life; that he ſhould be at leaſt ſtripp'd of thoſe Riches which he has amaſſed during a long Series of proſperous Wickedneſs; and not barely be hindered from making new Acquiſitions, and encreaſing his Wealth by multiplying his Crimes.

'But no ſuch Penalties, Sir, are now required; thoſe, who have long ſtood up in Oppoſition to him, give a Proof by this Motion, that they were not incited by perſonal Malice; ſince they are not provoked to propoſe any arbitrary Cenſure, nor have recommended, what might be authoriſed by his own Practice, an Act of Attainder, or a Bill of Pains and Penalties. They deſire nothing farther than that the Security of the Nation may be reſtored, and the Diſcontent of the People pacified, by his Removal from that Truſt which he has ſo long abus'd.

'The Diſcontent of the People is in itſelf a Reaſon for agreeing to this Motion, which no Rhetorical Vindicator of his Conduct will be able to counterballance; for ſince it is neceſſary to the Proſperity of the Government, that the People ſhould believe their Intereſt favoured, and their Liberties protected; ſince to imagine themſelves neglected, and to be neglected, in reality muſt produce in them the ſame Suſpicions and the ſame Diſtruſt, it is the Duty of every faithful Subject whom his Station qualifies to offer Advice to his Sovereign, to perſuade him for the Preſervation of his own Honour and the Affection of his Subjects, to remove from his Counſels that Man, whom they have long conſidered as the Author of pernicious Meaſures, and a Favourer of arbitrary Power.

Mr *Howe* anſwered in Subſtance as follows.

Sir,

Mr Howe. 'Whatever Opinion I may have formed, by long Obſervation and Experience, of the Moderation of the Party by which this Motion is ſupported, I could not have prevailed upon myſelf to expect that they would have mentioned it as a Proof of their Lenity and Forbearance; or that while they were endeavouring to puniſh without the leaſt Evidence of a Crime, they would have added Inſults to their Cruelty, and have ridiculed him, whom they were perſecuting, with Panegyricks on their own Mercy.

'That they are now endeavouring, that Puniſhment may precede Conviction, is evident, ſince they have not proved

ed that any of the Meaſures, which they have been pleaſed to repreſent as Pernicious and Diſhonourable, were adviſed by the Perſon againſt whom they direct their Malice; nor do they appear ſolicitous to diſcover the Criminal, ſo they may be permitted to deſtroy an Adverſary.

'For this Purpoſe, Sir, they have for many Years loaded him with Accuſations, and repreſented him as the Author of thoſe Miſeries, which were entailed upon the Nation in the laſt Reign, by a long War and a diſhonourable Peace; they have charged him with exalting, by the Treaty of *Hanover*, that Houſe which owes the Continuance of its Power to the Peace of *Utrecht*; and have taught the Nation to believe that thoſe Debts, which it has been his conſtant Endeavour to alleviate, were encreas'd by his Profuſion or continued by his Artifices.

'Having, by a continual Series of ſubtle Calumnies, alienated the People from the Government, and filled the Nation with Diſtruſt, Suſpicion, and Reſentment; having exalted the Rights of the Subject, till every Borough imagines itſelf intitled to dictate to the Parliament; and ſo long imputed every Calamity to the Miniſtry, that they are now charged with every Inconvenience that is felt or imagined to be felt by the Nation, whatever Cauſe may produce it; they at laſt throw aſide their Diſguiſe, and diſcover for what End they have ſo long flattered the Paſſions and corrupted the Opinions of the People, by declaring that the Diſcontent which they have raiſed, is a ſufficient Reaſon for this Motion; and that the Man whom they have ſo long accuſed ought to be doomed to Infamy and Obſcurity, becauſe he is at laſt ſuſpected by thoſe, who have no Opportunity of knowing his Character, or of examining his Conduct.

'The Buſineſs, Sir, of the Parliament is to hold the Ballance between the Court and the People, and to preſerve at once the Dignity of the Crown, and the Rights of the Nation; nor are we to ſuffer the Servants of the King to be torn from him by popular Fury, any more than the Liberties of the People to be ſacrificed to the Ambition of a Miniſter.

'That the People are generally diſcontented, may perhaps be true; but what is more common than popular Complaints without Cauſe, or for Evils, which could not have been prevented. That they are enraged againſt this Gentleman though it has not been proved, I ſhall not at preſent deny; becauſe it is neceſſary that before their Reſentment is gratified it ſhould be proved to be juſt, and till ſuch Proof is produced, I ſhall oppoſe the Motion.

Mr *Heathcote* reply'd to the following Effect :

Sir,

Mr Heathcote. ' Can it then be aſked in this Houſe, why the People are exaſperated againſt this Perſon, and whether they have had any Provocations to Reſentment ? Can Proof be required of the Ardour, with which the whole Nation wiſhes for his Diſcharge ? And can it be doubted, whether his Continuance in Power is inconſiſtent with the Security and Happineſs of the Kingdom, the Preſervation of Peace, and the Promotion of Loyalty ?

' To conceal in judicial Enquiries, what is known to thoſe who profeſs to declare their Sentiments, is at leaſt not *to ſpeak the whole Truth*, and may be cenſured as a Proof of Partiality : To affect Ignorance of publick Facts, in hopes that their Opponents may happen to forget them, is not more diſingenuous than contemptible, when they are ſo recent, that they cannot but be remembered, or ſo atrocious that they cannot be forgiven.

' To little Purpoſe, Sir, therefore, has the Gentleman, who has ſo zealouſly attempted, with whatever Intention, to ſecure the Favour of the Miniſter, appeared ignorant of the open Declarations of the People in all Parts of the Kingdom, when the execrable Scheme of Exciſe was lately defeated : A Time which the Enemies of Liberty do not willingly recollect, but which will always be celebrated as the Æra of our Reſcue from Slavery, by thoſe who know the Importance of Commerce, or the Bleſſings of Freedom.

' At that Time this worthy Miniſter, this amiable Benefactor of Mankind, was ſtigmatized with the higheſt Degree of Infamy, which the People cou'd expreſs ; he was dragg'd along the Streets in Effigy through the Shouts of innumerable Crouds, with the univerſal Triumph of all Ranks and Orders of Men, and was thrown into the Fires kindled in every Town to celebrate the Deliverance.

' If therefore, Sir, it be granted, that the general Hatred of the People is ſufficient to juſtify an Addreſs for the Removal of a Miniſter, this Motion can admit of no longer Debate ; for he who doubts whether this Perſon be generally deteſted ; he who does not know that his Name is never mentioned, but by his Vaſſals, without Execrations ; that his Counſels are conſidered by every honeſt Man as the Cauſes of our Miſery and all our Diſgrace ; and that the Time of his Degradation or Deſtruction would be added to thoſe Feſtival Days on which the Overthrow of arbitrary and republican Schemes are annually commemorated, muſt live in utter Ignorance of the State of his Country ; and muſt have paſt his Days without Inquiry, and without Obſervation, either clouded

clouded by the Obſcurity of a Village, or dazzled by the Glitter of a Court.

'For my Part it has coſt me no laborious Searches to know what is daily to be heard in every Place of publick Reſort; that he is looked upon as a general Enemy, whom it is every Man's Duty to purſue, and Intereſt to deſtroy. And ſince it cannot be expected that his Majeſty ſhould long retain the Affections of his People, while a Man like this is believed to enjoy his Confidence and influence his Counſels, I think it impoſſible to give a more important Proof of my Loyalty, than by agreeing to the preſent Motion.

Mr *Henry Pelham* ſpoke next in Favour of Sir *Robert Walpole*, whoſe Speech we have given at large in the foregoing VOLUME, P. 78. He was anſwered by Mr *Lyttelton* as follows: Mr H. Pelham.

Sir,

'The captivating Shew of Equity, and the Candour, with which the Honourable Gentleman has delivered his Sentiments on this Occaſion, could not but raiſe Eſteem in thoſe who are moſt zealous for the Cauſe which he has undertaken to oppoſe, did he not employ it to conceal Facts too evident for Diſguiſe, and to palliate Meaſures in Defence of which, the moſt artful Eloquence muſt be exhauſted in vain. Mr. Lyttelton.

'That theſe Meaſures are really not eaſily to be vindicated, he has indeed implicitely confeſſed, by thinking it neceſſary to deny, that his Friend can be properly conſidered as the Author of them; and by requiring Proof to Day, of what every Man in the Nation knew Yeſterday, and will know to Morrow, that he has been for twenty Years the chief Director of all Foreign and Domeſtick Meaſures.

'Surely that Cauſe muſt be deſperate that can require a Defence like this; ſurely he can have little Confidence in the Integrity of that Man, whom he endeavours to ſhelter from Examination, by denying what he is conſcious that every Man knows and almoſt every Man can prove.

'The preſent Motion is only for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, not that any Criminal ſhould be puniſhed, but that a Man ſuſpected of Crimes ſhould be removed from Truſt: And therefore this Addreſs may juſtly be promoted by every Man, whom his own Obſervation or the Aſſertions of others have induced to form ſuch Suſpicions, even though they ſhould not be confirmed by ſuch Evidence as might be required in the lower Courts.

'Thoſe who have urged againſt this Motion, that it is not ſupported by any Precedent, ſeem to have forgotten, or perhaps hope that others may forget, a Precedent, which cannot be decently eluded on this Occaſion, becauſe it was eſtabliſh-

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ed by the Influence of the Perſon, whoſe Conduct we are now called to examine.

'The Peace of *Utrecht*, and all the other Negotiations which were carried on during the Adminiſtration of the Earl of *Oxford*, are well known to have been conſidered in the Parliament, and to have been ratified after long Debates by a very great Majority, a Majority which the Miniſter could not be charged with gaining by Bribes, or retaining by Penſions: A Majority of Members elected without pecuniary Influence, and voting without any other apparent Direction than their own Opinions; and who, though they are now generally imagined to have been miſtaken, were never yet charged with being corrupt.

'Yet was not this Sanction ſufficient to ſecure the noble Lord in the next Reign, from the Violence of Proſecution and the Rigours of Impriſonment: Proſecutions incited by this Gentleman's Malignity, and Impriſonment promoted by his Counſels. In Defence of this Precedent, I ſhall only urge, that if ſuch a Proceſs was equitable at that Time, it may ſafely be imitated; and that though it ſhould be acknowledged even by thoſe that then countenanced and defended it, to have been Precipitate and Cruel, it may juſtly be practiſed on this Occaſion; ſince it is reaſonable that the Authors of evil Counſels ſhould feel the Effects of their own Schemes, and that every Man ſhould find that Treatment which others have received from him.

'Such Severities, however, are not intended by the Advocates for the preſent Motion, who are content to put an End to the Miſeries of the Nation, without puniſhing him to whom they think them juſtly imputed; who intend not Vengeance but Security; and who by removing the Miniſter from the Preſence of his Sovereign, from which he has long driven every Man that oppoſed him, and from thoſe Counſels which he has always directed to the Detriment of the Nation, propoſe not to gratify Reſentment, but to prevent Deſtruction.

Mr. E. Harley. Hereupon the Hon. Mr *Edward Harley* ſtood up, and ſpoke as in our *Twelfth* VOLUME, p. 100, and then left the Houſe; and was follow'd by Mr *Robert Harley*.

Lord *Cornbury* ſpoke next in Subſtance as follows.

Lord Cornbury. *Sir*,

'I doubt not but it will be expected by thoſe who have made and juſtified the Motion, that I who have generally oppoſed the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration, ſhould readily concur in cenſuring the Man to whoſe Counſels they are imputed, and by whoſe Influence they are ſuppoſed to have obtained Approbation; and perhaps it may not be without incurring ſome Suſpicion of criminal Inconſiſtency, that I declare my

my Diſapprobation of the Method of Proſecution which is now propoſed; a Suſpicion which I ſhall however try to avoid, by laying before the Houſe the Reaſons of my Conduct, and the Grounds of my Opinion.

'There has always appeared to me a great Difference in the Rules which political and perſonal Queſtions require to be obſerved. In Queſtions relating to the publick Affairs, it is rational to ſuppoſe thoſe Meaſures wrong which are not proved to be right; but in criminal Proſecutions it is a Maxim in the Law, that every Man ſhall be ſuppoſed Innocent till it is ſhown by Evidence that he is Guilty. In oppoſing Meaſures therefore, I am at Liberty to require Evidence; in attacking Perſons, I am obliged to produce it; nor does the Man whom I accuſe of Miſconduct, need to make any other Defence than that of denying the Charge.

'In the preſent Caſe, Sir, a Right Honourable Member of this Houſe is accuſed of diſhonouring his Sovereign, of betraying his Truſt, of weakening the Influence, embarraſſing the Commerce, and obſtructing the Arms of his Country; of giving up the Rights of the Nation by cowardly Negotiations, and attacking its Liberties by an Attempt to introduce oppreſſive Laws and cruel Exactions. A Charge in the higheſt Degree criminal, and which ought therefore to be ſupported by the ſtrongeſt Proof.

'But inſtead of Evidence produced to prove the particular Articles of this complicated Accuſation, we have heard hitherto only florid Declamations, which may amuſe but cannot convince, and violent Invectives which may fire the Paſſions for a Moment, but which can have no laſting Effect upon the Judgment. Theſe have been anſwered by Rhetorick equally engaging, and Aſſertions equally confident; but to which the Laws have given this Advantage, that we are obliged to admit them till they are confuted, and by Conſequence to reject thoſe of the Accuſers till they are proved.

'That thoſe, who have hitherto diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an invariable Oppoſition to the miniſterial Schemes, ſhould reject the preſent Motion, has been mentioned as an Inconſiſtency not to be imagined, as an Abſurdity which could not be ſuppoſed without an Apology. So eaſily do the wiſeſt Men ſuffer their Deſires to influence their Reaſon; and ſo difficult is it for any Man, ſtrongly convinced of the Truth of his Opinion, to believe that others can juſtify themſelves in Diſſenting from it.

'For my Part, Sir, I can eaſily conceive, that many may have condemned all theſe Tranſactions which have been repreſented as the Grounds of the preſent Motion; without thinking that the Motion deſerves their Concurrence, or that

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by rejecting it, they ſhall forfeit the Praiſe of Steadineſs and Perſeverance; ſince nothing is more evident than that this Motion may be unjuſt, though the Oppoſition ſhould be ſuppoſed hitherto to have acted under the Direction of infallible Guides, and all the Schemes and Meaſures of the Miniſter to have been detrimental to the Nation.

'To juſtify Oppoſition it is only to be proved that the Meaſures propoſed, were improper or unjuſt; but to ſupport this Motion it muſt be ſhewn that they are the Propoſals of a particular Man. It has been hitherto indifferent in the Debate, whether they were Errors or Crimes; whether the Authors of them were deceived or corrupted; it is now neceſſary to prove them the Conſequences of wicked Intentions, of Intentions ſo much vitiated as to deſerve the publick Cenſure of the Parliament.

'There remains one Objection more, which in my Opinion requires to be anſwered; the Advocates for the Motion ſeem to endeavour to advance a Charge of *accumulative* Guilt, to aggravate one Crime by the Super-Addition of another, and rather to intend a popular Cenſure than a legal Condemnation.

'I ſuppoſe no Man will ſuſpect that an unjuſt Partiality in favour of the Gentleman, whoſe Conduct is now the Subject of Examination, influences me to cenſure this Method of Proceeding; ſince no Man can want Reaſons againſt it of the greateſt Weight: Reaſons which deſerve the cloſeſt Attention from every Man of Prudence and Virtue, of every Man who regards his own Safety, or the Happineſs of future Generations. No Man whoſe Judgment is not overborn by his Reſentment, and whoſe Ardour for Vengeance has not extinguiſhed every other Motive of Action, can reſolve to give the Sanction of his Voice to a Method of Proſecution, by which the Good and Bad are equally endangered; and which will make the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs deſtructive to the pureſt Integrity and the higheſt Wiſdom.

'That ſuch muſt be the Conſequence of Charges like this will appear no longer a paradoxical Aſſertion, if it be remembered, that Humanity is a State of Imperfection; that the ſtricteſt Virtue ſometimes declines from the Right, and that the moſt conſummate Policy is by falſe Appearances, or accidental Inattention betrayed into Error. For how ſoon muſt that Man be deſtroyed, whoſe high Station expoſes him to the continual Obſervation of Envy and Malevolence, whoſe minuteſt Errors are carefully remark'd, and whoſe caſual Failings are treaſured up as a Fund of Accuſations. How ſoon, if trivial Tranſgreſſions ſhall be accumulated into capi-

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tal Crimes, may the beſt Man compleat the Sum of his Offences and be doom'd to Ignominy, to Exile, or to Death?

'In criminal Proceedings particular Regard has been had to Precedents; and ſurely the Effects of a former Accuſation of this Kind, give us no Encouragement to the Repetition of it. From a Charge of accumulative Treaſon, the Faction of the laſt Age proceeded to the Uſurpation of boundleſs Authority, the Subverſion of our Conſtitution, and the Murder of the King.

'I ſhall therefore continue to ſuppoſe every Man Innocent till he appears from legal Evidence to be Guilty; and to reject any Charge of accumulative Guilt, upon the ſame Principles of Regard to Liberty, to Virtue, to Truth, and to our Conſtitution, by which I have hitherto regulated my Conduct; and for the ſame Reaſons, for which I have condemned the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration, I ſhall now oppoſe the preſent Motion.

Then Sir *Robert Walpole* roſe up and ſpoke to this Effect: Sir R. Walpole.

Sir,

'As this Debate has been already protracted to an unuſual Length, I hope the Requeſt I am going to make will not be thought improper or unreaſonable. It is, Sir, that I may know the whole Accuſation againſt me before I offer my Defence; leſt new Charges ſhould produce a Neceſſity of new Replies, and the Houſe either be wearied with needleſs Altercations, or be reduc'd to the Neceſſity of Determining without a complete Knowledge of the Queſtion.

'This Method I hope will meet with no Oppoſition, ſince it will give thoſe who are inclin'd to cenſure me, an Opportunity of hearing without Interruption the whole complicated Charge; and ſhew thoſe whom a nearer Knowledge of my Conduct may have induc'd to think favourably of me, that I am not afraid of hearing all that Error or Malice can ſuggeſt; that I do not deſire to ſhelter myſelf in Confuſion; and that I do not doubt of confirming their Sentiments by a Defence not to be confuted.

Then Lord *Tyrconnel* ſtood up and ſpoke as follows: Lord Tyrconnel.

Sir,

'As nothing is more neceſſary in our Proceedings than Order, and that Perſpicuity which reſults from it; as the Accuſation muſt naturally precede the Defence, and as a continued Diſcourſe is more eaſily conceived, and more accurately retained, than an interrupted and tumultuous Diſputation, I think the Requeſt made by the Right Hon. Gentleman ſeaſonable and juſt.

Mr Pulteney. Thereupon Mr *Pulteney* ſtood up, and open'd a long Charge againſt Sir *Robert Walpole*, which we have already given in the Proceedings of the Seventh Seſſion, Page 101. And Sir *Robert*, having made his Defence, as therein related at large, Page 114. withdrew.

Mr Bootle, Mr Greenville, Mr Fazakerley, Mr Boone, Sir John Hinde Cotton, Mr Waller, Mr Ord. Mr Hume Campbel. Beſides the Gentlemen, whoſe Speeches we have given in this and the former Volume, Mr *Bootle*, Mr *Greenville*, Mr *Fazakerley*, Mr *Boone*, Sir *John Hinde Cotton*, Mr *Waller*, Mr *Ord*, and Mr *Hume Campbell*, ſpoke for the Motion.

Mr Hen. Archer, Lord Euſton, Mr Leathes, Sir W. Lowther, Mr Hay, Mr Legg, Col. Cholmondeley, Mr Hen. Fox, Sir D. Ryder. Sir Ri. Corbett, Mr Clarke, Sir J. Strange. Mr Danvers, Mr Winnington, Sir Wil. Yonge, Mr Bewes, Mr Southwell. And beſides thoſe before-mentioned againſt the Motion, were Mr *Henry Archer*, Lord *Euſton*, Mr *Leathes*, Sir *William Lowther*, Mr *Hay*, Mr *Legg*, Col. *Cholmondeley*, Mr *Henry Fox*, Mr Attorney General, Sir *Richard Corbett*, Mr *Clarke*, Mr Sollicitor General, Mr *Danvers*, Mr *Winnington*, Sir *William Yonge*, Mr *Bowes*, and Mr *Southwell*.

Mr *Shippen* declar'd, 'That he looked on this Motion as only a Scheme for turning out one Miniſter, and bringing in another: That as his Conduct in Parliament had always been regulated with a View to the Good of his Country, without any Regard to his own private Intereſt, it was quite indifferent to him, who was in or who was out; and he would give himſelf no Concern in the Queſtion.' Having ſaid this he withdrew, and was followed by Thirty four of his Friends.

Mr *Noel*, Mr *Robert Fenwick*, and Mr *Browne*, likewiſe left the Houſe, and were followed by many more.

Mr Shippen, Mr Noel, Mr Fenwick, Mr Browne. Sir *Charles Wager* in particular declar'd, 'That, to his Knowledge, Sir *Robert Walpole* was as forward and zealous to promote the War as any of his Majeſty's Council, and that nothing was a Moment wanted in his Province, That of iſſuing Money: That he had never interſer'd in recommending any one Perſon to the Admiralty Board; and that if he had ever done ſo, He (Sir *Charles*) would have thrown up all his Preferments.'

Sir Cha. Wager.

The Debate began at Six in the Morning, and held 'till Four the next Morning; when the Queſtion being put upon Mr *Sandys*'s Motion, it was reſolved in the Negative by a Majority of 184 Voices.

The Motion paſſes in the Negative.

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